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How step by class-collaborating step
the Gorbachev group has pretended
to 'remedy' Stalinist revisionism
(on war and revolution, and how
to tackle imperialist aggression)
with even worse capitulation
to defeatism, - further
than ever from revolutionary Leninism

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

Deadly partizan struggle
behind imperialist
lines



When capitalist reaction
was presented as the
direct enemy to Soviet
workers, they spectacularly
outproduced and
outfought the German-led
imperialist axis



Women workers
crucial

Record-breaking miners

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1. Moscow tries to revise imperialist war out of existence (Bulletin 323, 31/12/85)

In contrast to recent signs of greater Leninist awareness in the Moscow leadership, propagandist Krasin has just delivered a blast against Marxism reeking of all the most idiot petty-bourgeois defeatism of the 1930s.

His 'Soviet Weekly' article (21/12/85) drags the CPSU back to the most pitiful popular-front cowardice and wishful thinking, cements the counter-revolutionary rotteness now ruling all the CPs in Western Europe, and lays the Soviet Union open to the most dangerous illusions possible in the face of imperialist military degeneracy.

In correctly exposing sectarian Trot lunacy of fake middle-class 'lefts' in the West who attack, -from a pretended 'revolutionary' stance, - Lenin's tactics of building a strong workers state and diplomatically fending off imperialist warmongering for as long as possible by means of trade deals and peaceful coexistence campaigns, Krasin resurrects the discredited notion that 'imperialist war can be outlawed'.

"Finland, Austria, and Switzerland prove that capitalism can develop without an arms race and a totally militarised economy," he claims.

"Despite the aggressive tendencies of imperialism, real possibilities already exist for ending the arms race and achieving disarmament."

He bolsters this revisionist/liquidationist approach, -which at a stroke dismisses Marx and Lenin as morons for insisting on the class war understanding of history (which proves that only the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling class will end its final arms-race imperialist reaction,) --with some of Krasin's typical sleight-of-hand 'science' (see ILWP Books vol 6) to imply that dialectical materialism supports his bent conclusions.

"It is scientifically wrong to view capitalism in abstract, outside of the international social medium which increasingly influences it, and even alters its laws of development and their effects," declares

this professor of revisionism against any would-be critics.

"All these factors (socialist camp strength, the non-aligned movement, social-democracy in the West, the international peace movement) restrict the aggressive tendencies of imperialism and force it to adapt itself to the situation and accept compromises and agreements".

Elsewhere, Moscow has openly admitted that it has revised Marx & Lenin in order to advance the idea of "removing the war threat as such" without the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism (the ILWP is preparing a detailed polemic against this revisionist nonsense); and elsewhere it has spelled out the counter-revolutionary implications of this treacherous rubbish with idiot speculation on how the peaceful masses can come to power without overthrowing the capitalist state, -thus buttressing Moscow's rotten stooges in the Western CPs (also being taken up polemically).

The entire historical record speaks against Krasin's woolly wishful-thinking. The real warmongering danger to the socialist camp and the international working class flows precisely out of such revisionism. The surest guard for the survival & further progress of civilisation rests precisely in Leninism's grasp of the need for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism (see ILWP Books vol 4).

As explained in the previous article, imperialism has imposed a phenomenal increase in arms-race warmongering on the planet since WWII. Blitzkrieg invasions or attempted coups to restore 'imperialist discipline' are now ten-a-penny throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America, -whereas just one armed Italian move into Abyssinia pre-war was an alarming scandal which brought the whole League of Nations crashing down.

The SAS and Rapid Deployment forces of USA, France, Israel, South Africa, Britain, etc are never off the go this past decade, -and they have built up a world-based military pre-

parations and anti-communist provocations-network which would even dwarf things beyond Hitler and Mussolini's wildest dreams.

The positive developments counter-balancing this are not the forces, welcome as they are, which might persuade Reagan & Co to have a change of heart, but the revolutionary fighting ability and understanding of the anti-imperialist movement.

Certainly they are crucially backed by the strength of the socialist camp, as the ILWP is always the first to point out.

But the essence of the development routing imperialism has been that vital spark of revolutionary inspiration, courage, understanding, and determination so brilliantly represented in their time by the revolutions in China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc., routing imperialism arms in hand. The revolutions in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Philippines, South Africa, Namibia, etc, are maintaining that heroic tradition of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and carrying forward the scientific future of mankind.

The blackest spots have been where CPSU revisionism ruled supreme, as in Chile where the treacherous CP & Allende led the masses into a 'peaceful road' bloodbath, which gave a massive new lease of life to international counter-revolutionary terror by the CIA after their success in Chile.

Grenada was another black spot where cowardly Moscow revisionism helped paralyse Castro into leaving the revolutionary island defenceless because of Krasin-type treachery (personified by the worm Bishop, who invited Reagan in) against the confused but revolutionary strivings of the New Jewel majority leadership.

Krasin is a lying arsehole to pretend that social democracy has played its part against imperialism, which would make Bernstein and Kautsky correct and Lenin the monster of history. Social democracy is imperialism, as Lenin relentlessly demonstrated, and as a brief knowledge of the role of British Labour & the TUC since WWII, for example, would prove (Labour, not the Tories, helped Wa-

shington found the NATO Cold-War alliance, the nuclear Iron Curtain against Russia; re-established colonial-fascist aggression postwar in Malaya, Greece, Vietnam, etc; reimposed military dictatorship over the north Ireland colony; launch the Korean war; launch Smith's racist-fascist UDI; first use troops postwar against British strikers, -and frequently subsequently; in general revived and restored capitalist-imperialism at the expense of the international working class and peace.)

Labour & TUC are always the keenest supporters of dangerous CIA counter-revolutions around Nagy, Prague Spring, & Solidarity.

Capitalism elsewhere (Austria, etc) lives off the droppings from the imperialist warmongering table, -one world system of colonial market-domination. In Lenin's day, even a 10-year-old Russian schoolboy could have explained this to Krasin; And the solution to warmongering: Overthrow imperialism.

2. Reformist stunts are not Leninism. But all is not rotten (Bulletin 325, 15/1/86)

Lost opportunities of a revolutionary situation in Greece at the close of World War II (currently being documented on Channel Four) prompt further analysis of the problems of Moscow's revisionist legacy.

Much more valuable than academic speculation on what might have been is an understanding of the treacherous role played by Western reformism; -and the limits to Soviet betrayal (of the world socialist revolution), & how to combat it.

The weak & confused Trotskyite sneers of 'Greek revolution sold out' make any true assessment of how the world socialist revolution developed simultaneously (and subsequently) in Korea, China, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Cuba, Angola, etc, -all with Soviet help, -impossible.

Such shallow 'petty-bourgeois revolutionism' (See Lenin's 'left-wing' communism) cannot avoid the non-dialectical logic of Trotsky's original "everything is rotten" subjectivism which Lenin demolished in the 1921 trade union debate (see ILWP Books vol 5 for detailed quotes),

But the wretchedness of Stalin-era revisionism, -as evidenced by the illusion-riddled and/or treacherous Greek Communist Party leaders, - tends to blot out one side of the Leninist analysis of Soviet state bureaucratism as a living, evolving contradiction which will eventually help lead the way to the triumph of worldwide socialism. (See 1986 ILWP Perspectives).

Lenin (and Trotsky too in his more lucid moments - see ILWP Books vol 3) understood bureaucratic deformations as part of the long, slow struggle to make an advanced, efficient Soviet socialist state out of the vast illiterate mass of human material bequeathed by the degenerate opportunism of dying Tsarist backwardness, imperialist holocaust, and bitter civil war.

The inevitable constant re-birth of petty-bourgeois individualism and subjectivism (see 'Left-wing' communism & ILWP Perspectives) would have to be fought by Marxist revolutionary consciousness all the way.

Lenin made it clear that just as the battle for the highest scientific standards had had to be fought for (most notably against Trotsky, Martov, Plekhanov, & others) inside and outside the revolutionary party itself to make the Bolsheviks alone able to build up a revolutionary consciousness & leadership between 1903-1917 which the working class could trust (and therefore decisively reject Trotskyism, Martovism, and Plekhanovism), --so would the battle against the subsequent regeneration of petty-bourgeois individualism and subjectivism within all the Soviet state institutions also equally have to be waged just as much inside the growing and changing Party itself. There is no way that the evolution of new generations of Soviet people to carry on the slow painful development of the world's first socialist state could not leave the influence of their evolving character on the Party as much as on every other Soviet institution.

But whereas in pre-revolutionary conditions of all-round class and party conflict it was possible to follow the Bolshevik prin-

ciple of 'better fewer but better' and violently split with such inveterate 'opportunist scoundrels' as Trotsky, Plekhanov, Martov, etc, in the crucial years of building the Bolshevik Party instrument of revolution from 1903 to 1917, -the building of the Soviet state must of necessity include all Soviet citizens if at all possible. Which is why White Generals, Tsarist administrators, bourgeois merchants and entrepreneurs, and Trotsky-type political talents were all encouraged to play a useful role post-revolution.

Whereas the bourgeois intelligentsia's individualism and subjectivism could be deliberately kept out of the pre-1917 Party, Lenin explained that it would have to be slowly & painfully re-educated and re-harnessed by the Soviet state.

The purpose of Soviet socialist state construction is to eventually lead the entire Soviet people (and ultimately the entire world population) to stateless communist self-government, spontaneously automatically self-regulating, -the withering away of the state. At some stage on the way there, this evolving mass of Soviet statehood is already self-regulating in one sense in that the independent-mindedness of 280 million highly educated, cultured, and industrially-trained people could never again be made to abandon its socialist aspirations, -as the 'superior' culture of German imperialism found to its cost behind its lines of occupation in World War II, harried to death by the partisans, -and then smashed head-on by the 'inferior' Soviet state. Lenin felt in no such position to risk German occupation in 1918, -and signed the 'sell-out' Brest-Litovsk peace concessions (as the treacherous idiot Trotsky regarded them).

On a completely different plane, - the enormous campaigns of internal Soviet 'reformism', - such as currently being waged by the new Gorbachev leadership, - are indirectly equally testimony of the need for Soviet reality to eventually keep in step with evolving aspirations of Soviet people. (This can be realistically understood both in its inevitable

positive longterm influence, and in its contradictory temporary short-term deformations).

Thus the same Soviet people which still puts up with a lot of crass, tub-thumping national sentimentality has also sustained some of the most dramatic developments in human history in revolutionary reorganisation, state-development, military achievements, pace of scientific and industrial advance, cultural expansion in literacy, the performing arts, the cinema, music composition, sport, etc.,.

Let Trotskyite 'petty-bourgeois revolutionism' still sneer at Gorbachev, or at what Gorbachev replaced, or at why such replacement should be necessary, etc.

But these 'everything is rotten' subjective captives of bourgeois cynicism are failing to see the wood for the trees. What is this system, they must explain, which can so effortlessly produce an entire new leadership at the drop of a politburo chief; and even more interestingly can be guaranteed to produce an even better new leadership should Gorbachev kick the bucket tomorrow. The point is not met by complaining: 'Why does it have to take so long to replace Brezhnev & Co by the far sharper Gorbachev & Co'?

The only constructive answer to this 'everything-is-rotten' rhetorical question is the Leninist one of constantly criticising the mistakes and faults of Soviet policy, as the ILWP does, -while vigorously and unconditionally defending the Soviet system on all occasions as the unending historical watershed of the world socialist revolution, (-as established by the 1917 Revolution, and the 1941-45 defeat of imperialism's last great fascist opportunity to wipe out the world socialist revolution once and for all by genocidal holocaust in Asia, Africa, and East Europe.)

If there was any incorrect assessment by Moscow of how it might be threatened by Cold War nuclear imperialist encirclement postwar in 1945 and what agreements it would be better to reach with the US-UK imperialists to prolong the anti-Nazi alliance for as long as possible, then that would have had to be

criticised. Some of the further implications of a possible 'Brest-Litovsk peace'-type secret-concessions agreement, if true, (such as deliberately keeping the Greek CP in the dark about concessions to British influence there, -or even worse persuading the Greek CP leaders to capitulate to restored Royalism), - would be even more condemnable.

Either way, the inept, incoherent and paralysed behaviour of the Greek CP leaders is a savage indictment of the generally rotten influence of Moscow revisionism on Western CPs from the 1920s onwards.

But specific loud criticism of these weaknesses, - alongside equally loud support of the general WWII triumph of the Soviet system and its imminent expansion into Korea, China, Vietnam East Europe, etc, -would have been the only sensible course, -not bourgeois cynicism's ridiculous "everything is rotten" despair, (-especially in Trotskyism's case where it was busily preparing to support the Labour Party (and such), -the very imperialist instruments of fascist destruction and torture of the communist partisans in Greece, Malaya, Vietnam, etc, -relaunching the anti-communist Cold War exactly where Hitler fascism had left off, approving Hiroshima, founding NATO, and establishing the CIA/MI6 secret police dictatorship in the West again.)

The extent of Moscow's revisionist damage has to some extent been limited by Leninist revolutionary understanding and determination able to be developed by communist movements under Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Castro, Agostinho Neto, Mondlane, Mugabe, Carpio, Ortega, Lumumba, Mengistu, etc. And there is no limit to how far the battle to re-establish Leninism can go if it can defeat the cynical Trotskyite "everything is rotten" 3



petty-bourgeois revolutionism (see 'Leftwing' Communism) in the remaining capitalist states.

3. New embroidery for 'peaceful road' nonsense; 'new technology' attack on Marxism as science (Bulletin 329, 12/2/86)

The leaders of the world's first workers state are undermining the USSR's tremendous inspiration to the anti-imperialist struggle by perpetuating old discredited nonsense about a 'peaceful road to socialism'.

This anti-Marxist wishful thinking was first imposed along with many other outrageous crimes during the Stalin era.

It is a pathetic rationalisation and cover-up of defeatism in the outlook of Lenin's successors who have lacked his confident grasp of the eventual irresistible international appeal of the strength and attractions of proletarian dictatorship and the world socialist revolution.

Trotskyism and other counter-revolutionary attempts to prevent the building of powerful socialist states were correctly smashed. But instead of trumpeting from the rooftops the triumphs of proletarian dictatorship over degenerate collapsing imperialism, Moscow has nervously played down this greatest of Lenin's theoretical (and practical) legacies in the confused delusion that soft 'democracy' talk will 'antagonise the imperialists a bit less!'

To justify this damaging ideological retreat, Moscow subsequently pretended to have established yet a further 'new addition' to the science of 'Marxism-Leninism' with the 1950s claim (included in the resolutions of the 1956 20th Congress of the CPSU) that "imperialist war was no longer inevitable" but without there being any need to overthrow imperialism to ensure this.

Arising solely from the unstoppable destructiveness of nuclear rockets, and imperialism's loss of military superiority, - but without any need for socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist states in the West, - "the possibility was raised for the first time not just of ward-

ing off an imminent war, prolonging the 'breathing space', and overcoming a particular international crisis fraught with war, --but of removing the war threat as such, excluding the very possibility of war in the life of societies, and bringing about total and complete disarmament, -nuclear disarmament first and foremost" (according to a recent Soviet article).

These illusions and rationalisations about a 'peaceful road to socialism' and 'peacefully-agreed world disarmament' only make worse the exactly opposite reality, --the aggressive degeneration into fascism and warmongering by the capitalist-imperialist states.

The more feebly the Allende-CP government merely wagged its 'democratic' peaceful-road finger at the unmistakable preparations for a fascist-military coup by the capitalist state machinery, - the more certain the violent counter-revolution became in Chile in 1973.

The more supplicant the Soviet camp became towards the unmistakable warmongering intentions of the Reagan administration, - the more inevitable became the US fascist-blightkrieg invasion of Grenada, the bombardment of Lebanon, the murderous criminal subversion and quarantine of Nicaragua, the vicious US intervention in El Salvador, and the monstrous disruption (via third parties) of socialist construction in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, etc.

Far from this defeatist revisionist nonsense taking the imperialist pressure off and making the Soviet camp safer, it is the opponent of imperialism - the international working class - which has been weakened, -- and the capitalist states thereby strengthened.

Far from this 'humanitarian' talk (about purely peaceful struggle all over the world) having strengthened the pacifist camp within worldwide bourgeois public opinion, - it has weakened it, - or rather prevented it from growing as quickly as it might have done, - because middle class idealism only sw-

ays left towards pacifism, or right towards a fascist 'new order' depending on which more powerful material force is acting upon them at the time from either of the basic international class forces, - the imperialist camp, or the socialist/national-liberation-struggle camp. The more rapidly and aggressively that revolutions smash aside the tyrannical puppet regimes like Marcos, Somoza, Zia, Mubarak, Botha, etc, (propped up by US imperialism), - and rout subversive economic and military interventions by Western NATO forces as in Chad, Sahara, El Salvador, Guatemala, etc, --- the quicker will middle class international public opinion lean towards the 'progressive' camp, in all matters.

Even the decisive influence of the actual development of the Soviet socialist state and its important and generous role in aiding the national liberation struggle and the young socialist camp, - a key factor in the international balance of class forces beyond any argument about ideological mistakes, - is tragically weakened by revisionist confusion emanating from Moscow which undoubtedly plays into the hands of the Trotskyite profusion of cynicism and opportunism throughout the West, splitting the working class hopelessly along anti-communist lines.

Worst of all, the anti-Leninist rot about a 'peaceful road to socialism' -plus the follow-up nonsense about 'peacefully' abolishing imperialist war, -has pushed most Western CPs into such a revisionist slither that they have ended up not merely as reformist stooges of capitalist 'parliamentary' imperialism, but ravingly anti-communist and anti-Soviet to boot.

Far from these indirect products of Moscow's revisionism on these two questions being of any use in furthering the 'peaceful' road or 'peaceful' disarmament, most Western CPs actively support their capitalist state (or illusions in it) and join in governments which manage the capitalist state on imperialism's behalf; and many of them also openly support the NATO warmongering alliance

and even imperialism's development of nuclear weapons.

It is no longer just the case (as always with revisionism) that objectively they aid the ruling class by their anti-Leninist confusion. Many Western revisionist CPs have now subjectively wholeheartedly joined the imperialist 'free world' camp. They have become conscious counter-revolutionaries.

In view of the widespread support among Western CPs for Solidarnosc fascist counter-revolution in Poland, for example, or for the reactionary renegade Sakharov, or for the CIA's feudal reactionary stooges in Afghanistan, etc, etc, etc, - is it therefore astonishing that

Moscow continues to pump out such capitulatory anti-Leninist drivel in support of these 'peaceful road' revisionists, -especially as their renegade treachery in each of these cases (and all others) means backing for planned or actual violence and warmongering.

In an STP supplement article last year, for example, Politbureau ideologist Ponomarev describes this general counter-revolutionary retreat by the Western CPs as one of "drawing on the experience of political struggle to deepen their understanding of the process of general democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist, socialist changes in the context of the conditions and specific features of their own countries. The ideas of profound changes in the structure of society, of anti-monopoly democracy, etc, -these and many other important programme provisions are called upon to highlight the different stages and transitional forms that correspond to concrete degrees of maturity of the socio-economic prerequisites of socialism in capitalist states. . . .

"In the present-day conditions the working class and its vanguard, a Marxist-Leninist party, strive to accomplish a socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would meet the interests of the working class and the entire people, the national interests of each country. The situation in a number of capitalist countries may develop in

such a way that the working class and its vanguard will be able, through various forms of agreement and political cooperation among various parties and public organisations, to unite the majority of the people to win state power without a civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the working people. But this will only be possible to achieve through the broad continuous development of the class struggle of the workers, the peasant masses and other sections of the working people against the big monopoly capital and reaction, the struggle for deep-going social reforms, for peace and socialism...

"Motivated by humanism, Marxist-Leninists support the peaceful path of revolution..."

Ponomarev offers not one single example of where this bogus concept of 'anti-monopoly democracy' (correctly despised by Lenin as reformism and Parliamentarism) has achieved anything at all, let alone such a shift in the balance of class forces as to make a 'peaceful transition to socialism' imminent, or even remotely credible.

The Italian, French, Spanish, and British CPs, for instance, have all sucked up to the social democrats in one way or another, including helping them into office in each country at some time recently (and still in power in three of them). Is the capitalist state machine even remotely on the run in any of them? Are the basic means of production seriously being 'transferred to the working people'? What astonishingly disruptive, confusion-making garbage.

In Britain, for example, the cowardly CP has gone on pleading for affiliation to the Labour Party until it is blue in the face, -and handed its Marxism Today columns over to leading capitalist-state reactionary figures like Shirley Williams, president of the SDP scabs, and to other dimwits even more reactionary than her. It has lost its daily paper because of its pusillanimous retreats from unconditional solidarity with the so-

cialist camp and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and now has less than 20% of the membership it enjoyed when it first launched the ludicrous 'peaceful road to socialism'.

And what has this counter-revolutionary servility to the British bourgeois parliament achieved for 'anti-monopoly democracy'?

The country is now swarming with US imperialism's nuclear missiles, its industries totally dominated by international imperialist conglomerates, its government solely devoted to telling lies on behalf of the American ruling class, its frustrated young Tory bourgeoisie heading for fascism - dragging millions of lumpen-proletariat behind them, and the much-ballyhooed 'basic democratic rights' being suppressed one after the other, with not a TUC or effective Labour Party revolt in sight, nor capable of ever appearing again.

And if anything, the sycophantic cowardice of the CP-reformist 'left' in France, Spain and Italy has produced even greater capitulation to bourgeois-fascist degeneracy in those states.

Class collaboration, -under the criminal revisionist lies about 'strengthening anti-monopoly democracy', - has been steadily disarming the working class throughout the imperialist West. Monstrous reactionary degeneration is being piled up again by slump-ridden capitalism as a direct result of the ideological class-treachery of the 'peaceful road' idiocy.

Ponomarev's irresponsible witterings on these matters all follow his ridiculously shallow and static view of capitalist crisis, -an assumption that Western 'democracy' will gently moulder away, presumably graciously awaiting to be superseded by 'anti-monopoly democracy'. What silly revisionist nonsense.

Ponomarev makes not a single reference to the catastrophic reality of 20th century capitalism about which Lenin's theory made such a dramatic contribution to Marxist science of history, - the matter of inter-imperialist rivalry,

trade war, and shooting war.

In 20 pages on 'Revolutionary changes in the world and the factors behind them' under the general title of 'The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world' in the name of 'Socialism Theory and Practice', Panomarev raises one false glimmer of hope by mentioning the West's vain attempts to prevent 'an explosion of the contradictions inherent in capitalist society'; - but that vague phrase, --which could imply no more than grumbles in the unemployment queues as much as anything else, -- is all there is about the dominant feature now on the planet, -all-out inter-imperialist economic, political and military conflict.

Ponomarev quickly reverts back to his hymn of praise for the utterly useless and revisionist CPs. "The last few decades have shown that, with due regard for specific circumstances and drawing on the experience of political struggle, -the Communist Parties deepen their understanding of the process of general democratic, anti-monopoly anti-capitalist, socialist changes"

The 'anti-monopoly democracy' nonsense will be swept away by the coming fascist-militarisation just as surely as the reformist trade union illusions are now being (by the sharpening knives of monopoly imperialist capital in crisis.)

If it was true that the imperialist bourgeoisie only played by the 'democratic' rules now, then everyone could happily join the Western CP revisionists and abandon the difficult fight (under the memory and aftermath of boomtime capitalist conditions) of trying to build a Leninist revolutionary party.

But this is childish nonsense. Fascism and war is all that Western imperialism has in perspective; and fascism and war is all that the working class in the West is going to get unless it overthrows capitalist 'democracy' (the fraud of manipulated public opinion).

Being 'motivated by humanism' (or not) is idealist question-begging. The historic contribution by Marx, Engels, and Lenin

was to scientifically establish what was historically necessary. Class war became the essential midwife for civilisation's further progress from one mode of production to the next. Marcos, Baby Doc, Somoza, the Shah, Botha, Pinochet, etc, are confirming this daily, right across the planet. The CIA, NATO, Reagan, Thatcher, Murdoch, and Co, -or their even more ruthless successors, - will be proving exactly the same lesson (as frustration, chaos, and Rambo-illusions mount throughout the West.)

An APN article by Yuri Krasin on 'Preserving peace the chief goal' reveals even more alarming departures from Lenin's understanding, and even from an honest scientific method, in its efforts to prove that imperialism no longer inevitably means war.

Attacking what he calls 'outdated perceptions' of the 'radical left theoreticians talk about the inevitability of a total militarisation of the capitalist economy' as 'fatalistic conservatism', -Krasin claims loftily that their fault is to analyse capitalism 'outside the context of world history'.

He adds: "This context places capitalism not apart from but within the world's human society now in the process of transition to a new type of civilisation. This cannot but influence the mechanisms of capitalist development, altering its laws and limiting the sphere of their manifestation."

Since this 'process of transition' is such a remarkable phenomenon, -or mechanism, which has the power to totally undermine the iron laws of necessary class war on which the entire Marxist-Leninist philosophy of scientific socialism was based, should not Krasin (and his Moscow publishers) give more details of this amazing discovery?

Marx, Engels, and Lenin, after all, provided exhaustive precise definitions of why their concepts of class-owned property and its mode of production led to irreconcilable antagonistic contradictions at a certain stage of the development of the productive forces, and made the revolutionary overthrow of

the old ruling class by a new ruling class an unavoidable necessity, without which history could not possibly advance;

why under capitalism, that revolutionary progress could only be made by the proletariat, -becoming the last new ruling class in history, and bound to abolish all classes for ever once communist society was achieved;

and why the whole nature of the rule of the bourgeois superstructure made it necessary for the working class to be able to advance only via the smashing up of the old capitalist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat;

and why under imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, the physical limitations of the economic system made redivision of the spoils by war between rival imperialist blocks the only possible temporary relief from insoluble capitalist slump, and that the proletariat would have to turn the guns on their own ruling class in order to break from that warmongering.

Suddenly, all of these specific iron-laws of imperialism are toppled at a stroke of Krasin's pen by an undefined 'process of transition'.

Krasin concedes that imperialism's aggressiveness does 'linger on', and is 'still inclined to meddle in the domestic affairs of other countries'. It is unlikely that millions of slaughtered victims in Indo-China, Vietnam, Angola, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, Palestine, Korea, etc, - in some of the most brutal blitzkriegs in history - would agree that imperialism was merely 'inclined' to kill them. It is a scandal that Moscow postures (as talking on all their behalf) without them loudly disagreeing.

Krasin also concedes that imperialism's class hatred towards the 'world revolutionary process' brings about 'a wish' to transfer 'ideological' conflict to 'inter-state relations'. In more than 200 brutal acts of colonial military repression against the national-liberation struggle since the end of World War II, - a record rate of blitzkrieging butchery, using more lethal, sinis-

ter, and sadistic methods than ever before, --the millions of massacred and tortured victims in Malaya, Algeria, Greece, Congo, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Kenya, Rhodesia, Cyprus, Aden, Kampuchea, Laos, etc, etc, would be able to describe this non-stop warmongering in more immediate and down-to-earth terms.

"But there are countering factors in the human society, becoming internationalised" Krasin dissembles on, in the vague or generalised flowery language often the hallmark of knowing deception.

At last, the great new material element in history, -able to completely overturn the entire science of Marxism-Leninism, - is about to be revealed.

1. "The working class (its trade unions & political organisations) are ever more active in the struggle for peace".

2. "The potential of mass anti-war movements grows in the capitalist lands themselves" (it is not clear how this differs from item 1).

3. "The non-aligned movement's international prestige increases".

4. "The peacemaking energy of real socialism grows with the acceleration of its socioeconomic development".

But not one jot of this is new to Lenin's theories on the revolutionary overthrow of international warmongering imperialism. Nor is there the slightest practical evidence that any quantitative changes in the influence of these factors (all of which were in any case envisaged by Lenin) have produced any discernible change in the warmongering behaviour of imperialism. On the contrary, -as outlined above, - imperialism's warmongering-fascist degeneracy has become more insistently 'crusading' and brazen, - and potentially more destructively lethal, - than ever before.

Lenin gave the theory of proletarian dictatorship greater development and more prominence than anything else even while fully explaining the possibilities of encouraging the pacifist Western bourgeoisie and the non-aligned movement's development in the future

through the Soviet state's skillful tactic of peaceful coexistence at economic and governmental level between opposing systems.

Lenin did this consciously against the corrupt reformism & class-collaborationist social-pacifism of the Second International and the Kautskyite revisionists, -whose cowardly opportunism would only permanently assist imperialism into ever more bloodthirsty colonial warmongering and butchery, and inter-imperialist blitzkrieg.

Several hundred million slaughtered victims of 'bourgeois democracy' later, Lenin's arguments for the revolutionary overthrow of warmongering imperialism as being the only possible end to mankind's sufferings from capitalist class war, - are more correct and appropriate than ever before.

Krasin's last try at undermining Leninism is to sow the 'new technology' revisionist confusion. This is a truly 'outdated perception' which has tried to scorn as 'old fashioned' the Marxist theory of class struggle (as the essence of modern society and its problems) since Marx's day.

The present-day 'left' swamp in the West (Hobsbawm, Thompson, Marxism Today, etc) never stops harping on the 'technological revolution' which has supposedly caused the industrial working class to virtually 'disappear' as a political factor predominant above all others; has allegedly rendered the Bolshevik Revolution a pointlessly 'invalid' historical precedent; and made the dictatorship of the Proletariat an 'antiquarian laughing stock'.

Krasin tries the 'nuclear-war-threats-have-changed-all-of mankind's-thinking' idealist approach. Suddenly ideas no longer reflect material and economic class forces, as Marxism insists; for Krasin, it is ideas which tell mass class forces what to do.

By 'realising' that world nuclear war "would end all life on earth", "people" throughout the world become increasingly "aware of themselves" -in spite of class distinctions -"as a sin-

gle whole" now they are faced with "impending global problems", declares this 'Dr' of Moscow 'Marxism' in some of the most treacherous idealist-method driven ever penned.

This "unprecedented situation" (you can say that again as far as Leninist materialist grasp of 'being conditions thinking, not vice-versa' is concerned), - induces them (i. e. 'people') "to transcend the conventional logic of political thinking".

This stale old crap, -pure idealist philosophy, - has been turned over a million times by counter-revolutionary complacency and opportunism (in the workers movement since Marxism began) to try to obliterate dialectical materialism as the only science of social development.

Revisionist reformism always degenerates back eventually to the most naive anti-Marxist idiocy that ideas in men's heads change reality rather than that reality (revolutionary class-war reality) will eventually change the ideas in men's heads (and even faster if a conscious revolutionary party explains these decisive material developments.)

All of the cunning arguments of Bernstein, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Martov, Trotsky, etc, to revise Marxism-Leninism always degenerated eventually to the most crass substitution of ideas as primary ('pure democracy', 'caste mentality', 'legal Marxism', 'permanent revolution', 'trade union neutrality', 'defence of the fatherland', etc) instead of accepting the necessity of class being as primary.

Krasin is not even original with his 'nuclear technology' driven about the idea of mass destruction being an 'unprecedented' cause for totally abandoning the hard-won science of materialism (revolutionary Leninism) in order to peddle the illusion that the 'threat to civilisation' will halt imperialist warmongering and the arms race, - with mere ideas and persuasion halting the historically class-conditioned material base of capitalist plunder and domination, --or with "the common interest in survival in-

fluencing the political calculations of ideologists and statesmen" in Krasin's outrageous revisionist blather.

In a textbook example of idealist philosophical methods, Krasin concludes: "This element of social consciousness, - global in nature and size, - is becoming an effective factor of broad international solidarity among the various sociopolitical forces," - (even if "the minds of hundreds of millions may differ on other questions").

This is a deliberate deadly attack on Leninism by an opportunist parasite on the workers movement and the world socialist revolution. Down with Moscow's treacherous and ludicrous revisionism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

4. Only Leninist revolutionary theory can inspire USSR, -not Gorbachev's exhortations (Bulletin 331, 26/2/86)

Gorbachev is conducting perfectly correct and stable exhortations to the Soviet socialist state in urging the party & working class to overcome as many difficulties as quickly as possible and to raise the standards of political and social life in the USSR.

The Soviets were constantly urged on to greater efforts against backwardness, bureaucracy, corruption, and backsliding by Lenin himself (see collected works vols 26 to 33).

It is the inevitable way for all human struggle to collectively encourage each other to do better. There is no 'crisis' of difficulties facing the Soviet economy and social life, -just the correctly expressed endless need to strive harder, aim higher, and do better. Nor are there any 'revolutionary' implications in what the Gorbachev leadership might achieve in the new example it is hoping to set and in the fresh propaganda exhortations delivered. The same steady improvement that has generally gone on for the last 68 years is more than enough to continue the worldwide triumph of socialism.

Only in returning to a real grasp of Leninist revolutionary theory could the Moscow leadership make a real breakthrough, -

but the chances of this happening are very remote.

A Leninist understanding of the international balance of class forces and the triumphant march of revolutionary socialist struggle (as opposed to the 'peaceful road' revisionist nonsense spouted by Moscow and its disgraceful reformist stooges and 'allies' in the Western CPs) would provide the Soviet masses with real philosophical inspiration, -the only kind available to modern scientific man.

Even that would not end alcoholism, cynicism, and other bureaucratic backwardness overnight. But it would be the best possible basis for (and the only one) for rekindling more of the burning thirst for knowledge, development, and revolutionary international struggle which has made the best Bolshevik traditions the summit of human achievement, -in all fields.

A return to Leninist revolutionary understanding would also give a massive boost to the already heroic struggles worldwide of the national liberation movements and socialist revolts, - such as in the Philippines, Timor, Sudan, Somalia, Thailand, Burma, Iran, Palestine, Egypt, Namibia, South Africa, Chad, Sahara, El Salvador, Ireland, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Haiti, etc, -and everywhere else that Western imperialism is being laid siege to by the masses.

Such a worldwide boost in revolutionary struggle would in turn deal an enormous new blow to US imperialism and its NATO warmongering racket, -undermining still further the West's degenerate anti-communist crusade, encouraging a still-wider spread of socialist revolt, -and thus making even more secure the already existing socialist camp, speeding up their already triumphant progress.

The more imperialist warmongering is defeated, -the firmer are the demands by bourgeois pacifism for an end to the West's anti-communist crusade. The illusion of 'permanent detente' which Moscow revisionism idly dreams of has in reality only become a real-life reduction in imperialist aggressiveness in

those periods immediately following serious defeats for Washington's military interventionism, --e.g. in the aftermath of America's traumatic mauling in Vietnam.

If Leninist revolutionary understanding and determination, -well-backed by Moscow, -had been reflected, continued, and even dramatically expanded in the worldwide revolutionary socialist movement following the colossal triumphs of the communists in Indo-China, Cuba, Angola, etc, -(while agreeing to accommodate Washington's bruised need for a little 'detente' soft soap for a while,)- it could only have kept the American bourgeoisie on the defensive for even longer, -and therefore put off the resurgence of Reaganism.

And exactly the same point is made by the contrary phenomenon of Reaganite-Rambo warmongering fever rising to boiling point because their Nazi blitzkrieg of socialist Grenada went virtually unopposed by the Moscow-led socialist camp, -to their eternal shame for doing nothing to denounce the renegade Bishop who invited Reagan in during his 7-day one-man revolt against the New Jewel Movement socialist leadership, -and doing nothing to aid the legitimate Grenadan revolutionary socialist regime, -crushed like a bug by the US colonisers.

The heroic Nicaraguan socialist revolutionary struggle has been placed in enormously greater danger by the encouragement given to Reagan's warmongering fanaticism by socialist camp inaction over the US blitzkrieg on Grenada.

The equally heroic El Salvador revolutionary struggle has already suffered colossal new repression as a result of blatant US imperialist aggressiveness which grew directly out of its 'triumph' on Grenada.

The Afghanistan revolution, -and the Ethiopians, Mozambiquans, Angolans, and Namibians, -have likewise suffered intensified imperialist subversion and interference as a result of the boost given to the demented Rambo wing of US imperialism by Moscow's mistaken conciliatory line

over the Grenada blitzkrieg.

More and better shoes will be good news from Moscow. Lenin would have approved. But more and better Lenin would be heaven.

5. Chernobyl an even bigger political disaster than nuclear (Bulletin 342, 14/5/86)

The propaganda disaster for the socialist camp over Chernobyl leads back directly to Moscow's longstanding revisionist weaknesses.

All that was needed to have totally disarmed the shit-stirring fake Western hysteria and to have put the whole CPSU on guard against a chain-reaction of political mistakes, omissions and cover-ups, -was to have found just one Soviet leader, local or national, with enough sense of awareness, confidence, and responsibility to make immediately the simple announcement: "There is a possibility of serious dangers from a possibly serious accident at Chernobyl".

That not one soul could be found with enough guts and humanity to make that announcement from among the vast chains of political and scientific personnel involved in knowledge of the event is an indictment not of socialism, or the Revolution, or the Soviet people, but of the timid philistinism of the leadership's retreat from Leninism.

Elements of philosophical idealism have tended to cloud judgments at the top of the USSR since Lenin's death.

One notable form these have taken is in persistent defeatist fears of continuing with the class war (the internationally dominating feature of the 20th century) to the finish, -ending with the final complete triumph of the world socialist revolution.

In order to retreat from the 'painful' contradiction of holding fast both to the imperative tactical need, (elaborated by Lenin, for the feeble young Soviet Union to try dividing the imperialist forces ranged against it (by peaceful-coexistence trade diplomacy to encourage pacifist sections of the international bourgeoisie) to hold back the anti-communist war drive

for as long as possible) and simultaneously to the imperative strategic need (to give Leninist leadership for completing the world socialist revolution as the only ultimate solution to imperialist warmongering) --- Moscow dreamed up the illusion that imperialism could be 'peacefully' disarmed.

This fundamental retreat from the ruthless dictates of Lenin's scientific grasp of how to fight the international class --- war to a successful finish while continuing the successful peaceful-coexistence diplomacy tactic in interstate relations for as long as possible and as long as necessary, --has inevitably meant a retreat to some extent from scientific honesty in all matters.

Once Lenin's science has been deliberately clouded to accommodate the philistine illusions of a timid leadership in one such important basic matter, there can be no guarantee thereafter of when it will not be found convenient to 'manage' the truth in further pursuit of those illusions.

This points to one of the real (and unnecessary) difficulties in defending the workers states from warmongering imperialism's anti-communist propaganda. Their statements about international and internal events are truthful and a correct analysis 99% of the time. But the propper unconditional defence of the workers states' positions (by revolutionary movements in constant conflict with their own bourgeois states' propaganda war) has always got to be needlessly tentative because of this permanent possibility that revisionist illusion has at any time again crept into the Moscow line.

Unconditional defence of the USSR from the West's hysterical anti-communist conclusions & outright lies over Chernobyl was especially difficult because of the tragic consequences of the Soviet leadership's cowardice.

Worse still was that on top of the crucial initial failure to alert all Soviet people and the international community to the potential radiation dangers, this

propaganda paralysis was persisted in for more than a week afterwards in one form or another, and astonishingly is still being continued with Arbatov's ludicrous, disgusting rationalisation this week that 'if the Soviet authorities had warned the local population any earlier than it did about the accident, it would have provoked a panic which could have claimed more victims than the accident itself.

Apart from being a disgraceful slander of the Soviet people, who always conduct themselves in the most mature, revolutionary, and disciplined manner far too worthy on occasions of their own party leaders' self-serving cowardice, this Arbatov 'logic' would make a pile of manure feel ashamed.

It requires no anti-Sovietism, no anti-communism, and no scientific knowledge to realise that the Chernobyl accident could have turned into an explosive catastrophe at any moment.

It is colossal philistinism and stupidity, criminally so, - to try pretending in retrospect that the miserable failure of any 'authority' to do just the minimum that even insect-level sense of responsibility would have required (even dung beetles give warnings to each other of impending danger) was somehow a 'smart' move. What nauseating humbug.

Far from that initial political bureaucratic chaos being a smart thing, it could easily turn out to be one of the CIA international propaganda machine's top anti-communist smears of all time.

An unfortunate feature of many aspects of the Chernobyl confusion was that for once, rarely, the anti-communist Western hysteria could accurately jeer at the 'bureaucracy' as such, -i.e. the necessary firm proletarian dictatorship leadership of the Soviet workers state (which allegedly has been totally incompetent for its entire 68-year 'parasitic' existence but which in fact has led the way to the most historic development in all human history, -the building of socialism.)

The party leadership's revisionist weaknesses are not a rule most grossly revealed in matters of state administr-

ation, which generally speaking in the Soviet Union is relatively brilliantly handled compared to the West, -including in matters of science, defence, and public safety.

Equally, the aim of serving the true interests of ordinary people shines through the whole purpose of Soviet history with its miraculous transformation of the most backward, famine-ridden, disease-ridden illiterate country in all Europe into the world's best-educated, most-cultured, and best-planned and most widely and securely-developed scientific and industrial power, -the saviour of mankind from fascist-imperialist warmongering degeneracy, a staunch friend of national-liberation and anti-imperialist struggles, and the firm block to any renewed imperialist-colonialist hegemony.

But at Chernobyl, it was the revisionist flaw in this self-same powerful workers state machinery which, -expressed in reputation-saving 'truth management', -nearly brought disaster to millions of its own citizens, and to more in the socialist camp and abroad, -thereby giving the international bourgeoisie another prize opportunity to exclaim its hatred of proletarian dictatorship.

The revisionist illusion of seeking a 'quieter life' with imperialism by suppressing Lenin's emphasis on world socialist revolution as the only possible solution, ultimately, to imperialist warmongering, -is further propped up by the reformist perspective the Soviet leadership substitutes for Lenin's line, -namely that just by the USSR proving (!) the 'all-round superiority of socialism' will imperialism just fade away, or 'democratically' (!) give up the ghost, --leading to Moscow always being pathetically frantic to 'impress' the Western bourgeoisie. Having to admit embarrassing nuclear accidents does not fit into this opportunist idealist strategy. Hence the hopeless paralysed ostrich-like initial attempt to pretend that

the disaster had not happened.

But far from this manipulation of the truth, this defeatist retreat from the full vigour of Lenin's world revolutionary line, -leading to a quieter more secure life for the Soviet leadership, ---the opposite is the case, both in the short and the long term.

By giving the CIA's Western propaganda machine a stick with which to beat the USSR, these revisionist truth-managers only add to the relentless hatred that will endlessly come their way anyhow from the international bourgeois-imperialist circles.

And by feeding imperialism's warmongering hysteria in this way, Moscow only guarantees that it will reap the worst possible fascist aggression eventually, -not everlasting peaceful coexistence. (See ILWP Books vol 4).

This same wishful-thinking revisionist illusion (that international class war, fought out to the finish, can be avoided) is unmistakable in another self-inflicted blow currently being brewed up in the West to hit the Soviet Union between the eyes with, -the Shcharansky phenomenon.

The anti-communist race-hatred being whipped up by this Zionist imperialist fanatic on his American tour (an ecstatic crowd of 1/3rd of a million was reported in New York) is a godsend to the interventionist warmongering Rambo hysteria which leading US military-industrial finance circles are trying to impose on Washington policy.

Out of their muddled revisionist distortion of Lenin's interstate peaceful coexistence diplomatic tactic, Moscow somehow persuaded itself that releasing this most bitter counter-revolutionary enemy of world socialism into the hands of fascist-imperialist reaction would get the CIA anti-Soviet propaganda offensive off their backs, aid 'detente', and generally earn them brownie points with the Western bourgeoisie.

In reality, all it could have possibly done, -and all it will do, --is make the international

class war, which will inevitably have to be fought to a bitter finish at some stage soon if imperialist warmongering is really to be overthrown, — that much more difficult, brutal, and prolonged, --as the ILWP pointed out at the time, and beforehand.

Such self-inflicted wounds invite obvious historical comparison with earlier Soviet own-goals, real or merely alleged, such as the break with China in the ludicrous revisionist illusion that Mao's far more Leninist understanding of the international class struggle was 'dangerously adventurist' and that patronisingly trying to undermine Mao's international position would 'help the development of the socialist community'; such as the too-great trust placed in the USSR's clever non-aggression treaty with Germany (which foiled the Munich imperialist conspiracy to concentrate the whole fascist-warmongering aggression against the Soviet Union)—apparently condemning the Red Army to being 'caught out' by the 'surprise' German blitzkrieg when it finally came Russia's way; and such as the proletarian defeat in the Spanish civil war when too much reliance was placed on the dubious appeal of the bourgeois Republic as opposed to that of all-out communist revolution for rallying the masses against fascism.

The history of Soviet revisionist hesitancy (to have confidence in Lenin's international revolutionary perspective as the only final solution to imperialist war-warmongering)—which led to endless manipulation of the historical facts and thence to other outrageous arbitrary opportunist acts to cover things up,—has so far only been owned up to by subsequent Moscow leaderships as the question-begging 'cult of the individual' (which merely continues the same self-serving truth-management by describing one mere symptom as the disease itself.)

Such propaganda blows to the international Leninist movement as the Chernobyl political chaos must be used for further deepening a scientific understanding of Soviet revisionism in order the better to be able

to offer unconditional defence of the workers states in reply to the West's endless anti-communist hypocrisy and warmongering treachery.

Only Leninism is a correct guide to action in the epoch of the revolutionary overthrow of imperialist warmongering. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

6. Soviet war on apartheid is needed, not disaster cover-ups (Bulletin 343, 21/5/86)

Botha's fascist aggression against frontline states indicates the impossibility of leaving unresolved the question of 'peaceful reform' or revolutionary war to settle the international class struggle.

The growing Rambo-nazification of all imperialist behaviour (Grenada invasion, Lebanon occupation and slaughter, Anglo-US Libyan raids, French blitz on Greenpeace, Botha's holocaust, etc) will shatter Moscow's illusion that peaceful coexistence (correct diplomatic tactics as far as they go) can provide a permanent solution to the crisis of capitalism.

Only revolutionary war can end imperialist degeneracy, — as the heroic communists of Vietnam had to demonstrate notwithstanding two 'peace' agreements forced on imperialism earlier;—as the heroic struggle in southern Africa is now having to show in contrast to the 'non-violent' illusions which tied their hands behind their backs up to 1960;—as the Chilean people bitterly learned in the wake of their Allende 'peaceful road' catastrophic illusions;—as all the other great revolutions have proved before (China, Korea, Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, etc);—and as the Soviets themselves were forced to demonstrate, —at huge suffering, —to overthrow imperialist warmongering in World War I, and to repeat the operation — and halt capitalism's anti-communist crusade — in WWII.

The world revolutionary movement will dangerously delay and damage its development all the time that wishful thinking prolongs the postponement of hard decisions.

Moscow's revisionist illusions

are at the heart of the problem. The pathetic Chernobyl cover-up and propaganda fiasco re-emphasised revisionism's endless liability to become confused at critical moments. The fascist blitzkrieg on the frontline states (as the Libyan raids, Grenada invasion, CIA-Contra onslaught on Nicaragua, etc, earlier) has underlined how politically serious such paralysed confusion can be for the development of the world revolutionary movement.

Even recently confirmed anti-communists might shortly be, or are already, asking: 'Why don't the Russians do something'. A neat, quick, and satisfactory answer such as: 'Soviet troops are on their way' is not necessarily the essential reply, ideal as it would be. Sufficient answer for quelling renewed anti-Soviet prejudices, splits—confusion, and Trot-anarchist illusions could be the analysed reality of ultimately decisive Soviet determination when pushed by counter-revolution (e.g. in smashing Nazi German imperialism, in defeating the CIA's Afghan contras, in resisting the Vatican/CIA putsches in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, etc); of generous aid to the international liberation struggle (from Vietnam & Cuba to the ANC); plus dangerous but criticisable illusions in the 'peaceful road' possibilities of 'peacefully disarming imperialism'.

The really damaging way to try to deal with Soviet weaknesses (in the light of anti-communist prejudice among Western workers) is by ignoring them or sweeping them under the carpet.

This only feeds anti-Soviet confusion, and totally destroys any possibility of building a truly Leninist movement to carry forward the world revolution against the remainder of capitalism.

Every Trot and Euro confusion-monger in the West was temporarily strengthened by Soviet political paralysis over handling the Chernobyl accident. Any mumbling defensiveness on the problem by the Leninist movement in the West would have only made matters ten times worse.

In South Africa at this moment, the Trot and nationalist

anti-ANC splitters will cement anti-communist prejudice by provocatively asking: 'Why is the Soviet Union doing nothing'?

But the really dangerous large scale anti-Soviet confusion (of the 'neither Washington nor Moscow kind') could be created if the ANC tried justifying the USSR's revisionist hesitancy on some totally bogus 'peaceful coexistence' grounds instead of frankly explaining the 1920s/1930s-based tendency towards defeatist wishful thinking, and truth management by Moscow.

The most short-sighted disaster of all would be to extend the Chernobyl 'it never happened' and 'it was not too serious' nonsense to a barmy one-sided appraisal of imperialist aggression which sees US-NATO-Zionist-Botha Ramboism as merely 'not getting away with much', or 'not getting very far with the counter-revolution'.

While the overall balance of international class forces relentlessly swings towards the world socialist revolution and against imperialism, —surely the most misleading, dishonest, and treacherous slogan of all time is that "40 years of peace have been maintained", —used not surprisingly by the NATO-colonial warmongering nuclear arms-race maniacs to cover up their endless aggression against the anti-imperialist struggle, and their preparations for World War III; but outrageously also used by Moscow revisionist idiocy.

The capitalist-colonialist system has in fact been as responsible for as many deaths in the last 40 years, directly and indirectly, as in the previous 40 years (which included the WWII holocaust), —by imposing endless bloody wars of annihilation as in Algeria, Malaya, Korea, Vietnam, Timor, Rhodesia, Kenya, Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, etc, and by continuing the poverty-starvation exploitation of Asia, Africa, and Latin America at a time when from China to Cuba, the socialist revolution has shown that planned economic independence can totally conquer basic malnourishment, backwardness, and illiteracy, —given time and freedom from capitalist coun-⁹

ter-revolutionary sabotage and destruction (such as is currently being inflicted by CIA contras, and mercenaries, from Kampuchea to Afghanistan to Mozambique to Nicaragua to Ethiopia, etc.)

And the only reason that the colonialist warmongering death toll has not been even higher is that Leninist communists have defeated imperialism in revolutionary war during the last 40 years, -in dozens of heroic socialist advances from the Far East to Central America, -freeing a further quarter of the world's population from imperialist holocaust, -as Bolshevik revolutionary war showed the way to do before them.

Imperialist counter-revolutionary warmongering will only 'not get very far' where it is going to be thrown back by revolutionary war, or the threat of it.

The worst possible contribution the international Leninist movement could make to this process would be to pretend that it is all plain sailing with Moscow's anti-imperialist response, -or that since it 'always turns out all right in the end' and allegedly 'that nothing can move the Red Army until it is ready', then criticising Moscow is 'purely negative'.

This idealist distortion of materialist determinism completely leaves out the crucial role played by the subjective polemical factor in giving communist leadership. Such an approach would condemn the workers of Chile to die and suffer under Pinochet's CIA-run fascist counter-revolution without even the theoretical possibility of arguing successfully against the CP-backed 'peaceful road' lunacy which led them to slaughter. It would commit the people of Grenada to being bloodily thrust back under the heel of US imperialism's jackboot with never a hope that greater socialist camp sympathy for more open discussion and struggle over the island's socialist perspectives might have prevented Grenada's abandonment by its allies, could have given US imperialism a fearfully bloody nose, and would have guarant-

eed Grenada's early return to the revolutionary socialist path. It would leave the mangled and humiliated victims of Reagan & Thatcher's air-raids on Libya, plus their millions of sympathisers throughout the world, without any real perspective of justly striking back against their imperialist tormentors.

All of which would be purely mechanical defeatist fatalistic nonsense.

Imperialism will certainly eventually be defeated.

And the socialist revolution will certainly eventually triumph worldwide.

But how it gets there is the question that means everything to the generations now living.

Their triumphs, the worthwhileness of their lives, will be every bit as great as that of those who eventually live under communism itself. The full horrors of the counter-revolutionary fascist interludes on the way to world socialism (nazi German imperialism, aided by the other Western men of Munich) were not inevitable. Nor are the dimensions of the subsequent Western imperialist-fascist setbacks such as Vietnam, Korea, Palestine (Zionist-occupied), Chile, Indonesia, Malaya, Chad, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, etc, etc, at all inevitable.

All that is inevitable is imperialism's degenerate vicious determination to impose as much counter-revolutionary misery and warmongering on mankind as it is allowed to get away with before it is finally overthrown. It is up to conscious communist revolutionary struggle to put an end to all capitalist backwardness at the earliest possible opportunity.

Reluctance among unconditional supporters of the Soviet workers state to discuss difficult decisions Moscow could or should take in the face of counter-revolutionary imperialist aggression - springs from a noted human (and revolutionary movement) failing of being unwilling to look honestly at setbacks and to learn from them.

The mistakes, hesitancy, and confusion over Libya, Chernobyl, and Botha's nazi raids are not directly those of the internatio-

nal Leninist movement; but any difficulties Moscow decision-makers are in are always a setback, partly, for the world revolution too.

The tendency is to deny that there has been any setback, -to employ this bravado cover-up to accuse those who do admit a mistake has been made, and wish to learn from it, of 'defeatism' themselves, and of wanting to 'run away from the fight'.

But it is precisely in order to be able to fight the fight better that setbacks in the struggle, -the reasons for them, -and the solutions to them, --have to be frankly examined. (See Last Week's Bulletin).

Since then, Gorbachev's hang-dog TV appearance, and further silly propaganda cover-ups, did nothing to make unconditional defence of the USSR against all Western bourgeois attacks any easier.

To this day ludicrously inadequate and vague information, nearly 4 weeks later, -still is making it unnecessarily difficult to calm people's fears and suspicions about the Soviet state and public safety & nuclear matters.

It is already a matter of general world public interest to know exactly where were located the dozens (final anticipated total) of radiation deaths, and the 100,000 estimated who will need strict cancer checks for the rest of their lives. The question must also be faced of how many of these might have been spared the risk of illness but for either completely inadequate warning and evacuation procedures, or worse still - but for wretched attempts at a political cover-up of the accident.

Why is it now claimed that the official inquiry commission was in charge within hours of the accident occurring, but earlier hints suggested local bureaucratic stupidity concealed the full truth of the disaster for 48 hours?

Soviet Weekly latest issue says "the commission, made up of top scientists and government officials, was on the spot within a few hours of the explosion". It also blandly reports, without comment, "foreign governments

had been informed of the accident on April 28 (Monday)". Gorbachev's phrase was: "As soon as we received reliable initial information, it was made available to Soviet people, and sent through diplomatic channels to the governments of foreign countries."

But this is all still hopelessly misleading and contradictory, -and is now almost certain to remain so, mummifying this ridiculous posture for some time to come.

It is nearly three whole days from when the accident is being admitted to, -just after midnight on Friday, -to the Monday afternoon when an official announcement was finally begrudgingly made. This was at the least a stupid oversight, and a pointless one, even by the standards and interests of a revolutionary workers state at enmity with the surrounding bourgeois world, let alone for the proclaimed 'everlasting principles' (more than Lenin's mere diplomatic tactics) of peaceful coexistence.

It is also farcically stretching credibility to say that 'foreign governments were informed'. The truth is that a big stink from the bourgeois Swedish government all day Sunday about increased radiation levels alone forced the confused and reluctant Moscow 'announcement' on Monday afternoon, nearly three full and dangerous days after the event.

The astonishing degree of Soviet bureaucratic stupidity and cover-up on the matter almost caught out the ILWP, involving the Leninist movement in Moscow's revisionist feebleness, -causing the Bulletin to assert in its first critical comments after the accident that at least Kiev was safe, and that British & other Western instructions for their students to be brought out was purely fraudulent hysterical shit-stirring. That exposure of anti-communism remains true. But how safe was Kiev? Such is the uneasiness and confusion created by Moscow's propaganda chaos and cover-up that even now, only the most foolhardy would stick their necks out, even among the most determined unconditional supp-

orters of the socialist camp & the world revolution.

This still vague mixture of embarrassed revisionist confusion, pampered incompetence, and bureaucratic philistinism will remain a tragic blemish on the Soviet workers state for as long as the flawed political handling of the Chernobyl accident remains unexposed and unresolved.

Moscow's own guilty awareness of its phony stance shines through its own hamfisted 'defence'.

Arbatov followed up his disgracefully crass insult that it was 'smart' for the Soviet authorities not to overdo the warnings to the local population because they would have done themselves more injuries evacuating the area than the radiation was eventually proved to have caused, --with a 'justification' of Soviet reticence by comparison with US imperialism's attempted cover-up of its Challenger fiasco. Arbatov shoots himself in the foot again just by asking to be judged by the lying Western bourgeoisie's own standards; -but even then it is not, in fact, a favourable comparison. Detailed revelations about the 'O' rings and their notorious profit-and arms-race-induced mismanagement were pouring out in the press within hours of the Challenger disaster. That may be fascist imperialism's 'democratic' weakness, true. But that still only leaves the bumbling philistine Arbatov with even more egg on his face. The Soviet firemen and nuclear workers who sacrificed their lives to prevent a complete calamity at Chernobyl are worth several million conceited fat oafs like Arbatov.

This telltale shamefaced shuffling by Soviet authorities was carried on in Soviet Weekly's attempted 'justification' of the propaganda cover-up's information delays by comparison with the 1979 Three Mile Island accident not formally reported to the US Senate until ten days later. So does this bureaucratic-idealist capitalist-profiteering embarrassment justify the conduct of a workers state supposedly based on a ruthless Leninist scientific outlook on all matters of social, political, and human conduct? What blatantly hypocritical, bumbling stupidity.

Lenin's words that the seriousness of a revolutionary party is best tested by how it responds to mistakes and setbacks may be hackneyed, but they remain a vital understanding for the development of the Leninist movement.

Conditions in South Africa may have made spontaneous unconditional support for the Soviet Union already wide enough for the silly Chernobyl hiccup to be glossed over by the SACP without too much difficulty. (Inaction over Botha's blitzkrieg on Moscow's part may prove less digestible in time, --see below).

But any attempt in Britain's complex cynical conditions to get by with mumbled incoherence, or pugnacious indifference, to Moscow's philistine mishandling of the Chernobyl disaster, --would be catastrophic for building a Leninist movement.

After 150 years of organisational sophistication plus reformist and revisionist scepticism & treachery, plus being utterly poisoned with anti-communist prejudice, --the working class in Britain is unlikely to enthusiastically build any positive revolutionary movement unless it doubly and trebly proves its seriousness, honesty, and clear-thinking. Half-hearted mumbled excuses about the Chernobyl fiasco would be about as attractive as an ILWP Aids epidemic.

It was in the light only of the Chernobyl discussion that the issue was recently freshly posed inside the ILWP: 'how will it be possible to avoid taking a firm stand on Moscow revisionism when the political unclarity & hesitancy concerns not the cover-up of a nuclear accident, but the unleashing of nazi-imperialist holocaust on the revolution in southern Africa?'

Within days, Botha's blitzkrieg has made this hypothesis an immediate uncomfortable reality. What would be the correct reply for Moscow to make to widespread demands for Soviet intervention against the imperialist-armed and backed Botha holocaust?

Let the ILWP fight for a clear Leninist response: the anti-

imperialist revolution in southern Africa should be given every possible assistance, -up to and including Soviet military intervention if necessary and if requested.

At Angola's request, Cuban forces are already in mass action resisting Botha's nazi holocaust in that area. Other socialist states have been giving less conspicuous direct help to Zimbabwe and Mozambique. On the other side, imperialism's financial, military, and industrial lifelines to the apartheid regime have always been consciously maintained unbroken.

Western white imperialist domination of black southern Africa is hardly an 'internal' matter to be resolved by 'south Africans themselves' (in the Botha nazi disgusting hypocritical phrase). Pretoria's brutal military domination and 'black homelands' concentration-camp cynicism is the clear

end-product of centuries of European colonisation. As a national-liberation struggle against an entrenched colonial occupying force, the african revolution has every right to demand every assistance from the entire free world (i.e. the anti-imperialist and socialist camp).

It is pointless speculating about 'what will America do?'. Confrontation against nazi-holocaust imperialist aggression is inevitable anyway to some extent, at some stage. All that needs to be noted in southern Africa is that never will the socialist camp be presented with such an unanswerably justified cause for armed intervention against international fascist reaction in order to forestall even worse bloodshed and even more widespread warmongering later.

There can be no doubt as to where capitalist reaction is heading in general as its insoluble economic/political crisis deepens relentlessly, and where imperialist domination is heading in Africa in particular, -- towards ever more violent and widespread warmongering.

Botha's nazi forces have not yet developed a complete taste, ability, and bribed or enforced 'support'(of the Buthelezi/vigilante kind) for all-out fascist

holocaust. But give them much more time and rope and they certainly will become an even more formidable and ruthless reactionary enemy of human progress everywhere, -and not just in southern Africa, -- in exactly the same way that the unchallenged Zionist usurpers of occupied Palestine have become not just the fascist-military scourge of the Arab revolution, but also now prop up, militarily and in secret police training, -nearly half the most reactionary capitalist dictatorships on earth, from Singapore and Taiwan to El Salvador.

The best time to have intervened against the Zionist permanent anti-Arab holocaust would have been 38 years ago, when it took its first puny aggressive steps in occupying parts of Palestine, -pushing Soviet intervention as far as possible up against any US nuclear threat of retaliation.

With that and all subsequent 'best opportunities' all spurned by Moscow's revisionist illusions in the 'peaceful disarmament of imperialism', the next favourite time for intervention against Zionist warmongering will be at the earliest possible opportunity when vicious imperialist nastiness and universal threats coincide with plausible Arab resistance to aggression to create yet another just fight in that region. All further delays in tackling the endlessly growing threat (inevitably so in view of capitalism's insoluble crisis) of Zionist imperialist aggression will only increase their fascist-despair determination and holocaust accomplishments, thus adding to the difficulty of the ultimately unavoidable confrontation (as was exactly the case with imperialist warmongering degeneration of the 1930s insoluble economic crisis when the pace was set by the German fascist bourgeoisie, although in circumstances then when the USSR had far less ability to influence the outcome, initially, on an interstate basis).

The best time to challenge incipient fascist-imperialist warmongering originating out of nazi holocaust in southern Africa is now, as soon as possible, -

to world working class opinion, pushing matters all the way up to the brink of any threatened US nuclear retaliation against Soviet intervention. Hesitancy over 'what Botha nazism really intends to do' will only make the fight unnecessarily harder when confrontation against fascist holocaust is no longer avoidable.

The capitalist system is implacably doomed to all-out warmongering degeneration, mainly of an inter-imperialist character (see previous Bulletin discussions, ILWP Books vol II), but inevitably reconquering or wiping out any anti-imperialist movements or regimes that can be savaged on the way to World War III.

It ideally suits Western imperialist degeneracy to encourage fascist warmongering holocaust to spread throughout the regions around Zionist-occupied Palestine and apartheid-occupied southern Africa. It will be a crass revisionist mistake for the socialist camp to try turning a blind eye any longer. Smash fascism now.

7. Contemptible echo of imperialist persecution of national-liberation 'terror' is an anti-Leninist outrage (Bulletin 360, 17/9/86)

The TASS statement condemning the Arab guerrilla action against the PanAm jet at Karachi airport is a piece of ludicrous class-collaboration with imperialism.

Far from helping to "prevent international terrorism" as claimed, such tail-ending of Western bourgeois opinion & interests (which alone are responsible for the hopeless national oppression driving guerrilla fighters to acts of suicidal terrorism in the first place) will only make matters worse

The encouragement which capitalist colonialism will receive (from hearing Moscow denounce terrorist methods of furthering the national liberation struggle) is guaranteed to bolster even greater intransigence within Zionist-imperialist circles.

exploitation and military domination by 'free' world monopoly capitalism as responsible for creating the despair of the Palestinian nation or the Lebanese, etc., must be seen as aiding that domination just at the moment when it is under pressure.

How can young fighters from Palestine & the Lebanon be declared guilty of "sharply deteriorating the situation and spreading violence" when their tormenting Zionist occupiers (plus occasional US Marine Corps invaders) have been responsible for hundreds of thousands of Palestinian deaths, for example, since the Zionist domination was imposed after World War II, plus no less than the entire 4 million Palestinian nation booted out of their lands and made homeless in permanent refugee camps?

What foul servile logic can join hands with Washington's hypocrisy & humbug over young Arabs sacrificing their lives in a hopeless airport shootout with Western-armed & trained killer Rambo squads; but do nothing when Washington's hired Zionist occupation thugs arbitrarily invade Lebanon, wiping out 100,000 Arab lives?

Whatever differences genuine Leninist revolutionaries may have with the nationalist philosophy of struggle and political perspectives, -making the fight for revolutionary class-historical consciousness paramount over notions of national honour & territorial rights, -it would be alien to everything Marx, Engels, & Lenin stood for not to feel enormous 'understanding' and inspiration at the combative heroism of the guerrilla suicide squads signalling a first essential phase of war-like determination by the national liberation movement to strike back at its imperialist tormentors.

The Zionist occupation of Palestine is one of the most brutal nazi tyrannies in all history, and while soft sentiment can easily be churned up about the unfortunate fate of bystanders caught in the crossfire of war, the failure

so far of resistance to that Zionist tyranny has been a tragedy for the whole of mankind.

The entire pressure of Western bourgeois public opinion at such moments is to create the maximum hatred against the concept itself of "brutal disruption of accepted order".

It is precisely that act of disruptive defiance itself - regardless of exactly what was carried out, how it was achieved, or what confused philosophical ideas may have gone into it, - that Marx,

On May 9, 1916, there appeared in *Berner Tagwacht*, the organ of the Zimmerwald group, including some of the Leftists, an article on the Irish rebellion entitled "Their Song Is Over" and signed with the initials K. R. It described the Irish rebellion as being nothing more nor less than a "putsch", for, as the author argued, "the Irish question was an agrarian one", the peasants had been pacified by reforms, and the nationalist movement remained only a "purely urban, petty-bourgeois movement, which, notwithstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing".

It is not surprising that this monstrously doctrinaire and pedantic assessment coincided with that of a Russian national-liberal Cadet, Mr. A. Kulisher (*Rech* No. 102, April 15, 1916), who also labelled the rebellion "the Dublin putsch".

It is to be hoped that, in accordance with the adage, "it's an ill wind that blows nobody any good", many comrades, who were not aware of the morass they were sinking into by repudiating "self-determination" and by treating the national movements of small nations with disdain, will have their eyes opened by the "accidental" coincidence of opinion held by a Social-Democrat and a representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie!

The term "putsch", in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses. The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself, in particular, in a mass Irish National Congress in America (*Vorwärts*, March 20, 1916) which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls such a rebellion a "putsch" is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon.

To imagine that social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletariat and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc. - to imagine all this is to *repudiate social revolution*. So one army lines up in one place and says, "We are for socialism", and another, somewhere else and says, "We are for imperialism", and that will be a social revolution! Only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic view could vilify the Irish rebellion by calling it a "putsch".

Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will *never* live to see it. Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. It consisted of a series of battles in which *all* the discontented classes, groups and elements of the population participated. Among these there were masses imbued with the crudest prejudices, with the vaguest and most fantastic aims of struggle; there were small groups which accepted Japanese money, there were speculators and adventurers, etc. But *objectively*, the mass movement was breaking the back of tsarism and paving the way for democracy; for this reason the class-conscious workers led it.

seen as the crucial historical interest in this world-shattering phenomenon, -not the sad fate of yet more innocent victims of capitalist disintegration, (which annually wipes out millions of innocent people in one way or another totally unnecessarily - through famines, exploitation, imperial warmongering, etc.)

Moscow should strive to understand the revolutionary political spirit & essence of Lenin's remarks in July 1916 in 'The discussion on self-determination summed up'

The socialist revolution in Europe cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it—without such participation, mass struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible—and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But objectively they will attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately “purge” itself of petty-bourgeois slag.....

The French chauvinist press recently reported the publication in Belgium of the eightieth issue of an illegal journal, *Free Belgium*. Of course, the chauvinist press of France very often lies, but this piece of news seems to be true. Whereas chauvinist and Kautskyite German Social-Democracy has failed to establish a free press for itself during the two years of war, and has meekly borne the yoke of military censorship (only the Left Radical elements, to their credit be it said, have published pamphlets and manifestos, in spite of the censorship)—an oppressed civilised nation has reacted to a military oppression unparalleled in ferocity by establishing an organ of revolutionary protest! The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real anti-imperialist force, the socialist proletariat, to make its appearance on the scene.

The general staffs in the current war are doing their utmost to utilise any national and revolutionary movement in the enemy camp: the Germans utilise the Irish rebellion, the French—the Czech movement, etc. They are acting quite correctly from their own point of view. A serious war would not be treated seriously if advantage were not taken of the enemy's slightest weakness and if every opportunity that presented itself were not seized upon, the more so since it is impossible to know beforehand at what moment, where, and with what force some powder magazine will “explode”. We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilise every popular movement against every single disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis. If we were, on the one hand, to repeat in a thousand keys the declaration that we are “opposed” to all national oppression and, on the other, to describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and enlightened section of certain classes in an oppressed nation against its oppressors as a “putsch”, we should be sinking to the same level of stupidity as the Kautskyites.

It is the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had had time to mature. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught, just as certain strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc., prepared the way for the general onslaught in 1905.

The one crucial need for to condemn terrorism “in principle” but merely to prefer superior proletarian international revolutionary philosophy) as Moscow treacherously pontificates, but just the opposite - any weak & panicky confusion by workers falling for establishment bourgeois propaganda against terror disruption.

imperialism to nip national liberation revolt in the bud in the Middle East is to bamboozle public opinion into shallow moralisation condemning 'terrorist' violence. The one real 'crime' in this whole issue is not terrorism itself (see ILWP Books vol 6 for Lenin's energetic, repeated, and crystal-clear refusal

It is vital for revolutionaries to deliberately and consciously reject all attempts to stampede public opinion into the pointless diversion of “denouncing” terrorism.

Leninism not only refuses to confuse the symptoms of capitalist disintegration & violence with its causes in imperialist exploitation and decay, but specifically denounces Western colonialisms humiliation and military domination (of e.g. Arab national liberation aspirations) rather than the terrorist despair among Palestinians, say, that such domineering inevitably breeds. Leninism agrees with Lenin's above quotes, accepting petty-bourgeois revolutionary outbursts of nationalism “with all their prejudices” as an essential part of initial movement against national oppression.

It is Gorbachev & Co who deserve condemnation, -not the heroic young guerrillas who give their lives in the fight for Palestine's liberation from imperialist military dictatorship, and constant genocidal terror.

Something should be “done without delay” Moscow now screams in chorus with the depraved fascist regime in the White House. “Such criminal terrorist actions must not be allowed to carry a toll of human lives, and jeopardise the normal functioning of international and interstate ties”.

But what has Moscow done in the wake of the 1983 Sabra & Shatila massacres to ensure that the 'free' world's Zionist colonial agents and their pro-Western Maronite Christian stooges are brought to justice for the bestial nazi slaughter of nearly 1,000 Arab women & children defenceless in their refugee camps?

On the very day that Moscow was originating front page statements inviting “all states” to “effective co-operation” in order to “fully eradicate this dangerous phenomenon” of the “tragic events in Karachi”, - the Zionist airforce, financed by the closest possible cooperation with US imperialism and its world plunder,

was again brutally blitzing Palestinian refugee camps near Sidon, -obliterating & maiming scores more innocent women & childrens lives and helping bomb the Lebanon further back to the Stone Age.

Western capitalist intelligence and arms-race know-how was “effectively cooperating” all right, - just as it did in attempts to bomb the Indo-Chinese national liberation struggle back into the Stone Age from 1945 to 1973.

But there were no front-page Moscow statements that day about those Sidon Zionist atrocities, nor least of all any calls to “all states for effective cooperation in order to fully eradicate this dangerous phenomenon”.

Such shameful class-collaborating revisionist cowardice from Moscow should be condemned by responsible revolutionaries everywhere.

Far from it being possible to “start practically elaborating effective actions to prevent international terrorism” in a world of deepening inter-imperialist slump-conflict and warmongering arms-race rivalry, race-hatred and trade war, -incidents of nationalist despair and terrorist frustration can only increase.

And exactly the opposite to Moscov's moralising diversion that “there is no justification for such a crime” as the Karachi hi-jack, national liberation struggles will inevitably see their only chance of striking back against Western imperialist domination as increasingly lying in such acts of terrorist guerrilla warfare.

Moscow's wheedling class-collaborating echo of Western humbug over violence is pious cant, and nothing to do with Leninist analysis of realistic material perspectives in the escalating international class war.

The obvious Marxist starting point for overcoming the bloody warmongering mess imposed on the Middle East (and elsewhere) by insoluble capitalist economic & political crisis, is the defeat of imperialism and the overthrow of its colonial stooge

regimes.

It is inescapable and inevitable that first & foremost this means the elimination of the infamous Zionist colonisation (of Palestine, and eviction of its 4 million people, imposed on the Arab national liberation struggle by Western colonial interests after WWII), — ludicrously accepted by Moscow in its revisionist illusion that imperialism had "changed its character" and would "henceforth abide by democratic world opinion".

But as any fool knows, and should have known from only kindergarten level Leninism, this "henceforth" postwar period has seen the most monstrously sustained flood of Western imperial barbarism in all history, with over 200 separate conflicts being imposed by the West on the national-liberation struggle and world socialist revolution, with the maximum slaughter, torture, and fiendish technological viciousness that modern science has been able to devise, climaxed by such by-words of 'free' world degeneracy as Algeria, Korea, Aden, Cyprus, Suez, Grenada, Bay of Pigs, Dominican Republic, Congo-Katanga, Malaya, the Portuguese colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, etc fascist Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa itself, etc, etc, etc, etc, but with Vietnam and Zionist-occupied Palestine as the absolute summits of Western depravity.

But to cover its own shameful stupidity in these matters, Moscow still stubbornly refuses to acknowledge that its acceptance of the 'legitimacy' of so-called "Israel" is a hopeless farcical obstacle to any possibility of advance out of the endless cycle of arms-race warmongering colonial butchery imposed by Western capitalist crisis on the Near East by the 'free' world's Zionist stooges.

This modern "Israel" is a ridiculously artificial "nation" cobbled together out of pro-fascist Soviet emigres, nazi-minded American individualists mostly from the slick sick degeneracy of New York, plus other assorted

minorities that the West wished to use or to whom it owed a favour, — all with absolutely nothing in common nationally, racially, or culturally and "united" only by their membership of one of the most reactionary religious freemasonries ever spawned by class society's weird system of self-protection 'clubs', 'faiths', & the like. Zionism in practice, on the ground in occupied Palestine and against neighbouring Arab lands, — has exhibited more single-minded fanaticism, corruption, ruthless exploitation, and protection-racket brutality than the Moonies, the Mafia, the British old school tie, the Catholic Church, Orange presbyterianism, Dutch Reformed master-racism, etc, all rolled into one.

Scandalous complacency in Moscow may sit waiting for imperialism's impossible "change of nature", kidding itself that the world has enjoyed "40 years of peace" (which must be one of the sickest jokes in all history); — but the tormented millions in the Middle East & elsewhere will not wait lamely for colonial brutality to end its exploitation of the planet, nor should they.

The indochinese masses, led by the heroic Vietnamese Communist party, gave the lie to this nonsense about "40 years of peace" by fighting virtually throughout the whole of that period, first against all-conquering Japanese imperialism, then against combined Allied imperialism led by the treacherous British in 1945, then against the might of French imperialism, and finally against the greatest imperial power in all history, — the USA, — inflicting on the Americans their first ever defeat in war despite them massing the largest-ever, costliest-ever, and most vicious-ever war machinery, inflicting on Indo-China no less than double the total amount of explosive firepower dished out by the USA during the whole of WWII (both theatres), — including widespread use of napalm, cluster bombing, saturation high-explosive bombing,

unprecedented prisoner-torture and mass hostage-killing in the towns & villages like Mi Lai, not to mention the most vile barbarism in history of the chemical & biological warfare defoliation and depopulation of the Vietnamese countryside, butchering and maiming millions with deadly dioxin poison, including hundreds of thousands genetically damaged on their own American side, on top of creating the drug-crazed Rambo nazi monsters by mental dehumanisation, now haunting the USA.

So much for imperialisms "changed attitudes" and the non-existent "40 years peace".

The Vietnamese communist leadership gave the only possible answer to the continued fascist domination of the planet by Western colonialism by inflicting on imperialism its greatest-ever military defeat, — on a par with the historical watershed-routing of German imperialism by the Soviet workers state in 1941-1945.

Eventually, the Arab masses must and will do no less. Imperialist military domination of their region must be overthrown.

Moscow's head-in-the-sand complacency can only, in fact, prolong the tortuous imperialist domination for much longer than need be, thus ensuring much more continued Zionist-colonialist slaughter than need be, plus much more frustrated despairing terrorist gestures than might have been (while the Arab national liberation struggle remains confused about how exactly to begin making real military-political progress against its imperialist tormentors.)

Paradoxically, the greatest possible contribution that could be made towards clarifying the Leninist material perspectives to produce a successful resolution of dying capitalist slump-repression would be by Moscow renouncing its own revisionist idiocies about the peaceful road to socialism, — and its distortion of Lenin's peaceful coexistence tactics into the nonsense that they, provided an 'alternative way

of ending imperialist warmongering, — farcical notions to ascribe to Leninist revolutionary theory.

Thereby the scientific political clarity about the international balance of class forces, and the triumph of the world socialist revolution through armed overthrow of imperialism, could transform the Arab national-liberation struggle almost overnight.

Nor would that necessarily entail a bloody conflict to the last Zionist on Palestinian soil. The moment the CIA reports, in hysterics, that the Arab mass movement is heading towards Leninism at a rapid rate, Washington will impose a version of the Anglo-Irish treaty to try to head off the development of communist guerrilla revolution, just as the British imperialists have been forced to do by the IRA/Sinn Fein advance towards communism.

And just as with the previously seemingly 'unbeatable' Orange colonial fascists who were always said to be ready, willing, and able to inflict a bloodbath holocaust on all & sundry if they were pushed too far, — but who are now seen to be hopelessly divided and leaderless and so little a match for anyone that the Treaty could quickly be escalated towards full-scale Ireland reunification, — supposedly 'unthinkable' ten years ago, — so would the Zionist fascists split into divided paralysis if pushed by Washington to move off their almighty perch to make room for the Palestinians and to abandon their dominating torture of them.

But such a favourable outcome will only be possible given the utmost communist determination by new mass Arab organisations. The greater the Leninist clarity, — such as shown by the Vietnamese communists, — about the need to overthrow imperialism, and the brilliant possibilities of doing this given the favourable international balance of class forces, — the greater the possibility that the Zionists will

be seen off with scarcely a whimper. Already the 'chicken run' of Zionist opportunists who no longer fancy a permanent lifetime of endless guerrilla warfare and are getting back to New York, etc., outstrips the numbers newly arriving to join in the great land-grab adventure of smashing the Arabs.

But whenever the revisionist illusions once again begin to predominate, fooling the Arab national liberation struggle (under Moscow's misleadership) back towards 'peaceful compromise' with dying Western colonialism, then the chances of easily ejecting the Zionist occupiers reduce rapidly to zero, and in fact only invite renewed treachery and vicious subversion by the Mossad & CIA secret service death squads, plus more open Nazi blitzkriegs by the Zionist military, backed & financed by the West with occasional extra help from the US Marine Corps and the USS Forrestal.

But no such Leninist encouragement can be expected from Moscow. Its feeble stan-

Lenin opposed to Moscow's opportunist smug stereotyped moral condemnation of terrorism and rejected traditional Russian revolutionary terrorist tactics on grounds of expediency

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? (April 1902)

Svoboda advocates terror as a means of "exciting" the working-class movement and of giving it a "strong impetus". It is difficult to imagine an argument that more thoroughly disproves itself. Are there not enough outrages committed in Russian life without special "excitants" having to be invented? On the other hand, is it not obvious that those who are not, and cannot be, roused to excitement even by Russian tyranny will stand by "twiddling their thumbs" and watch a handful of terrorists engaged in single combat with the government? The fact is that the working masses are roused to a high pitch of excitement by the social evils in Russian life, but we are unable to gather, if one may so put it, and concentrate all these drops and streamlets of popular resentment that are brought forth to a far larger extent than we imagine by the conditions of Russian life, and that must be combined into a single gigantic torrent. That this can be accomplished is irrefutably proved by the enormous growth of the working-class movement and the eagerness, noted above, with which the workers clamour for political literature. On the other hand, calls for terror and calls to lend the economic struggle itself a political character are merely two different forms of *evading* the most pressing duty now resting upon Russian revolutionaries, namely, the organisation of comprehensive political agitation. *Svoboda* desires to substitute terror for agitation, openly admitting that "as soon as intensified and strenuous agitation is begun among the masses the excitative function of terror will be ended" (*The Regeneration of Revolutionism*, p. 68). This proves precisely that both the terrorists and the Economists underestimate the revolutionary activity of the masses, despite the striking evidence of the events that took place in the spring,* and whereas the one group goes out in

ce resisting bourgeois propaganda on this matter contrasts strongly with correct Soviet firmness on the Daniloff affair which has delivered a humiliating defeat to Reagan's Rambo circles, forcing the White House to back down from the intended frame-up of Soviet UN scientist Zakharov in return for the release of one of America's more notorious 'journalist' spy-agents in Moscow. When pushed by Western reaction, the Soviets usually take firm enough action in the end to defend their own immediate interests and the Soviet workers state.

But for revolutionary international perspectives, the world socialist revolutionary forces will have to see to their Leninist education by themselves, -against stiff revisionist stupidity from Moscow. (See ILWP Books vols 3 to 7). Mao, Ho, Castro, the Sandinistas, Mugabe, Neto, etc, have shown the way. The rest of humanity can easily follow. Build Leninism even more firmly and profoundly than hitherto.

search of artificial "excitants", the other talks about "concrete demands". But both fail to devote sufficient attention to the development of *their own activity* in political agitation and in the organisation of political exposures. And no other work can serve as a *substitute* for this task either at the present time or at any other. (April 1902)

LECTURE ON THE 1905 REVOLUTION (Jan 1917)

up to 1881, when Alexander II was assassinated by the terrorists, the movement was led by middle-class intellectuals. They displayed supreme self-sacrifice and astonished the whole world by the heroism of their terrorist methods of struggle. Their sacrifices were certainly not in vain. They doubtlessly contributed—directly or indirectly—to the subsequent revolutionary education of the Russian people. But they did not, and could not, achieve their immediate aim of generating a people's revolution.

That was achieved only by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PHRASE (Feb 1918)

Anyone who cares to think a little, or even to recall the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia, will quite easily realise that resistance to reaction helps the revolution only when it is *expedient*. During a half century of the revolutionary movement in Russia we have experienced many cases of resistance to reaction that were not expedient. We Marxists have always been proud that we determined the expediency of any form of struggle by a precise calculation of the mass forces and class relationships. We have said that an insurrection is not always expedient; unless the prerequisites exist among the masses it is a gamble; we have often condemned the most heroic forms of resistance by individuals as *inexpedient*

NEW EVENTS AND OLD QUESTIONS (Dec 1902)

We believe that even a hundred regicides can never produce so stimulating and educational an effect as this participation of tens of thousands of working people in meetings where their vital interests and the links between politics and these interests are discussed, and as this participation in a struggle, which really *rouses* ever new and "untapped" sections of the proletariat to greater political consciousness, to a broader revolutionary struggle. We are told of the disorganisation of the government (which has been obliged to replace Messrs. the Sipyagins by Messrs. the Plehves and to "select" the vilest scoundrels to serve it), but we are convinced that to *sacrifice* one revolutionary, even in exchange for ten scoundrels, means only disorganising our own ranks, which are thin as it is, so thin that they cannot keep up with all that is "demanded" of them.

If only we do not permit ourselves to depart by a single step from the impending and pressing task of assisting these masses, who have already begun to rise, to act more boldly and concertedly; of giving them not a couple but dozens of open-air speakers and leaders; of creating a real, militant organisation capable of guiding the masses, and not a so-called "combat organisation" that guides elusive individuals (if it does guide them at all). That this is a difficult task goes without saying, but we can quite justifiably adapt Marx's words which have so frequently and so ineptly been quoted of late, and say: "Every step of *real* movement is more important than a dozen" individual attempts and cases of resistance.

LETTER TO A COMRADE ON OUR ORGANISATIONAL TASKS

* We must get the workers to understand that while the killing of spies, *agents provocateurs*, and traitors may sometimes, of course, be absolutely unavoidable, it is highly undesirable and mistaken to make a system of it, and that we must strive to create an organisation which will be able to render spies *innocuous* by exposing them and tracking them down. It is impossible to do away with all spies, but to create an organisation which will ferret them out and educate the working-class masses is both possible and necessary. (Oct 1904).

FROM THE DEFENSIVE TO THE OFFENSIVE (Sep 1905)

The special correspondent of *Le Temps*, a highly reputable conservative paper, wired the following to that paper from St. Petersburg on September 21 (8):

"The night before last a group of 70 persons attacked the Riga

(* The big street demonstrations which began in the spring of 1901. (Author's note to the 1907 edition.—Ed.)

Central Prison, cut the telephone wires and, using rope ladders, made their way into the prison yard, where after a stiff engagement two prison warders were killed and three seriously wounded. The demonstrators then freed two political prisoners who were to be court-martialled and expected to be sentenced to death. During the pursuit of the demonstrators, who managed to escape, except for two who were arrested, one policeman was killed and several others wounded."

And so matters are moving ahead! Despite the incredible and utterly indescribable difficulties, headway is being made in the matter of getting armed. Individual terrorism, bred of intellectualist impotence, is gradually becoming a thing of the past. Instead of spending tens of thousands of rubles and a vast amount of revolutionary energy on the assassination of some Sergei¹⁰¹ (who probably did more to make Moscow revolutionary-minded than many revolutionaries), on assassinations "in the name of the people"—military operations *together with the people* are now commencing. It is by engaging in such operations that the pioneers of armed struggle become fused with the masses not merely in word but in deed, assume leadership of the combat squads and contingents of the proletariat, train in the crucible of civil war *dozens of popular leaders* who, tomorrow, on the day of the workers' uprising, will be able to help with their experience and their heroic courage thousands and tens of thousands of workers.

8. Ignorant anti-Leninist silence on the Philippines is a real & shameful intervention (Bulletin 370, 26/11/86)

Although not a bogus-Marxist parliamentary illusion, Aquinoism in the Philippines is incubating just the same tragic catastrophe as Allendeism did in Chile.

It was military boss Ramos alone who made all the decisive moves at the weekend which kept Aquino as the presidential figurehead and put the Enrile-colonels' demand for open fascism on the back burner.

Even the 'liberal' Western press hardly bothered concealing the reality of military dictatorship, -so great was its hypocritical relief at being able to pretend once again that 'democracy' was still able to keep down the communist proletariat.

6 He told the young officers he had details of their plan and tried to dissuade them from going ahead, according to a senior palace official. One of the officers, navy captain Felix Turingan, replied that they were committed to launching the move.

After failing to dissuade the officers from abandoning the alleged plot, General Ramos was faced with a decision he had avoided until then: he could no longer arbitrate between Mrs Aquino and Mr Enrile. Finally, he had to choose sides.

In the early hours of Sunday, General Ramos made his move. He sent a three-paragraph cable to field commanders around the country stating that orders from Mr Enrile, his security chief, and the other young colonels were to be ignored.

"That was crossing the Rubicon," a relieved Cabinet member said later yesterday. "It was as strong and explicit as anything could have been. It was a complete break."

President Aquino said that General Ramos had taken "preventive measures 'to cure' the recklessness of some elements in the military." She warned other possible rebels that "all those who may be inclined to exploit the present situation 'would face' the strongest measures against them if they try."

President Aquino asked Mr Enrile to resign during a 15-minute meeting at the Presidential Palace yesterday afternoon. Mr Enrile is said to have accepted President Aquino's request calmly and the meeting "ended amicably." The ousted defence chief retired without incident to his suburban mansion, where he spent yesterday evening receiving friends, political allies, and well-wishers.

She also glashed out at Communist guerrillas and announced that she would end peace talks with the rebels if the ceasefire was not signed by November 30. President Aquino said: "It is clear that the extreme left has no interest in the peace that I have continually offered." The ceasefire deadline had been a request of General Ramos and Mr Enrile.

Mr Enrile's successor, retired General Rafael Iletto, who was serving as the deputy Defence Minister, met last night with some of Mr Enrile's "colonels."

Mr Iletto, aged 66, a graduate of the US Military Academy at West Point and a former ambassador to Iran, cuts a fatherly figure above the bickerings and power struggles in the military.

"I am disappointed with the army," he said last week. "There have been charges of widespread corruption, human rights violations and lack of discipline by troops in the countryside."

Mr Iletto, who organised and commanded the army Scout Rangers who effectively fought Communist rebels in the 1950s, said he also helped to

organise the Yellow Army, an elite group of soldiers hand-picked to guard the president.

But the West has been here before, -within very recent memory. For it was precisely Pinochet, -the now acknowledged fascist butcher of Chile, -who was initially lauded by Allende, the West, and the CP revisionist stooges, as the 'democracy-guided' general for first squashing rival military-takeover bids, -just as Ramos is doing now.

But when the time was finally ripe, when 'reformist' domestic economic chaos was at its height and the masses ready for another spontaneous revolutionary lunge, -then Pinochet struck with cynical precision, -ruthlessly butchering tens of thousands of 'left' and 'democratic' opponents alike, --all lulled to sleep by the ridiculous Allende phenomenon which promised 'justice' through parliament.!

Criminally included in that naive revisionist build-up of the Allende-CP 'parliamentary socialism' illusions were Havana and Moscow, who supported the fraud all the way both materially and ideologically.

It is an appalling abandonment of responsibility for the CPSU, -the world's most advantaged communist party, -not to be making its voice heard now all round the planet warning that all Leninist science directs communists to beware the fascist coup now greater than ever before, -and to put no trust whatever in Aquino, or her useless 'democratic legitimacy'.

The communist movement in the Philippines was correct to announce its willingness to fight alongside all elements willing to seriously oppose the military intrigues favouring a return to direct fascist rule. To that extent, the 'democratic' presidency of Aquino (forced on the Philippines' pro-imperialist establishment, -ousting the dictator Marcos) -was a grave blow to capitalism and the rightwing, and the battle to prevent its reversal should be the new front line of resistance to fascism.

But it is anti-Leninist, ignorant criminal folly to extend that "march separately, -fight together" stance against a far-right

coup into the slightest suspicion of any "support" for Aquino.

On no account should the NPA forces confuse the masses by even a hint of a misunderstanding that their joining in with widespread vigilance against a restoration of an open Marcosite regime under Enrile, Ramos, or anyone else, --should be misinterpreted as 'defending' Aquino.

Even in the far-more-advanced conditions of the February Revolution of 1917 with its Soviet elements of dual power, Leninism was absolutely adamant that following the withdrawal of the slogan 'All power to the Soviets' (after the July Days lurch to the right by the Kerensky regime including the arrest and suppression of the Bolsheviks) there was no basis whatsoever for 'support' for the government.

And when the Bolsheviks correctly decided to throw their weight behind resistance to the Kornilov generals revolt in August which wanted to take the regime even further to the right, Lenin insisted categorically that the fascists should be resisted strictly on the understanding by the masses that this implied not a shred of 'support' by the Bolsheviks for Kerensky, -a doomed futile 'reformist' regime which could not break from the imperialist war and was well worthy of overthrow.

The crucial understanding that the Bolsheviks put forward was that the job of overthrowing Kerensky's bourgeois regime was the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone, -imposing their own Bolshevik Party dictatorship through all power to the Soviets, eventually.

In exactly the same way, -the crucial advance of removing the helpless, futile, & rotten regime of the pro-imperialist stooge Aquino is the historic destiny of the Philippine masses under the dictatorship of the proletariat, -not any business of the decayed and discredited monopolist-military establishment.

And in just the same way, the revolutionary masses in Chile should have had Leninist leadership to prevent, arms-in-hand, the series of coup attempts and

scars that preceded the Pinochet dictatorship, (-all phonily 'put down' by Pinochet and other 'democratic' generals stupidly trusted by C P/A llende illusions, -) prior to imposing their own proletarian dictatorship as soon as the vanguard workers were organised & convinced enough.

Moscow has no decisive role to play as far as the USSR's official diplomatic stance in Manila and around the world is concerned.

But his whole life long, and in leading the world's first workers state, Lenin could not have made it clearer that the physical practical restraints on Soviet state power were one thing, -necessitating a diplomatic approach to the world revolution (to avoid the mistake of 'exporting' revolution on the one hand, and on the other of giving the intervention-minded imperialists just the excuse they were looking for to re-invade the USSR to overthrow its revolutionary power); But that the Russian Communist Party's clear-sounding revolutionary-scientific voice & analysis were another thing entirely.

Where Bolsheviks as Soviet statesmen were limited in what they could say, the Bolsheviks as international communist agitators were not just able but obliged to spread nothing but the complete revolutionary truth about every world situation.

Even if Moscow were to claim that some surreptitious 'leftish' grunts of encouragement might have been made in an ear or two from their embassy in Manila, that still misses the point entirely. Every real live opportunity for the study of correct Leninist dialectical tactics (in endlessly varied revolutionary struggle) is of crucial importance to the working class of the whole world. In fact the greatest lesson of revolutionary socialist history hitherto is that these very lessons of history must be learned, and especially that all the costly mistakes must be thoroughly digested.

There is not the slightest hint coming out of Moscow that they are even aware of explosively vital questions arising out of

the events in the Philippines, - just as there has been total paralysis in making any sensible study of the appalling anti-Leninist theoretical mistakes committed in Chile; -or in the handling by the world socialist camp of the Grenada issue; -or indeed of any confused or disputed issue of revolutionary tactics in the modern era, postwar, - -from the atrocious botch-up by the Greek CP onwards. (See ILWP Books vol 6).

The worst crime of stupidity that could now be committed, above all others, - would be for revisionism to echo the hypocritical relief of the 'liberal' press in the West congratulating 'nascent Philippine democracy' on having already (!) survived the threat of fascist military coup when in reality Aquino's overthrow has only just begun to be set up in earnest.

The theatrical & dubious backing off by Enrile could be a part of any number of weird & convoluted plots being hatched out by ultra-right intrigue, -a leading wealthy & powerful representative of which, -General John Singlaub, US Marines, -Retired (!), -is unofficially prominent in the background in Manila hardly bothering to conceal his presence or identity.

It is crucial for international revolutionary education for the proletariat to know in advance that the Ramos-Pinochet trap is being sprung so that the defeatism of the anti-Leninist 'left' should get no opportunity to whine pessimistically afterwards: 'What could be done against such powerful and so well-connected military treachery?'

Everything can be done provided the revolutionary masses are given Leninist leadership and not confused revisionist rubbish full of 'democratic' illusions in the 'peaceful parliamentary road to socialism' which for all essential purposes in the current international class struggle & anti-imperialist fight does not and cannot exist.

The revolution in the Philippines must judge exactly the correct moment when the forces of the masses are at their peak while the forces of the counter-revolution are at their weakest

and most divided; -and then strike as ruthlessly as possible for total dictatorial power, replacing the class rule of the bourgeoisie with the class rule of the proletariat.

The criminal silence of Moscow and the rest of the socialist camp on these vital matters of revolutionary understanding only plays into the hands of the wretched 'reformist' illusions in Britain around the CP and the Labour Party who are now adopting heroic Aquinoist postures in order with maximum humbug, hysteria, & wishful thinking, to justify their own miserable class-compromise 'democratic' role which at every stage plays into the hands of the NATO world leaders of fascist counter-revolution.

Down with the Philippines-CIA military intrigues; in order then to say: 'Down with Aquinoism'. No fascist overthrow of Aquino, so that the proletariat can overthrow her in the name of revolutionary socialist progress. The only 'support' to be given Aquino is that of a rope which supports a hanged man. Destroy all 'parliamentary-reformist' illusion. Destroy the Labour Party.

9. Moscow mumbling aids US terror against New Jewel Movement (Bulletin 372, 10/12/86)

The death sentences announced by the US imperialist stooge regime on Grenada against the revolutionary leadership of the New Jewel Movement have been able to be imposed largely due to revisionist softheadedness in the socialist camp.

When US fascist-militarism blitzed Grenada in 1983 to wipe out the Caribbean island's four-year-old development of a socialist system, confusion over Maurice Bishop's role in the internal NJM leadership conflict was a large part of Reagan's 'excuse' -pretending that the 'lawful authority' had been overthrown, etc, and that 'there was no longer any civilised government at all on the island', and that 'everything was out of control', etc. Utter nonsense.

But Washington was helped to pretend that a non-existent "extremist reign of terror" was thr-

teating American students and civilisation on the island by the revisionist ignorance displayed by Havana & Moscow on Leninist traditions of inner-party conflict (see article below reproduced from Bulletin 216 of Nov 24, 1983 and see also ILWP Books vol 6 for a complete analysis made at the time of the entire Grenada tragedy).

That grotesque subjective bias in favour of Bishop (whose non-elected group was entirely responsible for staging the coup attempt (against his dismissal as prime minister) and then for inviting in "international assistance" when that coup attempt was properly put down), - - has shamefully not been corrected to this day.

That complete anti-Leninist cowardice (by Moscow & Havana to face up to the consequences of the appalling mistakes, biased interference, and revisionist ignorance) shown then is now enormously helpful to US imperialism for finishing off the job of eliminating socialism from Grenada for all time (it hopes) by now wiping out virtually the entire NJM top leadership, -led by Bernard Coard & Hudson Austin, who with their closest comrades have been chained up in Richmond Hill prison undergoing a farcical "trial" ever since.

For every day that goes by without a statement by Moscow & Havana that they hopelessly misjudged events on Grenada, -no honest revolutionary can fail to cringe at the ludicrous, sick current presentation of things that the US fascists are going to "justly execute" the "bad killers" of the "honourable revolutionary socialist leader Maurice Bishop" with Cuba and the USSR in full sympathy & agreement with this barbaric farce, (save for perhaps minor differences about the severity of the sentence).

But that is the disgusting stain the dull brains in Havana and Moscow will leave on the heroic Cuban & Soviet revolutions if they fail to show the Leninist guts and admit they were hopelessly & horribly wrong in the first place about the entire Grenadan disaster.

Any other 'opposition' stance

they pretend to mount against Washingtons nazi vindictiveness will fall flat all the time they continue to maintain that Bishop was the 'legitimate and noble leader', etc, and that his death was the act of 'lawless and extremist monsters' (and not at all the unavoidable consequence of Bishops own stupid, foul, and illegal coup attempt)- because it is impossible to distinguish this nonsense in any way from the fake political line of the US occupation forces. To even remotely provide the

Washington nazi stooges with the slightest justification (for the barbaric slaughter they are now preparing) is to give credibility to one of the most dangerous & vicious acts of fascist aggression in modern times; --- and all because Moscow & Havana

have not got the sense & courage to see (despite three years of Coard-baiting and Bishop hero-worshipping by the new pro-US regime on the island) that they hopelessly misunderstood who was who, and what was what on Grenada.

The Cuban comrades are now suggesting that the Coard-Austin majority faction in the leadership of the New Jewel revolutionary movement were fake ultra-lefts, - agents of US imperialism.

"Look at the history of the revolutionary movement and you will find more than one connection between imperialism and those who take positions that appear to be on the extreme left. Aren't Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, - the ones responsible for the genocide in Kampuchea, - the most loyal allies Yankee imperialism has in South-East Asia at present? In Cuba ever since the Grenadian crisis began, we have called Coard's group, - to give it a name, - the 'Pol Pot' group," Fidel Castro told the huge Havana funeral rally on November 14.

The most glaring of many inconsistencies about this line is to explain why US imperialism took the enormous gamble of staging an extremely costly (in political terms internationally) wrecking invasion against the Grenadan socialist revolution if they had just got their own internal wrecking agents installed? And having 'staged' an invasion to oust their own men, why has US imperialism then detained and brutalised its Coard-Austin 'agents'? Even stranger, why has US imperialism unleashed a NAZI-psychological warfare campaign on the island with lurid posters everywhere vilifying Coard and Austin as "the evil communists who tried to kidnap Grenada" while allowing their supposed 'real enemy' Maurice Bishop to be turned into a bourgeois national hero?

Another curiosity is what does Havana know about the Coard-Austin political line? And if it does know something, why does it not discuss this political essence of the Granadan problem, and expose what it thinks were the Leninist errors in this line?

The odd thing is that Havana has repeatedly insisted, with misplaced sanctimony, that it had never 'stooped so low' as to discuss Grenada's internal problems in the course of its frequent, and recent, meetings with Bishop. If true, this was a piece of non-Leninist nonsense. If not, it is pointless pretence.

Castro stressed again in his November 14 speech the "very close and affectionate links and the many friendly fraternal hours" spent with Bishop, including as recently as October 7, - but again stressing that "nothing was said about the internal dissensions".

Castro then admitted: "Coard's group never had such relations nor such intimacy and trust with us. Actually we did not even know that group existed."

But in that case, firstly, how does Castro know anything about Coard and Austin's 'Pol Pot plans'?

214, the obvious beginnings of needless opportunist violence on Grenada (as little enough as there was of it in any case, - limited to one brief skirmish) - was entirely due to Bishop, and no one else. Bishop tried arbitrarily to use his power as the well-known prime-minister-figurehead to resist the properly arrived-at majority decisions of the revolutionary movement's leadership for a long period of time, finally necessitating his house arrest. And then the Bishop faction lawlessly raised a counter-revolutionary mob to storm the guards at Bishop's house where he was under easy-going 'arrest'. And that same Bishop mob, then with Bishop at its head, lawlessly stormed Fort Rupert, once again disarming the guards there. For staging this Bonapartist putsch, the Bishop mob was put down. And there, all violence ceased; and Grenada was quickly back to normal after a few days martial law. Every eye-witness agrees that the country was back to normal immediately prior to the US imperialist invasion. Spreading this 'Pol Pot' rumour about Coard and Austin's political intentions merely plays into the hands of Washington's 'justification' propaganda, just as the anti-Leninist swamp in Britain has done (see Bulletins 213, 214, 215).

There is much more equally inflammatory (and totally unsubstantiated) language in Castro's speech against the Coard-Austin majority, (many with as long standing in the New Jewel Movement as Bishop,) - such as "hyenas. . . egged on by imperialism. . . using the dagger of divisionism. . . conspirators, tools of imperialism. . . the new government of Grenada was morally indefensible", etc.

Castro's only concrete charges are precisely the issues which the NJM majority insistently properly discussed with Bishop inside the central committee, urging him for over a year to heed their criticism. These matters demand discussion, not sneers.

"Allegedly revolutionary arguments were used," Castro admits. "Invoking the purest principles of Marxism-Leninism and charging Bishop with practising a cult of personality and drawing away from the Leninist norms and methods of leadership."

To which Castro tries two equally unsatisfactory replies. First he baldly declares, despite the evidence of a year's constant complaints from the majority of the NJM leadership, mostly hardened revolutionaries of very long standing who had known Bishop intimately for nearly 20 years, - that "nothing could be more absurd than to attribute such tendencies to Bishop. It was impossible to imagine anyone more noble, modest and unselfish. He could never have been guilty of being authoritarian. If he had any defect, it was his excessive tolerance and trust."

Circumstantial evidence is all against Cas-

tro on this. Why would anyone truly 'modest and unselfish' never have mentioned in hours of 'intimate' discussions with the Cubans such an extremely serious matter of a lack of confidence in his leadership by the majority of the NJM central committee? Surely this smacks of someone who was arrogantly contemptuous of his party's feelings and opinions.

And why did these curiously close relations exist between Bishop and the Cubans, but the deputy leader of the NJM, and deputy prime-minister, Bernard Coard, and the majority of the NJM leadership were almost totally unknown in Havana? Did Bishop in fact really keep everything to himself, in a one-man leadership, as his comrades accused him of? If true (and Castro gives no evidence to the contrary), this reflects as badly on Castro as on Bishop. It was very short-sighted for Castro not to insist on getting to know the whole of the NJM leadership. Did they refuse, strangely, to become known? Castro does not say so, and it seems scarcely credible.

On smaller circumstantial points, which common language did Castro (Spanish-speaking) and Bishop (English-speaking) know sufficiently well for them to have talked long enough without interpreters to get to know each other so well; and what leadership work inside the Grenadan government and party did Castro observe so as to form a judgment about Bishop's relationships with his colleagues?

Castro's second reply to the NJM criticisms of Bishop is to charge the majority with being "a group of extremists drunk on political theory". This is an extraordinary allegation which casts far more doubt on Castro than it does on the NJM majority.

If Coard's majority had "extremist political theories", let us hear about them. And then let us hear those theories being subject to withering Leninist criticism (see Lenin volumes 1 to 45). The essence of Marxism-Leninism is to defeat revisionism by correct revolutionary theory. The mere jibe "extremists drunk on political theory" would indicate anti-Leninism on the part of the jiber.

What is required from the Cuban comrades, (who have had, and still have, incomparable facilities for presenting some more facts about Grenadan political differences,) is their views on Bishop and Coard's attitudes towards the NJM's continued membership of the Second (pro-imperialist) International; Grenada's alliance to the Commonwealth; the continuation of Sir Paul Scoon as Governor-General; relations to US imperialism and the IMF; the mixed economy; the question of parliamentary elections and opposition parties and the dictatorship of the proletariat; etc, etc.

Best of all would have been a Cuban contribution to these discussions before disagreements about them drove the NJM into factional conflict. But a contribution now would be better late than never. It is still important

to learn some lessons from the different NJM attitudes to these questions, and from how and why it led to such violent factionalising. Lenin's Third International discussions with new young communist parties and their factional problems are a model for this kind of work. It is vitally necessary for the world revolutionary movement to return to a Leninist line and Leninist standards in revolutionary theory.

Castro and the Cuban Revolution have already rendered priceless service to overcoming centrist conservatism in the development

10. Licensing Sakharov's anti-communist poison is farcical 'cure' for Stalin's defeatist retreat from Leninism (Bulletin 374, 31/12/86)

The revolutionary firmness against counter-revolutionary disrupters in Afghanistan is a far better course for Moscow to follow than its ridiculous appeasement of Sakharov's reactionary bilge.

Gorbachev's experiment in 'human rights' conciliatoriness towards the disgusting Western propaganda humbug is an insult to Lenin's revolution.

The Bolsheviks triumphed because while resolute defenders of Soviet state power, - they were even more implacable foes of anti-Leninist theoretical poison.

Whereas Lenin showed masterly patience in making material concessions where forced to in favour of the revolution's capitalist/imperialist enemies (Brest Litovsk, NEP, foreign trade concessions, etc), - his scientific genius is epitomised by his insistence that there is only one historical truth, on which there can never be the slightest compromise.

Lenin's entire making of the Bolshevik Party, - in the first, watershed, determined split from Menshevism, - was round his insistence that while party members should properly argue independently for their own views in forming the party line, - that once established, there could only be one party line, not two.

And that while the truth of this theoretical programme could only be verified through an open-minded appraisal of the practical guidance it gave to the revolutionary struggle in general, such appraisal could be hopelessly marred if the party's

line was not genuinely put into the fray and fought for.

Giving Sakharov an 'alternative government' voice (courtesy of the Western media, - rebroadcast 24-hours a day back into the USSR and the entire socialist camp in every language) makes a complete nonsense of everything that the world socialist revolution has had to fight for against Western world domination.

No such massive propaganda weapon was ever handed to communists by the imperialist system. Just the opposite. Marx & Engels were hounded across Europe, and turfed out of one country after another as 'subversive exiles', and barred from their homeland for ever.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks were subjected to the most fiendish persecution by the Tsarist tyranny. Just stating a handful of 'dissident' words on a leaflet was enough to earn instant death, - never mind being allowed to broadcast to the whole of Russia non-stop 24-hours a day 365 days a year as Sakharov's lying 'dissident' bilge is now being permitted to do.

The gestapo tyranny facing communist agitators throughout the capitalist world became even worse in the 1930s & 1940s ending in Western imperialism's greatest-ever 'final solution' blitzkrieg on the Soviet Union, belatedly implementing Munich's planned 'fascist bulwark against Bolshevism'.

Capitalism's murderous repression during the US-imposed Cold War reached demented levels of worldwide CIA-trained death squads protecting every tinpot fascist dictatorship under the sun by pre-emptive massacres of communists and national-liberation fighters, - with millions of anti-imperialist proletarians

of the world socialist revolution by Moncada and the capture of power in Cuba, arms in hand, and by the selfless support to the international movement, defying the most vicious US imperialist threats, pressures, subversion, and blockade.

But for overcoming the deadly divisive confusion-mongering by scores of revisionist groups within the oldest capitalist countries in order to spread the socialist revolution there to complete the vanquishing of world imperialism, far more Leninist thinking and understanding is required from Moscow, Havana

and everywhere else than has yet been forthcoming with their confusions over Allendeism, CP revisionism (rife in West Europe and Latin America, e.g.), popular frontism, etc, etc (see countless past Bulletins), of which the confusion over Grenadan issues is a continuation. It will certainly be impossible for the revolutionary party to grow in Britain, (e.g.), without such a Leninist development in revolutionary theory. And first responsibility for supplying it rests on the comrades struggling with the fight here. Build the ILWP.

(Bulletin 216) 24/11/83

clear weapons superiority over hateful communism" struck a more vicious blow against the socialist states and the international anti-imperialist movement than Hitler managed during the entire propaganda lifetime of the 'thousand-year reich'.

The Bolshevik Revolution is under imperialist armed siege as much now as ever it was, - from the very first moments of intervention slaughter and devastation by the invading armies of 14 imperialist powers in 1919. Internal prominent traitors to the dictatorship of the proletariat were shot then. And humanity at large is suffering now more savagely from imperialist exploitation, colonial domination, and NATO-backed fascist tyranny than ever was happening in 1919, - with millions more being slaughtered or starved to death each year now than then.

Sakharov's voice on behalf of US nuclear domination of the world is no joke. Ask millions of slaughtered Vietnamese families, -still suffering from the barbaric brutalities of chemical warfare which made the Hiroshima/Nagasaki nuclear 'example' to the USSR look like child's play.

Sakharov's lies about 'Soviet aggression' against Afghanistan exactly match those of Nazi imperialism in blitzkrieging Czechoslovakia, Poland, Soviet Union, etc, for 'aggression' against the Reich, - and those of US imperialism in blitzkrieging Grenada, Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua, Chile, etc, on the grounds of their 'communist threat to invade our own US territory if not stopped', etc. The West finances the Afghan counter-revolution. Sakharov, their ideological agent, tells the world that the USSR has started the conflict by 'invading' Afghan-

It should fight Sakharov's subversive anti-communist treachery just as ruthlessly. Lenin would have had the counter-revolutionary bastard shot at once for betraying the enormous trust and privileges the proletarian revolution had bestowed on Sakharov. Sakharov's notorious worldwide public appeal for Western imperialism to "always maintain nu-

clear weapons superiority over hateful communism" struck a more vicious blow against the socialist states and the international anti-imperialist movement than Hitler managed during the entire propaganda lifetime of the 'thousand-year reich'.

The Bolshevik Revolution is under imperialist armed siege as much now as ever it was, - from the very first moments of intervention slaughter and devastation by the invading armies of 14 imperialist powers in 1919. Internal prominent traitors to the dictatorship of the proletariat were shot then. And humanity at large is suffering now more savagely from imperialist exploitation, colonial domination, and NATO-backed fascist tyranny than ever was happening in 1919, - with millions more being slaughtered or starved to death each year now than then.

Sakharov's voice on behalf of US nuclear domination of the world is no joke. Ask millions of slaughtered Vietnamese families, -still suffering from the barbaric brutalities of chemical warfare which made the Hiroshima/Nagasaki nuclear 'example' to the USSR look like child's play.

Sakharov's lies about 'Soviet aggression' against Afghanistan exactly match those of Nazi imperialism in blitzkrieging Czechoslovakia, Poland, Soviet Union, etc, for 'aggression' against the Reich, - and those of US imperialism in blitzkrieging Grenada, Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua, Chile, etc, on the grounds of their 'communist threat to invade our own US territory if not stopped', etc. The West finances the Afghan counter-revolution. Sakharov, their ideological agent, tells the world that the USSR has started the conflict by 'invading' Afghan-

istan. What a farce.

There will be no end to Western provocations around their ideological agent Sakharov unless the proletarian state boots Gorbachev up the arse and insists that all fascist-idealist god-fearing nonsense be shut up for good. Speed the day. Nor is the export of all the USSR's fascist-minded opportunist riff-raff at all an acceptable 'alternative' solution. Keep their tiny handfuls of degenerate rubbish where it belongs, - in labour camps or psychiatric hospitals, -not let it pollute the anti-communist atmosphere in the West even further.

But if there are to be exit visas, - then let all have them who want them. Don't give Western propaganda even more opportunities to raise provocative anti-Soviet diversions with endless campaigns for this or that dissident's visa, etc.

Exactly the opposite from Western propaganda nonsense about Afghanistan becoming the USSR's "Vietnam", the firm

resistance there to imperialist counter-revolutionary subversion is now paying off so well that Pakistan, -the pro-West military-dictatorship launching pad for the Contra intervention, -is now in turmoil itself from popular discontent at the huge sums of money going to the worthless drug-dealing bogus 'refugees' while the Pakistan masses themselves starve. The West is facing the need to end its gun-running warmongering intrigues over the Afghan border or face communist revolution inside Pakistan itself sooner rather than later. While the Leninist content of Moscow-Kabul relations has never been anything to write home about, at least the 1979 military assistance decision showed the correct touch of revolutionary steel in making the best of a bad job. Policy under Gorbachev gives hints of even worse revisionist softness than ever. Even more reason to build a new Leninist leadership in the frontline struggle against imperialism.

reactionaries, and where political responsibility lies for reaction's continued survival in the Soviet Union.

Obviously, a principal ingredient leading Solidarnosc Poles & Soviet dissidents to declare what a "humane, heroic, & encouraging development" was the US nazi blitzkrieg into Grenada to drown in blood the four years of brilliant socialist reconstruction there, -- is the simple lying propaganda of the non-stop Western 'democracy' humbug (using illusions that all life under capitalism is Hollywood glamour, Florida wealth, hippie 'freedom', and parliamentary 'honesty', to fool the inevitable small percentage of emotionally deranged failures of the socialist system, (failures not in terms of any talent they may have, but in terms of their devotion to the world socialist revolution).)

But what can be done about such anti-communist rejects who long only for Western fame & fortune or revert to god-worship (and usually both, like Viktoria Mullova, Galina Vishnevskaya, Svyetlana Alleluyeva, Solzhenitsyn, etc, etc); and what blame can be laid at the door of the leadership of the Soviet system for creating so many thousands of talented reactionaries (even though they are the minutest fraction of less than one per cent of the entire huge creative Soviet intelligentsia, and their 'talents' are lauded in the West out of all proportion to the vastly greater pool of pro-Soviet talent continuing to serve the ever-expanding Soviet cinema, theatre, music, literature, etc, which is nearly all deliberately ignored by the West.)

The starting point has to be the fight for revolutionary theory against the appalling lapses into feeble revisionist nonsense by Soviet state philosophy during the most defeatist subjective retreats & confusion in the epoch after Lenin.

It is impossible not to see that the cadres created by the world's first workers state, -developing all the time under the most intense glare & pressure from the hate-filled surrounding bourgeois-capitalist countries, -are bo-

und to be weakened, or even fatally marred, by any phony or wrong assessment of international relations by that Soviet state.

One particular area of difficulty, for example, - long polemicalised about by the ILWP, - is and has been the unmistakable tendency by Moscow to frequently be taken in by its own peaceful-coexistence propaganda, -correctly Leninist as far as it goes in using strictly diplomatic initiatives to expose the cause of arms-race warmongering in imperialist greed, rivalry, & aggression, etc, ---but most un-Leninist in then partly governing the USSR's practical preparations for domestic & international advance as though the leading imperialist circles really could sit down to "peacefully coexist with communism and the national-liberation struggle" (as Moscow's correct Leninist propaganda line challenges them to do.)

Certainly Soviet political understanding also provides, -for those who want to grasp the point, -unmistakable proof of the endlessly corrupt, treacherous, and aggressive character of capitalist exploitation.

But in the period when Peking correctly put greater emphasis on the need to combat dying imperialism, as opposed to Moscow's incorrect greater emphasis on the propaganda line to the West of "let us all live in peace & harmony", what effect on the small philistine minds of a Vishnevskaya or a Mullova would the accompanying nonsense about Peking's "adventurism", the subsequent disgraceful split in China-Soviet relations, -and the earlier similar rubbish about Tito's "fascism", -have produced?

The unstable lack of continuity of the zig-zags, -coming at the end of a whole epoch of arbitrary subjectivism in Soviet internal affairs and their half-arsed exposure as the "cult of the individual", - could only breed in shallow minds a cynical lack of confidence in the entire political process.

Coupled with a wrong emphasis on purely Russian nationalism during the run-up to World War II, -revived in the arrogant behaviour towards Peking, etc, -

11. The 'dissident' problem will become unmanageable unless there is a return to Leninist international revolutionary perspectives (Bulletin 375, 7/1/87)

While it is true that the feeble defeatist 'experiment' by Moscow of letting the counter-revolutionary Sakharov (see last week's Bulletin) become an effective Opposition voice (courtesy of the Western media) does not threaten the historic development of the world's first workers state, or the further advance of the world socialist revolution, --this retreat does highlight a number of bureaucratic/revisionist problems.

Incorrect, subjective assessments of the international situation & balance of class forces have clearly hindered the anti-imperialist struggle by getting things wrong at various times since Lenin's death (Germany, Spain, Greece, Chile, Grenada, etc), - and obviously continue to do so in certain ways and to a certain extent (continued support for outright anti-communist Western CPs; joining in Im-

perialisms hypocritical condemnations of 'terrorism'; failure to recognise the Irish national-liberation struggle; etc).

These elements of bureaucratic subjectivism undoubtedly harm the struggle for greater revolutionary Leninist clarity about the world, and indirectly have helped cause lethal damage to many revolutionary movements, -such as the huge casualties in Chile from the Allende/CP/Havana/Moscow illusions in the non-existent "peaceful road to socialism", -and ditto in South Africa until the SACP-ANC correctly broke from that nonsense in 1960.

The disgusting business with Sakharov, -whose longtime advocacy of "superior US nuclear armaments to contain the threat of evil communism" has without doubt directly helped sway the ideological struggle imperialism's way in the international balance of class forces, (and thereby indirectly helped reaction survive longer in many countries and thus prolong murderous slaughter further than might have happened), -raises other questions about what the USSR should do with its own

widespread scepticism & opportunism was inevitable, especially among such rarified circles as the top artistes, creating the perfect swamp for such unpleasant conceit as Vishnyevskaya's and Lyubimov's, e.g.

And none of this area of weakness of Soviet state philosophy has even been touched on yet in the half-hearted apologies so far put out for the even greater burden of actual criminally-unjust persecution of many leading artistic figures (alongside millions of other innocent victims of unjust accusations, trumped-up charges, ludicrous & arbitrary victimisation, etc).

The criminal neglect of raising whole generations of Soviet people in a dangerously & damagingly wrong understanding of Leninism has not even begun to be assessed by Moscow yet.

The whole 'Popular Front' idiocy in Spain, for example (and repeated around Allende in Chile) still remains in Soviet history books to pollute all young brains with rubbishy suspicions that perhaps non-Russian Europeans will never put a halt to any determined moves towards fascism by imperialism; that perhaps no one else is capable of a Bolshevik Revolution; that perhaps only the Red Army can be the last-resort rebuff to resurgent fascism; etc, etc. All of which crap, - based on the defeatism of Soviet history's view of Spain's fascist tragedy, - would tend to supplement Moscow's bureaucratic retreats & over-caution in the face of Western aggression; and at the same time tend to encourage inclinations towards fatalism in the average Soviet philosophical outlook. And from fatalism, it is an easy step back to God.

Similar idealist confusions about the international class struggle are reinforced from another angle of such still-unresolved historical problems by the implication that while the world revolution will be completed for the final triumph of socialism over capitalism, - the main content of this will always remain in Soviet society proving itself to be economically & culturally superior eventually to US society, (rather than in the revolut-

ionary overthrow of imperialism in one country after another by revolutionary socialist & national-liberation struggles, fought out merely to the background of socialist camp containment of the most widespread outbreaks of fascist-imperialist aggression & warmongering against progressive mankind.)

The great difficulty for succeeding generations of young Soviet consciousness, full of these illusions, is when imperialist behaviour, or imperialist-Soviet relations, (or international class relations generally, - or even inter-socialist-camp relations) ---totally fail to conform to the bland 'peaceful evolution' assurances that the greatest weight of official Soviet political utterances tends to support.

When major or startling upheavals occur not according to the official Soviet perspectives, Moscow frequently simply maintains complete silence on the events, - pretending that they have not happened.

This was obviously most glaringly & painfully true of Stalin's arbitrary crimes & errors, -the majority of which still have not been fully analysed or even acknowledged.

But even in post-trauma years after Stalin's death, this specific challenge to lead Soviet consciousness forward (via a completely scientific analysis of the latest highest point of human development in the international class struggle) was hopelessly retreated from by Moscow, - denying for years, for example, that there had even been a split with China, let alone providing a Leninist analysis of the faults on both sides.

Dozens of equally pressing & complex international class-struggle questions since then equally remain to be fully analysed and commented on, ---Chile, Grenada, Zionism, Western CP degeneration, terrorism, etc.

And Gorbachev's arrival has altered nothing so far in this fundamental damage to the Soviet state of leaving its working masses badly misled, pacified, and partially alienated by Moscow's glaring silences & omissions on hugely significant matters of world development.

No wonder cynicism spreads. No wonder shallower minds respond with outright opportunism, consumerism, nihilism (drink, drugs, etc), or escapism (literally !) since they are denied or kept ignorant of the real driving force of all civilisation, --the struggle for survival (betterment) in terms of expanding man's understanding of historical necessity, which in modern man must include the latest & highest achievements of dialectical-materialist grasp of the world.

Not every Soviet citizen will want or be able to pursue the most advanced consistent form of this philosophy of human development, --applying Leninist science to the endless variations of class-struggle situations that have occurred since Lenin's time. But all Soviet citizens would benefit from the general feel that such conditions really apply to their society, --that they are part of a society that can & does solve every problem to every sane person's satisfaction.

Soviet society (typifying the socialist camp at large) certainly provides its citizens with far greater confidence in such matters than any capitalist society, - incomparably so. The general mental health, assurance, and allegiance of Soviet people distinguishes itself outstandingly from the insecure, hate-filled, envious, neurotic behaviour so widespread in all Western societies.

But even so, Soviet mentality is still not a patch on the clear-thinking philosophical dynamism that could begin to unfold if the hopeless revisionist shackles on official Moscow world-understanding began to fall away. It is a matter of as true & great a tragedy in these terms as Moscow revisionist confusion is (or has been) in international political terms in the damaging delays its slow-wittedness has caused to the world socialist revolution (alongside the colossal, incomparable material assistance and leading anti-imperialist role since 1917).

Refusing to challenge Moscow on these matters because 'the voices of tiny political groups in the West can have no influence,'

or because 'massive Soviet society's pace & style of evolutionary advance is now inevitably settled', etc, is an anti-revolutionary attitude springing subjectively from a wish to tone down an insistence on Leninism within Western society, - a class position which cannot serve the interests of the proletarian revolution.

Not challenging Moscow's revisionism consistently would mean agnostic fatalism in international outlook, and destructive stagnation in domestic political development. The ILWP will never remain a comfortable niche for such attitudes.

The attempted rationalisations of Moscow's treatment of Sakharov are all garbage, -for instance the notion that 'Gorbachev has him taped, and the anti-Soviet winging will either dry up or be ignored after a while. It can certainly never harm the USSR'.

Sakharov, as such, is obviously no threat to the Soviet Union, nor to the world socialist revolution. But this shallowness misses the entire point about his role, - as an echo for imperialist meddling in Soviet affairs.

If Western provocations fail to engineer Sakharov all the way back to renewed public challenges to the dictatorship position the CPSU correctly maintains in the USSR, -then Western influence & intelligence will simply begin to promote some other dissident craphead more vigorously who will make the right disruptive noises to suit the CIA's 'black propaganda' theories & strategies. As already argued (see last week's Bulletin), the damaging value for the West in Sakharov's idiotic outpourings lies in prolonging the phony diversion that the 'test' of any society is how well it treats its opponents, or what 'human rights' it allows, or how much 'democracy', etc. Whereas the real question for history is how soon is Marxist-Leninist science, the only truth about society and historical development, going to be imposed on all mankind's affairs (rather than just the socialist camp's) in the only way in which it can ever happen, - through the dictatorship of the

proletariat.

This ridiculous useless diversion of having Sakharov's anti-Soviet barminess presented as the real issues facing mankind undoubtedly disrupts the class struggle in the West, - the more so by having Moscow play along with the pointless charade; - and also further undermines Soviet philosophical assuredness generally speaking. What was Leninist famed science all about if this Sakharov idiot's bourgeois-democratic counter-revolutionary twaddle gets more international air-time from the heart of the Soviet Union than Lenin himself is getting?

It suits some lifestyles in affluent Europe to kid themselves that the historic rivalry between the capitalist & communist systems will be resolved by endless extensions of twaddle-filled speculations about what new propaganda ploy Moscow might try next; how Washington might be disappointed in what Sakharov achieves for them; what Gorbachev maybe knows that Sakharov might do or say next; etc, etc. But this is all trivial bollocks.

Certainly Moscow must play the diplomatic propaganda game against Washington. Leninism has had much to say from the very beginning about the essential points to grasp in such strategies (and Moscow does not do very well in them, from time to time. See ILWP Books vols 3 to 7). But the decisive moves in the international balance of class forces are being fought out right now in the jungles of El Salvador, for example. The opinion columns of the Observer only reflect in broader ideological questions how that fundamental material class-forces battle is going there, and elsewhere (South Africa, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Ireland, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Timor, etc).

The real front line is the rope currently around the necks of Coard & Austin and their comrades. Moscow is virtually ignoring it. Soviet Weekly gave it one tiny paragraph, smaller than a report on ice floes in the River Lena, or Moscow Dynamo's footballing prowess, etc. Havana is stupidly still trying to dismiss the majority faction on the New Jewel Movement central

committee as "demagogic killers & criminal masterminds"; -- outrageously accepting the fraudulent contents of US imperialism's show-trial on Grenada and adding: "The people of Grenada and the entire Caribbean demand fitting punishment for those who killed Bishop and his comrades, paving the way for US invasion, and who wouldn't even take up arms to defend the ideas they professed". This is dishonest falsification on the Goebbels scale of how imperialism actually managed to recolonise Grenada, --through Bishop's treacherous indiscipline & arrogance, through the anti-Leninist revisionist complacency of the leadership of the socialist camp, and through the cowardice of the powerful socialist forces which might have gone to the aid of tiny Grenada blitzed by an overwhelming fascist-imperialist invasion, -long prepared. Instead, socialist camp revisionism chooses to cheer on the fascist-imperialist usurpers as they put the finishing touches to their entire Grenada stunt and put the rope around the necks of the majority NJM leadership.

The weak-minded paralysis which sees daft games with Sakharov as being the real political advance; or else as being no real harm and not worth complaining about, -directly infects even the struggle over the Grenada outrage, with London-based remnants of the NJM pretending that there is nothing more to discuss on the question of Moscow and Havana's attitudes to the events. On the contrary, there is everything to discuss.

The entire cancer of anti-Leninist, revisionist defeatism from the ludicrous Popular Front nonsense in Spain onwards to the Allende/Chile CP 'peaceful road' idiocies and the socialist camp's farcical treatment of the Grenada tragedy, -and including scores more crucial matters in-between and continuing now, -remains to be thoroughly exposed and cut out. Until it is cut out, it can only continue needlessly damaging the progress of the world socialist revolution.

Only the real overthrow of imperialism changes the essential material bases of the triu-

umph of socialism in the international balance of class forces. Grenada was a serious blow in the wrong direction. The real role for the international ideological struggle is never to cease for one second striving to reveal & expose the appalling theoretical lapses throughout the socialist camp which provided imperialism with its victory on Grenada. Compared to this challenge, propaganda gimmicks around the pillock Sakharov can only be seen as a damaging diversion for Moscow and for the world movement.

The advocacy of "complete openness" is a silly pretence as far as it looks at the moment. While the prat Sakharov gets back on the air, the same old stifling constipation continues to rule out any discussion of the really vital matters of Leninist theoretical development. This crazy charade will hopefully come a cropper before it brings anything as stupid, for example, as trying "complete normalisation" in relations between the two Germanies, which would mean instant total economic subversion of East Germany by the West, as was happening until the wall was built in 1961. Now East Germany has a far healthier economy & society than Western Germany. But that would face being undermined in months if all border restrictions were lifted. Traitors to socialism who challenge the Berlin Wall are properly shot. Workers who don't like that statement should stop now pretending to support the socialist camp. (So why isn't Sakharov being shot, who is doing far more than challenge the Berlin Wall?)

Current Soviet emigration policy of visas for some but not for others is also a mess, as the Bulletin has frequently complained, -giving Western propaganda endless opportunities for insolent & damaging meddling in diversionary matters of internal Soviet affairs. No emigration for fascist-opportunist Soviet rejects is the only responsible international stance, -preventing any further pollution of the already bad-enough anti-communist atmosphere in the West.

But visas for all would be better than the present easily-exploited inconsistency & confusion. And if & when its application reached as far as East Germany, it would hopefully then quickly be seen what a nonsense it was to try to compete "openly" in such matters of "free emigration" with an imperialist system which would be prepared (& wealthy enough) for any diabolical enticement schemes, -no matter how unstable or unbalancing for the West, - just in order to undermine socialism as a last despairing 'free world' gesture. The bamboozling "free emigration" nonsense, -souped up with Hollywood glitz and free-and-easy booze, drugs, & sex seduction, -was draining the lifeblood of East Germany until the Wall was built. Such phony 'freedom' competition should be contemptuously exposed, -not stupidly succumbed to as in Sakharov's case.

Leniency is wrong for the Contra Sakharov. But it was a smart tactic as far as the Contra Hasenfus was concerned, captured in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas are not faced with an international challenge to show the massed proletarian & petty-bourgeois billions a firm way out of the hopeless chaos of crisis-ridden imperialist degeneracy, -economic & ideological, -as the Soviets are. Theirs is a local tactical battle to continue resolutely defending themselves but at the same time try to keep their giant imperialist adversary on the propaganda defensive. Tossing them back the captured Hasenfus as a conciliatory gesture at the moment of maximum Washington embarrassment over the Contragate scandal was a master-stroke.

All talk of 'pluralist' idiocy by the dying Trotskyite counter-revolution is doomed centrist posturing to cover up the defeat of petty-bourgeois eclecticism by the world's first proletarian dictatorship. It is a moribund, false 'way forward', designed to conceal the Trot's capitulation to the actuality of the world socialist revolution led by remnants of the despised Third International (which was supposedly only a tool of US imperialist reaction). Nicaragua's 'pluralism' is just a proletarian dictatorship ploy

for US consumption, however.

Moscow will be forced to accommodate to new centres of revolutionary Leninism just as it had to adapt in the past to Mao, Ho, and Castro in their important breakthroughs to revolutionary overthrow of imperialism in the face of Moscow's preference for further retreats from confrontation. But at some stage such new centres of irresistible Leninist revolutionary struggle will occur in advanced industrial countries where the Leninist party will be forced to raise Bolshevik theoretical & organisational struggle (to higher levels than ever yet attained) in order to overcome the near-impenetrable jungle of revisionist/reformist/centrist confusion bequeathed by the decay and out-of-date irrelevance, now, of the 2nd, 3rd, & so-called 4th internationals. At some stage such an advanced Leninist leadership will feel strong enough to not just decide matters itself in its own sphere of influence, -against Moscow's advice, -as Mao, Ho, & Castro's parties did. But to go on from there and give confident sustained advice to the entire international revolutionary struggle, eclipsing Moscow. And in an advanced-industry country, such a revolutionary leadership could quickly have enough material power at its elbow to make its alternative revolutionary leadership of the world socialist camp immediately felt. Moscow would have no material basis for any serious hostility to such an eclipse of its previously dominant position.

The world socialist revolution will continue to advance successfully. But it will go even further even faster once it kicks the dead weight of past & present revisionist confusion off its back once & for all. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

12. The West's enthusiasm for Gorbachev's distortions of Lenin on peaceful coexistence, class-collaboration, and human rights is a grave counter-revolutionary warning (Bulletin 376, 14/1/87)

Much of the 'good impression' about Gorbachev formed by some Western public opinion is highly suspect.

When an incurable fascist-minded reactionary like That-

cher declares she can "do business" with the Soviet leader, it could only be out of cynical hope that he is soft-headed enough to be fooled by the West.

When the plagiarising little fairy currently doing the Guardian correspondent's work (termed "poisonous disinformation" by the Soviet authorities) turns from his hatred of communism & the dictatorship of the proletariat to cheering on Gorbachev's 'openness revolution' against resistance by 'party hardliners', it can only be because he sees some of the reforms as a potential weakening of the anti-imperialist struggle.

And when the philistine individualist Sakharov praises Gorbachev's 'restructuring' reforms, he must have noticed in them opportunities for increasing the CIA's propaganda influence in the USSR.

(Similarly, for illustration, the reactionary significance of last week's student posturing in China could be judged by Fleet Streets enthusiasm for it as against the disapproval of Maoist circles in the Chinese CP, - (dubbed 'conservatives' for demanding the maintenance of Marxist-Leninist principles as opposed to the trivia of bourgeois democracy (pluralist parliamentarism).)

Western imperialist subversion of socialist construction has been going on non-stop since 1917. The Cold War hatred of the Soviet Union reaches crescendos when the USSR acts forcefully & firmly to limit the West's sphere of interference and freedom of action.

The unparalleled sacrifice & determination of the Bolsheviks to rid their country of all White Guard bourgeois counter-revolutionary influence after 1918 drew an avalanche of barbarous savage intervention down on their heads from the West, plus no trading agreements whatsoever, and no diplomatic recognition for nearly 20 years in some prominent Western countries' case.

The equal determination by Moscow after the German imperialist invasion (1941-45) had been totally wiped out, -to never again allow the group of East European fascist powers to become the tools of Western

anti-communist aggression as they had done for Hitler (-Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc) by ensuring that the old nazi-mind-ruling circles never held complete sway there again, ---invoked Cold War vilification, and nuclear arms-race threats to wipe out the Soviet Union once & for all, - like never before.

Moscow's resolute refusal to allow Western-financed subversion to succeed in overthrowing the socialist regimes in Poland & Afghanistan from 1979 onwards likewise gave Reaganism the 'excuse' it was seeking to obliterate 'detente' dealings, and revive the same aggressive military-crusade hysteria which had taken the USA into its barbaric wars against Vietnam & Korea to 'roll back the communist menace'.

What the West hopes it sees in Gorbachev is a determination to avoid at any cost any confrontation at all between the world socialist revolutionary camp and the collapsing capitalist order. They hope to see the ultra-cautious defeatism of the Popular Front retreat from revolution in Spain, the 1945 Greek communist capitulation to British intervention on behalf of the monarchy, the Allende-Chilean CP door-opening for fascist-military dictatorship, and the Western CP 'peaceful road' liquidation into reformism, ---to see these confused revisionist abandonments of Leninism continuing as firmest-possible strands of the international communist movement.

The material limits to the socialist camps room for retreat means in practice that Moscow is unlikely to abandon Afghanistan to feudal-imperialist reactionary intervention; or Vietnam abandon Kampuchea to capitalist subversion or Pol-Pot petty-bourgeois lunacy; or Cuba abandon Angola to South African nazi invasion; etc.

But the real test of how well reactionary Western hopes have been placed on Gorbachev's suspected defeatist dread of confrontation will come when the best-possible outcome to the international balance of class forces poses the need for socialist camp direct involvement on behalf of the Nicaraguan socialist

revolution, say, against US-organised invasion; or on behalf of the southern African revolutionary-socialist national-liberation against the fearful odds of Pretoria's Western & Zionist-armed fascist might; or on behalf of the Philippines socialist revolution, for example, against any US military occupation.

At such moments, will the revolutionary clarity & determination Moscow showed in preventing Afghanistan's subversion predominate, e.g. ; or will the seductive illusions of Moscow's own (correct) peaceful coexistence propaganda disarm the socialist camp into thinking that no great harm will result from avoiding confrontation, -the self-inflicted damage which the anti-imperialist camp suffered from ignoring Reagan's Grenada invasion, - (which spawned a colossal expansion of subversion preparations and activities by Washington as a result of that disgracefully-easy nazi 'triumph' over communism.)

The revisionist potential for dangerous illusions that the peaceful coexistence tactic (correct as far as it goes in constantly challenging imperialism to disarmament competition, to expose capitalism's inbuilt war-mongering inevitability) can actually overthrow or neutralise armed imperialism, - remains as bad now as when, for example, Khrushchev first came out with the crass idealism that the horrors of nuclear destruction made future wars "unthinkable" as far as the established pattern of imperialist warring this century was concerned. Gorbachev's regime has so far not shown itself to be particularly more anti-Marxist in this non-materialist wishful thinking than any predecessors; but neither has their pitiful grasp of Leninism improved either. Listen to this recent officially-approved blather from Doctor of Philosophy (!) Molchanov, interpreting the 27th CPSU Congress.

"By creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist theory and method, the Congress produced a new fundamental foreign policy concept, a new philosophy of international relations which

is in many ways a revolution in mentality, a valuable accretion to and enrichment of the communist ideological heritage. This concept reposes on a new political vision of this diversified world, full of contradictions, yet interconnected and integral, with all nations and peoples globally interdependent for the first time in history

"Applied to the realities of this age, the former notions of war are hopelessly outdated, and have become a dangerous anachronism. . . . the Congress finding of added significance is that the modern world has become too small and too fragile for wars and power politics, and that it is impossible to save human civilisation without definitely breaking with the mode of thinking and acting that has for centuries implied the acceptability and affordability of wars. . . . Security is increasingly a political objective which can be realized by creating, through joint efforts, political, material and organisational structures with which to maintain peace and exclude the very possibility of war ever breaking out. "

Making such crass idealist remarks as "the former notions of war are hopelessly outdated" is worse than useless. The fact is that imperialist decay and anti-Leninist confusion has permitted this capitalist-dominated planet to impose more bloody and widespread warmongering destruction on mankind since 1945 (and the start of the nuclear age) than ever was inflicted prior to 1945, ---even including the holocausts of both world wars. Just in Indo-China alone, US imperialism exploded more munitions than all the combatants together throughout WWII. Their Agent-Orange chemical warfare alone wiped out ten times more victims than the atomic devastation of Japan in 1945. And the Indo-China campaign was only one of more than 200 major and minor wars of aggression imposed by Western imperialism since 1945. Moscow's wishful-thinking propaganda that 'nuclear fear has preserved peace since 1945' is one of the

most outrageous anti-Leninist, near-chauvinist stupidities ever uttered.

Absolutely nothing has altered the warmongering material reality of the imperialist system since 1945, nor could it expect in the mindless vacuum of pacifist wishful thinking. The idea of peace, or of making war 'unthinkable', could be written in letters of fire right across the sky in an actual heavenly miracle and it would not make the slightest difference to the law-governed cut-throat competitive slump-anarchy and colonial aggressiveness of the capitalist system. The West's conscious sabre-rattling anti-communist hysteria is not, in fact, the most characteristic measure of imperialism's warmongering degeneracy. Both great watersheds of establishing proletarian revolutionary power, -after 1917 and after 1945, took place precisely because the capitalist system could not prevent incurable internal outbreaks of warring against itself. Mass revolt & overthrow was the price the system had to pay for the inevitability of inter-imperialist World War I and the basically inter-imperialist World War II. Capitalist warmongering is an unmistakable historical midwife of proletarian revolution, -not surprisingly so being the ultimate crisis-anarchy degeneracy of the slump-ridden exploitation and cut-throat rivalry system.

What sort of revisionist nonsense has ousted Leninist understanding to respond to the horrors of the Gulf War, the southern Africa conflagration, the US blitz on Grenada, the Falklands War, the vicious military subversions of Nicaragua, Afghanistan & Ethiopia; the heroic armed struggles in occupied Palestine, occupied Ireland, occupied Timor, etc: the turmoils in Chad, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Punjab, Peru, etc; the long revolutionary struggles in Philippines, El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, and so on, ---to respond to these clear demands for Bolshevik revolutionary decisiveness & clarity with the pathetic paralysis that these realities (of a world not yet governed by Leninism) are just "hopelessly outdated" ? What hopeless idealist irreleva-

nce is this for a response. ?

Leninism finally asserted itself as the only science of human progress (as against scores of other pseudo-Marxist trends) by waging revolutionary war on imperialist warmongering (as opposed to merely deploring it, or pacifistically sitting it out, or, -mostly, - supporting it "purely for purposes of self-defence" as the Second (Marxist) International pretended as the principal variety of peace idealism.

Leninist science today no less demands that mankind at last be rid of the capitalist system and its endless warmongering by the revolutionary overthrow of the warmongers, -by waging war on war.

It is true that Molchanov goes on to describe how "at the same time (as rules must be drawn up to render war 'unthinkable') (!) "vigorous and determined work for peace does not mean giving up the struggle for social progress. The world is undergoing sweeping change. And nobody can be allowed to block it by an eternal social-political status quo. Every people have the legitimate right to live in peace & freedom, the right to national independence and social change. The righteous struggle of the peoples for liberation is and will be going on. It is impossible to make them put up with foreign oppression or despotic rule of home-grown reaction. Therefore, in their effort to resolve the most dramatic global problem, -that of human survival -progressive forces never stop thinking of how they are going to live further on and fighting for a better future of their respective nations and for social progress. "

This is a constant unbreakable material fundament of the USSR and all workers states. Despite dangerous anti-revolutionary revisionist lapses at different historic crises, the Soviet Union has always eventually ended up giving support to international revolutionary progress, -broadly speaking, - even where Moscow showed great initial reluctance to be seen too prominently to be backing anti-imperialist confrontation (for fear of being dragged into hostilities itself by war-bent military-monopolist circles

always itching for a provocation to launch Armageddon against the USSR). Despite conservative fears about 'adventurism' or 'unproven guerrilla-war methods', etc, the Soviet Union eventually firmly backed the Castro revolution, the Indo-China revolution, the Chinese revolution, etc.

Moscow's material interests must always eventually coincide with those of expanding the world socialist revolution, and they ultimately overcome their conservative-revisionist doubts & fears; - but anti-Leninist defeatism remains the predominant, confusion-sowing, ostensible programme of Moscow's world view; they act upon it, and it causes great damage still.

It would unarguably be more advantageous for the faster & further expansion of the world socialist revolution if Moscow had given more revolutionary influence & encouragement (rather than the opposite) at certain crucial turning points, -such as the fatal tragedy of the Greek communist resistance deciding to allow the British army to occupy Greece in 1944 after the resistance itself had already all-but finished off the Nazi occupation & rearguard. Greece could easily have become a workers socialist state like Yugoslavia & Albania (which did refuse to let the British military land there) with some more sensible Leninist encouragement from international revolutionaries. Instead, all Moscow's influence was for allowing the British imperialists to occupy Greece, (-unnecessarily, but in furtherance of Stalin's religious adherence to deals struck with the wartime allies against Nazi German imperialism, -a slavish and fearful narrow-mindedness which Moscow was forced to breach elsewhere (in East Europe) and did so without any additionally unpleasant repercussions at all (beyond what the West had in store for the USSR anyway, arising out of Churchill's pre-meditated Cold War anti-communist crusading obsession, -eagerly supported by Truman, and by the criminal Labour Party in Britain.)

The same could be said about the disastrous approval Moscow

& Havana gave to the 'peaceful road-Popular Front' bankruptcy of Allende & the Chilean CP which opened the door to fascism in 1970-73. Outspoken international Leninist advice might have prevented that catastrophic illusion. Even more to the point, the ILWP more recently took up continuing Chilean 'left' confusion about finding a more 'democratic' general than Pinochet to rule, or 'democratising the army' and restoring 'democratic' progress in Chile (but without overthrowing the bourgeois-capitalist state, -or even mentioning it. !) In particular, the Bulletin attacked a Moscow contribution to World Marxist Revi-

ew which actually advocated an extension of the treacherous anti-Leninist coalitions entered into by the CPs in Chile, and subsequently in France, falsifying Lenin in order to put across this revisionist rubbish. (See ILWP Books vol 6 for full excerpts from WMR & Lenin on these questions). Far from helping polemicise against continuing Chilean CP revisionist illusions in aspects of the 'peaceful road' lunacy, Moscow helped polemicise to maintain these illusions.

Since that period, interestingly, Chilean communists have helped form the MR PF armed struggle. And a spokesman, Marcelo Reyes, has just told Victoria

Brittain of his criticisms of those on the 'left' "who believed dissident generals might be possible replacements for Pinochet". Reyes spelt out the Front's rejection of political compromise. "To even imagine this regime is open to dialogue is to ignore its history. This is not the first time the opposition has been offered a handful of sweets, nor the first time it has fallen for it."

"And it is symptomatic of these sections of the opposition that they emphasise the importance of these foreign aspects instead of looking to the Chilean people themselves.

"Conventional politics are impossible with a regime of this character. You can not overthrow a regime of this type without the widest

mobilisation of the masses and the use of *all* forms of struggle.

"It isn't us who took the path of violence," Reyes went on, using the same phrase Oliver Tambo has used for years to explain the ANC's decision to take up arms in South Africa. "For more than 10 years the opposition in Chile made constant efforts to resolve our national drama. The results are there for everyone to see today."

There can be no doubt that open Leninist arguments from Moscow (in line with the ILWP's consistent position) could have helped the Chilean workers reach even more revolutionary consciousness even sooner, as was pointed out in Bulletin 203 & 200 (quoted below, and reproduced in full in ILWP Books vol 6).

In Chile, for example, these anti-dialectical centrist illusions, which had their original disastrous expression in Allende's CP-backed 'parliamentary road to socialism' (which led only to Pinochet's torture chambers and death camps) now reappear in calls for 'left unity' which would seek to overthrow the dictatorship but leave the capitalist state which created it intact.

A joint declaration by the general secretaries of the CP, Allende's Socialist Party, and the MIR (Revolutionary Left) claims that their 'left unity' will achieve "justice, democracy, and social progress" by such measures as "democratising the state" and "democratising the armed forces".

This nonsense is supported by the World Marxist Review, journal of the official international CP alliance, which pretends that 'parliamentary road' revisionism is everywhere containing imperialism through 'anti-monopoly democracy', and taking steps towards working class socialist power via coalition seats in bourgeois governments, (as in France, and as in Chile under Allende).

In the ILWP Bulletin 200, the WMR's foul attempts to describe these criminal class compromises as 'Leninist' policies was refuted with extensive quotes from Lenin specifically and vehemently denouncing such compromises. Bulletin 200 also noted how revisionist collaboration to avoid proletarian dictatorship had opened the door in Chile under Allende to the subsequent fascist butchery from the undemolished capitalist state machinery.

Since then, the full enormity of the French CP's class collaboration with the imperialist state in Mitterand's "socialist coalition" government has been brought home by Paris's monstrous military intervention against the popular revolution in Chad, helping out CIA propaganda for Reagan's even more criminal armed aggression plans to wipe out Gaddafi's anti-imperialist regime in Libya.

This vicious conspiracy against national liberation elements of the world socialist revolution underlines Lenin's understanding that revisionist petty bourgeois parties,

masquerading as 'lefts' and 'Marxists', are themselves potential butchers of the working class, and not just coalition dupes who open the door to such savagery by the imperialist state.

It only confirms the thoroughly rotten pro-imperialist history of the French CP which on several occasions actively assisted the French capitalist state to wage war against the Vietnamese and Algerian national liberation struggles, and which consistently supports French imperialism's nuclear armory which is part of NATO's warmongering arms race against the Soviet Union and the world socialist revolution.

Moscow undermines its own heroic and historic stance in helping protect the world socialist revolution and national liberation struggle by its failure to denounce the anti-Leninist imbecilities of the World Marxist Review, and the rotten reactionariness of the French Communist Party's policies (as of those of most of the West European CPs who are incurably corrupted with revisionism). 9 -203.

"The entire history of the bourgeois-parliamentary... countries shows that a change of ministers means very little, for the real work of administration is in the hands of an enormous army of officials. This army however, is undemocratic through and through. It is connected by thousands and millions of threads with the landowners and the bourgeoisie and is completely dependent on them. This army is surrounded by an atmosphere of bourgeois relations, and breathes nothing but this atmosphere. It is set in its ways, petrified, stagnant, and is powerless to break free of this atmosphere. It can only think, feel, or act in the old way...."

"It is the greatest delusion, the greatest self-deception, and a deception of the people, to attempt by means of this state apparatus to carry out such reforms as the abolition of landed estates without compensation, or the grain monopoly, etc. This apparatus... is absolutely incapable of carrying out reforms which would even seriously curtail or

limit the rights of capital, the rights of 'sacred private property', much less abolish those rights. That is why it always happens, under all sorts of 'coalition' cabinets that include 'socialists', that these socialists, even when individuals among them are perfectly honest, in reality turn out to be either a useless ornament of or a screen for the bourgeois government, a sort of lightning conductor to divert the people's indignation from the government, a tool for the government to deceive the people....

"So it has been and so it will be as long as the bourgeois system exists and as long as the old bourgeois, bureaucratic state apparatus remains intact."

Nothing has happened from that day to this to prove Lenin wrong, and no amount of lying revisionist garbage from the World Marxist Review, the French CP, the Chilean CP, etc, will do so either.

The Chilean CP is already at it again, putting out a joint statement (in the name of Luis Corvalan plus Clodomiro Almeyda and Andres Pascal Allende of the Socialist Unity and MIR (Revolutionary Left) about the crisis for Pinochet) which shamefully fails to call for the arming of the people, or the transfer of state power to popular organisations, or for the destruction of the existing state apparatus which under Salvador Allende's coalition with the Communist Party was the instrument for disarming the working class in 1973 and handing them over trussed and betrayed to the Pinochet butchers.

Krasin's imbecilities in the World Marxist Review will help Corvalan drag the Chilean CP back into another disastrous coalition with the bourgeoisie upon the overthrow of Pinochet, -which will then lead to another "greatest delusion, greatest self-deception, and deception of the people" on the tragically-betrayed working class of Chile, - unless a Leninist party can be built to give Bolshevik leadership (away from this new brewing up of a Menshevik-SR catastrophe)-via

proletarian dictatorship.

It is impermissible for the revolutionary socialists to betray, mislead, and confuse the working class by approving or participating in any government before bourgeois state power has been overthrown...

Lenin declared: "The compromise would amount to the following. The Bolsheviks, without making any claim to participate in the government - which is impossible for the internationalists unless a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasants has been realised - would refrain from demanding the immediate transfer of power to the proletariat and the poor peasants..."

The underlined section's clearcut refusal to compromise the socialist revolution with bourgeois power is in a separate world from the stinking revisionism of Krasin and the World Marxist Review which seeks just such a compromise, lying that "along this path the working class will... win some positions in the power structure and establish transitory types of revolutionary-democratic authority... at these intermediate stages... making use of the levers of state administration."

This is a LIE. It is petty-bourgeois compromisers, not the working class, who will reap the wretched benefits of coalition with the bourgeois state power. The working class will be sold out, - as they were by the SRs and Menshevik 'Marxists', by the Ch-

Despite all the blather about 'openness' coming from the Gorbachev regime, the key question is when is there going to be much more open discussion of the things that really matter, - the struggle for a correct Leninist interpretation of these crucial questions of programme, strategy, and tactics for the successful overthrow of imperialism worldwide, -the only conceivable future for mankind. When is there going to be some serious discussion of the catastrophe of the Popular Front in Spain, of the 'social fascist' nonsense in Germany, of the tragic decision by the Greek CP to invite British military occupation, of the wretched futility of the 'peaceful road to socialism' CPs, etc, etc, etc.

Or to reduce the same question to the parochial interests which have perhaps predominated too much in Moscow since Lenin's time; -- While it is excellent to hear of a rogue KGB officer brought to book in some distant part of south Ukraine (see last week's Fleet Street 'openness' sensation), when are entire historical periods of less-than-

ilean CP 'communists', and as they are being by the French CP 'communists'.

For Krasin and the World Marxist Review then to grotesquely distort Lenin and say: "We speak of 'transitory types of social transformations' and of 'transitory types of power' in keeping with the Lenin heritage" is a serious FALSIFICATION and a scandalous stain on Moscow and the socialist camp. It should be rectified immediately.

Krasin's WMR idiocies also degenerately revise Leninism in pretending that 'transitory forms of social changes' -(i. e. reforms in non-pretentious language)- can be achieved by 'democracy bearing the stamp of the identity of social democracy' -(i. e. by reformism.) This is an anti-Marxist LIE. Reforms are achieved ONLY as the result of the determination of the international working class to fight for the REVOLUTIONARY overthrow of imperialism, - as most school-children in the USSR could hopefully tell 'Professor' Krasin from a mere smattering of acquaintance with Leninism.

It is equally fraudulent to talk of "profound anti-monopoly changes" due to reformism under capitalism. WHERE?. Another "deception of the people", in Lenin's words.

This criticism of revisionism within the 'communist movement' has nothing in common, of course, with Trotskyism's "everything is rotten" betrayal of the Soviet Revolution. The three latest books by the

International Leninist Workers Party all expose Trotskyism far more effectively than anything published by any other opponents of these 'ultra-left' anti-Soviet anti-communist reactionaries. Indeed it is the West European proponents of the "anti-monopoly democracy concept elaborated by the communist movement" who stand right in the Trotskyist-Reagan-Thatcher-CIA camp of counter-revolution in supporting Solidarity in Poland (see same ILWP publications).

The ILWP's stand is a Leninist criticism of conservative revisionism in the communist movement. It develops the polemic with CP revisionism elaborated in Bulletins 196 & 197 on the question of Palestine, for example, and in the three above-mentioned publications on the retreat from proletarian dictatorship in Poland, for example, due to confused revisionist inability to understand Lenin's international revolutionary perspectives.

All other political groups in Britain have proved incapable of engaging in a sensible polemic with the ILWP on these and other matters. But these questions require urgent discussion in the international workers movement. Silence on these matters would be another "great deception of the people".⁹ (Bulletin 200)

Leninist brilliance by the KGB to be re-examined so that the wrong political perspectives behind those crass mistakes can be overcome so as to restore the KGB to the crucial political leadership role its vital state security work calls for & deserves? A widespread soft-left sympathy in the West for Gorbachev to become a 'popular, successful, and likeable international figure' (so that they can indulge their secret admiration for the USSR without any further painful 'difficult periods' of the past) is tending to wish that 'awkward questions' about historic Moscow mistakes should no longer be raked up.

This illusion that with this one bright new image, Gorbachev-led Moscow can now have endless & painless 'success' for the benefit of all mankind, is treacherous garbage.

The 'old problems' scientifically simply cannot 'go away.' It would make a complete mockery of every philosophical understanding Marx, Engels, & Lenin stood for if they could. To leave mankind's pre-history (under class society) for his conscious real hi-

story under communism precisely requires that all the difficulties which have screwed up human existence should become knowable & correctable. While not an exact natural science, the full understanding of human society must include the full understanding of the history of that society, -especially such still-prominent & painful bits as the Popular Front disaster in the Spanish Civil War, the catastrophe of Allendeism and all 'peaceful road to socialism' nonsense, and in general of the whole epoch identified with Stalin's mistakes, limitations, and arbitrariness (ridiculously still dismissed as merely "the cult of the individual" which begs every serious Marxist question about those developments).

More practical proof of this broad point can be gathered, eg. from considering how any Leninist party is ever going to win enough confidence among revolutionarily-conscious Spanish workers (to lead the successful overthrow of the capitalist state) if it can only try sweeping under the carpet the still-burning issues of the Civil War per-

iod in the way that Moscow tries to do. Likewise, tragic mistakes of past Greek left leaderships will line up a successful mass revolutionary movement only behind a party which can win & deserves total trust. Ditto in the Caribbean after the disasters on Jamaica, Grenada, etc. Proletarian masses do not themselves necessarily want to know all the details of past theoretical bankruptcy. But they do require being able to feel confident that their trusted political party leadership has satisfactorily explained all the ins & outs of all past difficulties in depth, and therefore does have the proven & reliable ability to make correct decisions on all forthcoming complexities of programme, strategy, & tactics, - in exactly the same way that history has shown a good Leninist party is able to do. A key lesson from Lenin is how the Bolsheviks had to earn the confidence of the masses by being practically correct all, or most, of the time, -about everything (i. e. by having correct revolutionary theory).

During the course of preparing this article, new material relevant to the anti-Leninist confus-

ion (in Moscow & elsewhere) over how to treat Sakharov became available, giving practical proof of the line the ILWP has been agitating should be adopted. (See previous two Bulletins). No 375 last week, for instance, declared:

‘Refusing to challenge Moscow on these matters because ‘the voices of tiny political groups in the West can have no influence’, or because ‘massive Soviet society’s pace & style of evolutionary advance is now inevitably settled’, etc, is an anti-revolutionary attitude springing subjectively from a wish to tone down an insistence on Leninism within Western society, - a class position which cannot serve the interests of the proletarian revolution.

Not challenging Moscow’s revisionism consistently would mean agnostic fatalism in international outlook, and destructive stagnation in domestic political development. The ILWP will never remain a comfortable niche for such attitudes.

The attempted rationalisations of Moscow’s treatment of Sakharov are all garbage, -for instance the notion that ‘Gorbachev has him taped, and the anti-Soviet whingeing will either dry up or be ignored after a while. It can certainly never harm the USSR’.

Sakharov, as such, is obviously no threat to the Soviet Union, nor to the world socialist revolution. But this shallowness misses the entire point about his role, - as an echo for imperialist meddling in Soviet affairs.

If Western provocations fail to engineer Sakharov all the way back to renewed public challenges to the dictatorship position the CPSU correctly maintains in the USSR, -then Western influence & intelligence will simply begin to promote some other dissident craphead more vigorously who will make the right disruptive noises to suit the CIA’s ‘black propaganda’ theories & strategies. As already argued (see last week’s Bulletin), the damaging value for the West in Sakharov’s idiotic outpourings lies in prolonging the phony diversion that the ‘test’ of any society is how well it treats its opponents, or what ‘human rights’ it allows, or how much ‘demo-

cracy’, etc. Whereas the real question for history is how soon is Marxist-Leninist science, the only truth about society and historical development, -going to be imposed on all mankind’s affairs (rather than just the socialist camp’s) in the only way in which it can ever happen, -through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This ridiculous useless diversion of having Sakharov’s anti-Soviet barminess presented as the real issues facing mankind undoubtedly disrupts the class struggle in the West, - the more so by having Moscow play along with the pointless charade; - and also further undermines Soviet philosophical assuredness generally speaking. What was Leninist famed science all about if this Sakharov idiot’s bourgeois-democratic counter-revolutionary twaddle gets more international air-time from the heart of the Soviet Union than Lenin himself is getting? ♪

No sooner had this analysis been published than Sakharov himself, -courtesy of his ‘liberal’ Tory Government friend Lord Bethell and the ‘liberal’ Observer, -was hammering the anti-Leninist message of this whole farce home with near-Nazi ferocity. The threat to the world is Soviet society, rants this total reactionary, Sakharov. Only re-imposing capitalism (bourgeois democracy) on Russia can save mankind, Sakharov effectively declares. Meanwhile he fully intends to resume full blast his job as full-time agent for all anti-communists in the USSR, and link-man for the CIA’s ruthless counter-revolutionary interference and propaganda-provocations, dreamed up and manipulated outside Russia from the West by that great supporter of ‘freedom’ Reagan, (-leader of the fascist blitzkrieg against socialist Grenada; the bombing of women & children in Tripoli, Libya; the Nazi slaughter of hard-won new socialist constructions in Nicaragua and of the newly-trained people who run them; and would-be boss of endless other bloody murderous intrigues & subversion against socialist & national-liberation progress all round the world, -from South Africa to the Philippines.)

The only ‘extremism’ Sakharov condemns is that of anarchist groups taking action against capitalist states, -not imperialism which is holding half the ‘free’ world in a fascist-dictatorship grip from Chile to Indonesia, -courtesy of Reagan & Thatcher, condemning millions to death from starvation each year, and slaughtering by death-squads (masterminded by the CIA) all who would try to change things.

As well as not condemning the CIA’s mercenary death squads trying to wipe out socialist Nicaragua’s brilliant economic & social progress, Sakharov positively speaks up in favour of the reactionary-feudal mercenaries using CIA arms to butcher socialist progress in Afghanistan pretending that the counter-revolution will make Afghanistan a ‘neutral’ country.!

Finally Sakharov demands full reimposition of the worst Cold War blockade on the USSR such as prevailed just after the Revolution when the invading armies of 14 imperialist powers wiped out millions through death & famine as they systematically wrecked the Russian economy to make sure the great socialist experiment started out with impossible difficulties to overcome, -inflicting total trade embargo and diplomatic non-recognition into the bargain. The USA did not ‘recognise’ the USSR as even existing until the 1930s! -and then only to intrigue against it from the inside, to set up Soviet Russia for the 1941 Nazi-imperialist re-invasion and renewed holocaust. This fascist scum Sakharov is trying to help set the USSR up for just such another Western intervention, -in effect, -by his counter-revolutionary pro-‘democracy’ drivel. ♪

Sakharov’s famous conversation with the Soviet leader consisted mainly, it seems, of the physicist’s expression of horror and disgust at the ‘murder’ of long-term dissident Anatoli Marchenko in Chistopol prison a few days earlier....

Even when he said thank you to Gorbachov, it meant, “Thank you for ‘phoning,” not “Thank you for setting us free.” It was obvious, too, that it was he, Sakharov, who brought the conversation to a close - and perhaps not as politely as one might expect in the circumstances. . . .

... elimination of negative aspects. And an essential condition of achieving this is openness in society. This includes freedom of movement inside the country,

freedom of emigration and return, freedom of thought, freedom to distribute information and religious freedom.

‘This is very important if any country is to function normally and not be a threat to its neighbours... Is it realistic to hope for such improvements? Well, if only part of this can be achieved, it would be a very great step forward, both for us and for the whole world. The world can sleep peacefully only if our Soviet society becomes more open.’

‘Please tell people that we are available to take ‘phone calls between 11 a.m. and 11 p.m., apart from my afternoon rest between four and six,’ he told me. ‘Outside those hours we should be called only in an emergency, if someone is being arrested or having his flat searched.’

It is clear therefore that the Sakharovs are available as they were before 1980, as the unpaid servants of those whom the KGB still oppresses. ‘My work in the social field is a duty that I cannot abandon. I must use my influence on the political climate in this country as well as abroad....

He insists though that the West, especially leaders like Mr Reagan and Mrs Thatcher who have been outspoken on Soviet internal policy, must now intensify their efforts.... The West should insist on improvements.

‘A philosophy which says that the worse it is for them the better it is for us has never appealed to me, but nowadays it is really a philosophy for extremists only, perhaps for the Red Brigades in Italy or Action Directe in France. Any sensible political leader like Mrs Thatcher or, I think, Mr Reagan must want a more stable world. And part of the stability is a more open Soviet society....

‘I would like to see future meetings between East-West leaders made conditional, whether explicitly or not, on the implementation of these changes. The West must never give anything away for nothing. This is not blackmail on the West’s part, it is no more than helping those progressive tendencies in our country which are, with very great difficulty, trying to assert themselves. ♪

Just posing this backward stupidity as worthy of discussion is all the victory that the West needs from the Sakharov stunt. Even the tiny minority who read this ignorant childishness and disagree with it must still be chalked up as a victory for the West, simply because they are fooled into thinking that arguing with Sakharov is worth doing. It is nothing of the sort. It is a complete diversion from the real issue of proletarian dictatorship or bourgeois dictatorship facing mankind, as Leninism insists. For the shallow imperialism-corrupted Western minds who fall for Sakharov’s treacherous simpleton blather, the CIA chalks up a double victory.

The Bulletin's attempt to insist (in advance of these latest confirmations of what the West is up to with Sakharov) that a firm Leninist line be adhered to against 'free opinion', -came not from a hunch, or conceit, or a vendetta but from a consistent ILWP struggle that correct theory is the only key to successful revolutionary development. A fundamental question is posed by the Sakharov nonsense. Is the future of mankind to be resolved through conciliation with imperialist backwardness or through confrontation with it? It is infantile to abandon a theoretical test (of what is philosophically implied by Gorbachev's reinstatement of Sakharov) for feeble rubbish that the ILWP is being led towards 'defeatism', or 'anti-Sovietism', or put into the hands of a 'rightwing faction'. The ILWP's assessment of how imperialism will be eclipsed may be wrong, -as Molchanov & Co obviously wishfully think. But then the 'peaceful road' bollocks must be openly embraced, not slyly concealed, -and posturing of pretending to help build the ILWP should be finished with.

As with the McGoldrick case so with Sakharov. The ILWP is proving in practice, - dealing with the specific complexities raised by actual issues facing the working class, -that its theory is sound.

The difficulty of dialectically being both the only seriously pro-Soviet party in Britain while at the same time raising the only serious Leninist polemics with socialist camp & Third International revisionism, -has always caused problems. And there is no embarrassment with the procedure of having to attempt new statements on the Sakharov controversy in the form initially of 'letters' and 'discussion'. But as a general rule, -the more definitely the ILWP can confront the working class on any question, -the better. So the sooner & more thoroughly this weakness in dialectical understanding can be overcome, the better.

Revelations against the imperialist system in the Guardian, Observer, and other media are truly "progressive" in bourgeois-democratic terms. But the

Observers eagerness unflinchingly to help destroy any confidence remaining in the West in Leninist revolutionary science of proletarian dictatorship cannot be mistaken either. It leads to the inescapable conclusion: So much for bourgeois democracy. And the confusion over the Sakharov case should help confirm the need for non-stop struggle against the daily inducements from every aspect of Western 'freedom' (including its 'progressive'-seeming media) which detract from a hardline insistence on Leninist theory at all costs.

The unfolding international class struggle against dying imperialism is a deadly serious business. The ILWP's line alone can be supremely confident of worldwide revolutionary overthrow of capitalist warmongering. There is not one whiff of defeatism or anti-Sovietism in the ILWP's line, unlike every other political tendency. Just the opposite. But this is deadly serious politics, bearing enormous responsibility. In the growing realisation of this lies room for political cadres in Britain to feel that they are being asked for something different than ever before. Which, since there has never been a serious Leninist party in Britain ever before, is hardly surprising.

In being guided by firm historical-theoretical perspectives on what attitude should be taken to Moscow's Sakharov fiasco, it is necessary to study what could be the ultimate outcome of Leninist polemics against Moscow. Continued advances of the world socialist revolution will inevitably create the need for ever-more profound study of Leninist theory to overcome the increasingly sophisticated ideological & security defences of the more developed capitalist states. To overcome the huge barrier of 150 years of reformist & centrist confusion around the trade union & parliamentary/municipal socialist labour aristocracy in Britain, -boasting more than 57 varieties of Euro & Trot confusion-mongers to screw up the working class, - a very formidably-trained Leninist party indeed will be required.

Such a party would not repeat the experience of the Chinese,

and Cuban revolutionary leaderships in either satisfying themselves (with the necessary theoretical & practical innovations they had to make themselves, -against Moscow advice, to win power); or else proving unable to sustain their greater revolutionary clarity beyond their own frontiers. Having flourished so mightily to defeat imperialism in its own heartland of Britain, for example, such a Leninist party would inevitably have much valuable understanding to contribute about class struggle programme, strategy & tactics in many other international situations too, as well as the confidence to openly polemicise for such perspectives. At the same time in such a developed industrial country as Britain, for example, the new proletarian state would also quickly have economic power at its elbow to back up its support for anti-imperialist struggles elsewhere in the world. Moscow would no longer be all-powerful in such matters. And as previously argued in the Bulletin, Moscow would have no material cause to actively oppose such innovations, -however subjectively put-out its leadership might ludicrously temporarily feel.

Moscow is only obviously vulnerable to being influenced by the bourgeois-pacifist Popular Front sentiments (its diplomatic initiatives can arouse in the West) to the extent of being misled even more willingly into the illusion that more peaceful coexistence clever tactics is all that will be required to rout imperialist warmongering for ever. Its revisionist wishful thinking (materially based on the appalling war-suffering and reconstruction difficulties the Soviet Union has had to endlessly painfully struggle through since 1917) could never go as far as creating a workers state leadership which could consciously desire that there should never be any completion of the world socialist revolution. That idiocy only exists in the diseased anti-Marxist minds of the corrupted Western Trot petty-bourgeoisie, -ludicrously exaggerated out of much stubborn defeatist strategic & tactical blindness from Moscow in the past.

How far or firmly Moscow should be polemically agitated to

confront counter-revolutionary imperialist reaction (where further attempts at conciliation (to diplomatically expose the aggressive warmongering colonial essence of capitalism) could fatally compromise the international necessity for further proletarian revolutionary advance) is not the really big problem; and is best & most easily left to the clear needs & possibilities of specific cases. There is obviously much to discuss in the strategic/political/escalation difficulties of going to the aid of socialist Grenada when blitz from Reagan was threatened. But the important & serious matter to argue is how did Moscow & Havana collapse politically over the crisis of Bishop's mishandling (see ILWP Books vol 6). All great lessons of dealing with counter-revolutionary situations go back first to the Bolsheviks, for example to Kronstadt. Then as now, petty-bourgeois Western squeamishness at firm action in defence of proletarian dictatorship has always had a devastating effect on pro-Soviet 'sympathies' in the West, -whether the action was carried out (as at Kronstadt, Budapest, Prague, Afghanistan, e.g.); or merely contemplated, as in the arguments over Grenada, Berlin, South Africa, or Sakharov. But the 'degree' of firm treatment needed to rout reaction is a completely artificial & fraudulent 'concern' about violence. What further violence will be done to the international proletarian revolution (if firmness is not shown against reaction in time) is the only serious 'humane' concern. Instead of worrying about what exact forms of revolutionary working-class discipline should be exercised against Sakharov's treacherous blather, worry much more about what lease-of-life extension (however minute) his 'inspirational anti-Soviet stand' will give Western anti-communist reaction, and therefore how many more brutal deaths & maiming of honest Nicaraguan & Afghanistan revolutionary workers can be laid at his door all the time he is not shut up for good. Saying 'shoot him' is not advice to the KGB, nor gratuitous bloodthirstiness, nor childish vengeance, nor vicarious revolutionary bravado. It merely attem-

pts to state bluntly & succinctly what the international class struggle is really about, -as dictated by the bourgeoisie, ruling the planet for the last 400 years with endless ruthlessness & savage determination, -and making particularly good use of a shallow & ignorant 'abhorrence of violence among ordinary people' in order to continue ruling on as viciously as ever. Just listen some time to the essence of Thatcher & Co preaching against 'terrorism' as if butter would not melt in imperialism's mouth. And just see how the British 'left', particularly the Trots, have been bamboozled all the time over Ireland's national-liberation struggle on account of the hypocrisy against IRA 'violence'; or just look now at how the same effect is being achieved by the bourgeois media against the ANC over the 'neck-lacing', etc. These are truly philistine depths of 'argument' by the cowardly & humbug-ridden British 'left'. Shoot the bastard, or at least offer to swop him and his Zionist-agent wife for Bernard Coard and the other Grenada revolutionaries with US imperialist-invasion ropes around their necks. What a shameful episode this all is in Moscow's handling of international affairs.

It is Leninist science, -and Leninist action based on that science, -that truly takes mankind forward, -not the fact that they wear big trousers in Moscow. Hopeless muddle is being created around the idea of 'free discussion' by their Sakharov mess. Of course discussion must be 'free' but it also must reach Leninist scientific conclusions every time (proved by practice), -that is the important point. A Bolshevik party can only survive by genuine polemical struggle (see ILWP Books vol 2 on the real contents of Lenin's 'What is to be done'). The ILWP's strength comes out of the relentless insistence that cadres independently grasp the Leninist background to what the party is struggling to get clear, and independently strive to put the programme, strategy, & tactics into practice (not against party policy but, by their own initiatives, to try to create party policy). And in the inevitable differences of opinion that such a regime has produced, the

struggle for the party line has always been had out openly in front of the working class, in the pages of the Bulletin. But the real point is that once the further advances of international class-war practice & experience has proved beyond reasonable doubt which line is correct (as in the ILWP split over Solidarnosc counter-revolution), the most vital thing then is to make a clear decision on what has in fact been demonstrated by Leninist science, and to politically act upon it, -quickly & ruthlessly quashing reactionary resistance (by the withholding of funds, & circling non-elected 'alternative centre' literature, etc) to the democratic majority carrying out those decisions. The peddling of 'free discussion' or 'pluralism' as an end in itself is nothing but a hypocritical fraud of bourgeois-democracy, or 'parliamentarism' (i.e. capitalist dictatorship).

The prattle about 'openness' in Moscow needs to institute serious international Leninist polemics first of all. And they have the nerve to pretend that is what they are doing. The recent editors forum in Moscow for 'theoretical journals' from 41 international workers parties made just this claim:

"The dialectics of science is infinitely democratic and yet requires the strictest order and discipline, the forum pointed out. Its profound democratism lies in that it recognizes no boundaries and, consequently, no taboos and no monopoly on the scientific elaboration of any problem of human cognition. It is democratic because the integral law of its development is a free struggle of ideas, -a scientific discussion. It requires the strictest order and discipline, for only an objective truth is the aim of scientific quest. The forum therefore stressed that the communist parties theoretical journals will reach their goals only through taking the lead in the positioning and theoretical elaboration of new problems arising out of historical experience and the totality of human knowledge, and through holding the most forceful and profound scientific discussions.

"I. Frolov, editor-in-chief of the CPSU Central Committee's theoretical and political journal Ko-

mmunist, emphasized that a step-up of the theoretical front is seen by the Central Committee as the most important task, as a major ingredient of Party strategy, and as an urgent and objective social necessity. He dwelt at length on the tasks of the journal as defined by the resolution of the CPSU CC which contains a programme for restructuring the system of Soviet social sciences in line with the requirements of our time. "To assert the new way of thinking", Frolov said, 'means to pursue an essentially revolutionary change, give up the normativist-dogmatic attitude to life and practice, reject the habitual, but outdated conceptual schemes, and shake off the hypnosis of the past. If the entire front of social sciences turns to life and practice, that will not mean a diminution of the role of fundamental research or a narrowly pragmatic, opportunist understanding of the aims and objectives of science. On the contrary, science will render the greater help to practice if it takes a broader view of things, if it makes more important and profound theoretical generalisations and if it is able to look into the future as far as possible. The Party and society today vitally need research on different problem-solution variants, not excluding alternative, well-substantiated forecasts and dependable recommendations.'

"Noting the importance of the successes of the socialist countries for the development of the world revolutionary process, forum participants paid much attention to discussing the prospects of construction of the new society, examining its problems and clarifying the objective laws governing its rise and consolidation."

These are noble if bland intentions but pure bullshit if the major questions of international Leninism for the past 60 years are to continue to be kept on the back burner or, more likely, totally out of sight, as hitherto, such as Stalinism, Germany, Spain, Greece, the 'peaceful road', Allende, Grenada, etc, etc etc, etc, etc. The updating of 45 volumes of masterly Leninist tactics discussing in detail all manner of international revolutionary problems of programme, strategy, tactics, etc, is not even beginning to be written at the moment, but is be-

ing deliberately ignored, swept under the carpet, or artificially swamped by unenlightening emphasis on just one single Leninist propaganda point, -the diplomatic tactic of inter-state 'peaceful coexistence'. The building of international Leninism to defeat imperialism is ignored.

The impossibility of leaving old doubts about correct revolutionary tactics unresolved has already been discussed. But there is at least one burning question on the diplomatic 'peaceful coexistence' front where such shallowness will be equally insufficient; -the dangerous tendency to right wing nationalist stubbornness in China's international relations.

The wish for 'openness' there must start to discuss some of the old wounds which lie behind Peking's wretched belligerence on the Vietnam border and its ludicrous dog-in-the-manger support for Pol Pots futile destructiveness, past & present. But it will almost certainly prove impossible to start such 'openness' and then reach any kind of worthwhile conclusions without going back totally into all the vexed questions of international revolutionary tactics which put Peking & Moscow at odds in the first place, (-leading to Moscow's appalling censorship/ostracism campaign against Peking to bury all the difficult subjects, leading in turn to China's initial adventurist-extremist responses, and ultimately to embittered reaction, with which the socialist camp is still saddled to this day.) Too little 'openness' here will almost certainly become immediate humbug, and probably more trouble than it is worth.

The old hysterical-idealist defeatism from Moscow of how the new nuclear-bomb technology had made 'wars impossible' has done nothing to stop the slaughter on earth, flowing directly out of the capitalist system. The rate of wars, killing, and starvation inspired by imperialism is worse now than ever before in history, and is guaranteed to only get increasingly disastrous. Imperialist rivalry, ambition, cut-throat competition, exploitation, and arms-race aggression will continue to seek out all the 'weaker' victims it can find until it is stopped. And the present rate

of murderous death-squad mayhem is still in the 'boom period', -even before the new Great Crash has arrived and the subsequent widespread fascist-slump conditions have dragged some links of the imperialist chain back into the fullscale aggressive degeneracies of nazism (if they are not stopped by Leninist revolution, whose widespread revival could be greatly helped by some bold international theoretical leadership). Imperialisms warmongering degeneracy flows relentlessly out of material causes deep within the iron laws of the capitalist system, not out of a few 'foolish heads' who might be influenced by a "have a nice day" attitude from Moscow.

This 'pepsodent smile' version of 'marxism' is the most crass idealism. What is needed is less 'openness' posturing in Moscow and a return to a more detailed knowledge & understanding of Leninism by the leadership there.

13. Does publishing Dr Zhivago's anti-Soviet whine in Omsk meet the real priority needs of the anti-nazi struggle in Soweto?(Bulletin 377, 21/1/87)

In the huge battle of ideas which imperialism's terminal crisis (and its undermining by world communist revolution,) have unleashed, -anything less than the deepest Leninist material science on questions of revolutionary military offensives, the splits in imperialism, the role of proletarian state structures, censorship, & counter-revolution, etc, will keep Western workers bogged down in idealist confusion, -fooled by the mighty-sounding but shallow fixed categories of bourgeois argument.

There is no pat answer, whether in terms of 'literary values', of 'free-speech principles', or 'mass-persuasion psychology', or 'leadership tactics', or 'educational theories', etc, to such isolated questions, posed in the absolute, as 'Should Pasternak be censored', or 'Is Nicaraguan pluralism harmful', or 'should Sakharov be free to agitate, or emigrate', etc.

Throughout history, such questions have always in reality been decided by the weight of

class interests involved. It neither can be, nor should be, any different now. Leninism just needs to become much more conscious & confident of this necessary truth.

Arguing the merits of banning Pasternak's Dr Zhivago (to take a firm class stand against overthrow n bourgeois ideology) as against publishing it (in order to educate the socialist proletariat in how bad it is and why it is wrong), -may be very enlightening & diverting, but in practice should also be seen to be largely academic from a Leninist point of view. Are there really no burning priorities (permanently so) of the world socialist revolution and national-liberation struggle urgently demanding leaflets, pamphlets, books, etc, to be flooded in now to keep up the crucial international class war against imperialism; and do not such constant emergencies take precedence non-stop, over printing mawkish special pleadings from White renegades?

Without entering into any question-begging detailed 'literary criticism' of that particular issue (e.g. that particular book), how is it remotely historically possible than an extreme bourgeois-individualist anti-communist should possess some vital shaft of understanding without which the building of socialist society will either be impossible or drastically devalued? When bluntly challenged, romantic fantasies of 'literary magic' quickly evaporate.

To point this out is not in any way to dispute the powerful role creative artistic imagination has played in the history of civilisation, or can & should still play. It merely asserts the fundamental Marxist-Leninist understanding that the basic question of all social development, achievement, & striving is the matter of class power, -including the key to fathoming every great cultural movement (even when analysed more academically rather than as an immediate class-war priority issue.)

It is an undoubted fact of history that powerful class movements frequently spoke very obliquely through apparently 'purely

artistic' developments, or 'religious inspiration', etc. It is even more undoubtedly the case now that the most powerful ruling class in all history, -the beleaguered international monopoly bourgeoisie threatened worldwide by growing mass communist-revolutionary ideology, -is using its \$-multi-billions in thousands of known & unknown 'cultural' & black-propaganda ways to fight its final crucial international war to stay in power.

And one of the most treacherous traps by far being set by bourgeois ideological cunning is to fool the communist movement - (into doubting that working-class political partizanship is crucial, and all that really matters in all 'literary', 'moral', 'philosophical' and other questions of 'principle'), -while battling itself more ruthlessly than ever to impose its own 'democratic' (i. e. capitalist) class bias in all these spheres.

The ideal practical answer in the USSR to the ridiculously-inflated fuss about publishing Dr Zhivago or any other fictional emotion-churning distortion of historical reality (essentially the stance of all literature-cameos of real events, including the much-more-impressive pro-Soviet works) would be to demonstrate that all available time, interest, and materials for publishing anything were totally & properly dominated by urgent international support & propaganda campaigns for eliminating such pestilential imperialist sources of fascist warmongering disaster for mankind as apartheid rule in South Africa, Pinochet's rule in Chile, brutal US-mercenary holocaust against Nicaragua, Zionist genocide against Palestine & neighbouring Arab territories, etc, etc, etc, etc, etc, etc, -plus resources for minimum Soviet state requirements (education, economic planning, political organisation, military training, Soviet literary upbringing & culture etc).

This is still not to shirk the questions of more finely-tuned political preparations of Soviet society's Leninist world outlook (of which, it might be claimed, the controversy of the treatment of intellectuals has been a key & important part); but (a) it does

correctly stress the crucial role of mass international communist class activity for bringing about a world in which such literary matters can be more leisurely & academically debated; and (b) it does underline the vital & complex role of Leninist philosophical science itself (far more profound, culturally deeper, and emotionally developing than anything a narrow-minded individualist opportunist like Pasternak could ever have to say) in organising that decisive world revolutionary activity.

The best circumstances for indulging in a discussion of the literary, ethical, & tactical merits (or other wise) of publishing Zhivago would be immediately after one of the excellent Channel 4 TV documentaries on the horrors of apartheid, recently shown. The only worthwhile argument that could then be put forward for this tediously irrelevant matter would be if Pasternak just happened to be challenging the Soviet state with a plea for an even more fervently Leninist approach to life. In reality, of course, that bourgeois-minded individualist advocated the exact opposite, -stressing the virtues of living for oneself, and in effect trying to present the strivings of international communist class struggle (the only thing that can topple apartheid, releasing millions for their first real chance of leading any sort of human existence, -never mind one liberally supplied with books like Dr Zhivago (which paradoxically is the only kind of literature the fascist state does allow them to have easily in fact, -precisely because of its reactionary anti-communism)) - as shallow futility.

Debated after viewing a searing documentary about apartheid, Pasternak's loathsome self-pity, subjectivism, & slanderous accusations about a 'lost world of finer sensitivities' etc, would be as appetising as a pail of bourgeois vomit.

Tragically, of course, the Soviet leadership is right now wasting a lot of valuable time discussing precisely such tedious trivia on whether to waste vital publishing resources on such miserable selfishness as Dr Zhivago, - to judge by their irres-

onsible philistinism in reinstating the ignorant reactionary Sakharov to his Moscow soap-box. And they are certainly not approaching the world with the burning priority of sacrificing everything to try to help a crucial anti-imperialist victory for Leninist revolutionary science in South Africa, Chile, Philippines, El Salvador, Ireland, Sahara, Timor, Sudan, Palestine, Chad, Grenada, etc, etc. Just the opposite. What little they do say about Leninist revolutionary internationalism, they revise distortedly (see last week's Bulletin and ILWP Books vols 3 to 7).

Sadly there is a real need for the most advanced Leninist philosophical-polemical reappraisal of Moscow's inherited revisionist outlook (see previous literature). But even more sadly, the current philistine 'openness' in favour of discussing Sakharov's or Pasternak's barmy merits is going in exactly the wrong direction to achieve any such Leninist renaissance.

Far from there being any 'censorship problem' against right-wing drivel in the socialist camp, the only serious & interesting question is Moscow's continuing failure to encourage (scientific Leninist polemics about developments & difficulties in the world socialist revolution for the past 60 years), or active discouragement of them.

As far as 'democracy' is concerned, the petty-bourgeois class mentality represented by Pasternak & Sakharov, etc, had their chance prior to 1917 October, and look what a disgusting holocaust mess they made of the world. There is no going back to the discredited values of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and the 'Western way of life' now, particularly after the repeat holocaust performance Western imperialism staged from Spain, Italy, Germany, etc, from the 1930s onwards, culminating in the 1939-45 renewed bloodbath launched on mankind. And even shorter shrift should be given now to the claims of the 'democratic pluralist' system in the light of the unmistakable and inevitable preparations now being made within the capitalist system for renewed

all-out cut-throat trade-war, arms-race competition, and jingoistic hatred of all 'foreigners' which will unavoidably result in inter-imperialist World War III during the next decade. The fraud of monopoly-imperialist-dominated 'parliamentary democracy' has nothing at all to offer mankind apart from slump, fascism, death, & destruction.

Even the little show of 'pluralism' put on by the besieged Nicaraguan socialist regime in order to try by propaganda to disarm US imperialist aggressiveness just a little, -has some very negative features.

It is always potentially confusing and making a rod for their own backs to pretend they can let the counter-revolutionary La Prensa publish daily its disinformation against socialism without harming the new regime, -and then similarly allow like-minded anti-communist agents for CIA-backed Somozan fascist revanchism to campaign freely at election times. Experience has shown Managua that it is not practicable or wise to give such a free rein to such active & open counter-revolution, -especially in an era of endless US military aggression, destructive subversion, propaganda provocations, and economic destabilisation. The Sandinistas finally had to close La Prensa because it made no sense to leave it open, pouring out its murderous poison day after day on behalf of the overthrown fascist-imperialist Nicaraguan ruling class (which never gave a glimmer of 'democratic opportunity' for its own removal, but, on the contrary had to be bitterly fought for 50 long civil-war years marked mostly by a death-squad reign of official state terror which brutally slaughtered, tortured, & incarcerated hundreds of thousands of Nicaragua's finest people for two whole generations while its elite families got Washington's help to plunder the country's wealth in favour of their own personal international bank accounts.)

The unvindictive clemency towards their former class enemies decreed by Ortega, Borge & Co was heroically moving

and well-meaning but a bit naive, and has been predictably spat upon by the ruthless deprieved Freikorps of ex-Somozista military thugs and mafia crooks, all gladly recruited & re-armed by the "world's greatest democracy" the USA. Having to shut down La Prensa after so many earlier promises partially plays into Washington's propaganda hands. Washington pressure created the phony La Prensa issue in the first place (it should have been closed immediately). Now Reagan's invasion-minded lobby is in a position to sneer: "There you are. What did we say. Now they are closing down the free press and moving completely into the Soviet dictatorship camp just as we predicted", etc, etc. It would have been far better to have ousted the US-backed fascist tyranny in 1979 and then immediately to have announced the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the only serious advance of civilisation following the overthrow of collapsed & discredited capitalism (as the ILWP has consistently advocated the Sandinistas should do).

Hopefully the Sandinistas have not too badly misled or compromised themselves with their tricky 'pluralism' propaganda games. And it can certainly be said that the 'parliamentary' gesture was good for winning some bourgeois-democratic support & influence in the West which Nicaragua otherwise might not have had.

But will such new 'friends' as Kinnock really stand by Nicaragua, -actively effectively so, -if the 'leader of NATO' finally decrees that US 'regional strategic interests' now make it 'imperative' that American forces 'establish a presence in Nicaragua', (-i. e. launch a fascist blitzkrieg invasion on the place and wipe out, nazi-style, all its priceless and dearly-bought & fought-for socialist reconstruction gains, - just as Reagan did against Grenada, imitating the Hitlerites' invasion of the Soviet Union.) Kinnock & Co will be now here to be found.

As well as being hopelessly unreliable, not to say downright

misleading & disarming, the 'pluralism' racket has also given a new lease of life to very unsavoury anti-communist elements in the West, working morning, noon, & night to destroy the reputation of the Soviet socialist camp and undermine the world socialist revolution (with Trotskyite defeatism and ultra-'left' poison.)

The 'Socialist Action' entrust frauds creeping into the Labour Party to replace the Militant mafia make particularly free play of their 'solidarity' work for Nicaraguan friendship to pretend that they can no longer be dismissed as pure anti-communists (since they now support part of the socialist camp), but at the same time to use their rejuvenated 'revolutionary' pretence to undermine Leninism.

"Without full freedom to organise political groups, tendencies, and parties, no full flowering of democratic rights and freedoms for the toiling masses is possible under the dictatorship of the proletariat," runs the opening posture in a recent piece of deception by these bogus 'experts' whose endless covert intriguing betrays a completely sterile, stillborn, or atrophied sense of democracy within themselves, and who have next to no intimate knowledge of the 'toiling masses' in Britain or anywhere, and who have devoted their entire petty-bourgeois existence to fanatical hatred of the only real proletarian dictatorships that have ever existed in history (in the Soviet camp).

"By their free vote," grunt on these poodles for Kinnock, "the workers and poor peasants indicate themselves what parties they want to be part of the soviet system".

Exactly the opposite. Socialist revolution is a question of leadership, and mass proletarian action on the ground. Lenin, -who with Marx & Engels had a greater spirit of real democracy than any who ever lived, -tore up the 'election' results to the Constituent Assembly because the 'free vote' opinion poll gave results in favour of warmongering petty-bourgeois class compromise (Mensheviks, SRs, etc) when in the shortly-previous 31 October uprising, the proletarian

masses had already demonstrated in practice that they were willing to fight, in strength enough to win, for a revolutionary action programme of ending the war immediately, distributing the land, and smashing the capitalist state. This unanswerable historic class force was a far more advanced & significant 'reality' than the passive 'opinion poll' plebiscite which produced Constituent Assembly 'election results' which were hopelessly unable to capture or match the latest real-life class-force developments which were, in terms of state power, deciding there & then the historic fate of Russia, (-and ultimately, in effect, of the entire imperialist system and the destiny of all mankind).

The class-collaborating labour aristocracy in Britain have never reconciled their petty-bourgeois anti-Leninist prejudices to the unanswerable reality of Soviet state power, - the first real democracy in all of history; and in practice have hated, abused, and undermined the USSR & the socialist camp as bitterly as any degenerate brand of bourgeois anti-communism.

The physical flourishing, expansion, and fitting out of true proletarian democracy is precisely the lifetime's work of the socialist state, -the object of its existence and dictatorship. Power is taken in order to build a communist world in which the state can eventually wither away completely, leaving mankind to an unpoliced, voluntary regulation of material abundance, and orderly planning. Marxism-Leninism could certainly never be opposed to "the extension of the elective principle throughout society", as the SA Trots blather hysterically. But it is ludicrously misleading to trumpet this as "one of the most classic demands of Marxism" in the era of imperialist degeneration which is heading rapidly towards fascism, and which requires the development of very firm parties of Leninist leadership more now than ever before.

Leninism is certainly for the most rapid-possible drawing-in of more & more of the proletarian masses into the actual

work of running their own socialist state, -the only real democracy; - but, as the quotes on Pp 5 - 8 demonstrate, the Bolsheviks were not about to make the mistake of abandoning the essence of the revolution, -the seizure of power by a determined leadership at the head of a vanguard party which had earned the confidence of the masses, --in order to be undermined by phony "where's your democracy" jeers from the panic-stricken & hate-filled bourgeoisie in the bogusly 'parliamentary' imperialist countries, (led by Karl Kautsky, boss of the 'Marxist' Second International. (See Lenin 'The proletarian revolution & the renegade Kautsky' 1918).)

Thus the Sandinistas' gestures towards 'pluralism' are a slightly more complex question than the mere matter of pulling the propaganda wool over Washington's eyes. In the weak condition of Leninist leadership in the international proletariat, anti-communist Trots and other petty-bourgeois bogus 'revolutionaries' are mis-applying this purely diplomatic tactic (by socialist state regimes) to divert workers from Bolshevism with counter-revolutionary revisionism. Various shades of 'Euro' defeatism, - from Moscow to the Western CPs, and their split-offs, -spread exactly the same disarming confusion with their cretinous exaggerations of what Lenin's mere diplomatic tactic of 'peaceful coexistence' can allegedly achieve in 'defeating' & overthrowing imperialism, - a total diversionary illusion. (See all ILWP Books & all past Bulletins).

Basic philosophical questions are raised by all this over-emphasis on what, for Leninism, were mere matters of temporary tactical expediency, - namely does the fundamental dialectical-materialist character of historical progress during the long millennia of class society in its various forms remain contradiction & revolutionary confrontation (until all the last vestiges of class forms of production & property relations, -- tribalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, etc, -are superced-

ed under planned worldwide communist abundance); - or has 'the bomb' really miraculously changed the material basis of social history hitherto by simply 'changing men's minds' as the idealist illusions of the 'peace' revisionists pretend? The current highest rate of death, destruction & starvation imposed on mankind by imperialist warmongering & exploitation is the irrefutable answer. Much dangerous & damaging revisionist wishful thinking has accompanied the steady advance of the Soviet Union and the world socialist camp, tragically undermining a still faster & further advance (had not 'conciliation' & 'peaceful coexistence' defeatist illusions & frauds been successfully imposed by bourgeois propaganda & Western bullying on Moscow & its allies, leading to the Popular Front catastrophe in Spain, the 'social fascism' disaster in Germany, the 'British sphere of influence' capitulation of communist Greece, the 'peaceful road to socialism' suicide of the Allende/CP regime in Chile, etc, etc, etc, etc.)

If the arms-race, warmongering, anti-communist crusade hysteria of the Reagan-Thatcher-Kohl-Nakasone era does not just 'fade away' as it clearly cannot and will not, -then the gesture of letting out the Western imperialist-supremacy agent ("the world is safer if the US maintains total nuclear superiority over the USSR") Sakharov to spout his anti-communist poison freely to the world from inside Moscow, is going to turn out to be a very costly "show of confidence" and "propaganda gesture" by the CPSU leadership (when it has to be reversed to stop "internal appeals for help" coinciding with "our right to intervene"(as some future Western Goebbels will ultimately be trying to present imperialism's last stand to "save civilisation from atheistic communist ruin", etc.)) Pro-German agents had to be shut up in Moscow prior to World War II. So will pro-Western agents have to be shut up in Moscow during the forthcoming slump-fascist degeneration by the capitalist powers towards World War III (which will once again largely be fought out

as an inter-imperialist conflict, basically as the two previous world wars (following slumps) this century were). But the present softheadedness towards imperialist agents like Sakharov is only going to set up dangerous tensions (when the whole direction of where the world is heading (towards confrontation rather than conciliation) has to be reversed in Moscow's propaganda) --apparently entirely at Moscow's doing alone. The stupid lies (being put out now by Moscow (as happened to some extent in Nicaragua over La Prensa) about imperialist bourgeois ideology and its intentions) are preparing a nasty situation for Moscow, etc, when these fairy tales have to be rudely shattered.

The point about western propaganda pressure cannot be stressed often enough. There will never be an end to the West's escalating 'demands' on the socialist camp. No sooner will the demands for Sakharov's return from exile be satisfied than some such clamour will begin for him to be allowed to head an official 'opposition' party, or run for president against Gromyko, or launch his own newspaper, or whatever, (all of which would be lavishly financed by CIA covert operations, of course, - just as Solidarnosc's \$100 million treasure chest for subversion inside Poland was financed by the Vatican & Washington).

Nicaragua has this week been getting exactly this treatment over the 'Contadora peace process', agreed to by Washington for endless interference in Nicaragua's internal affairs and where the goalposts for an 'international settlement' in Central America are continuously moved by the USA & its stooges, -always putting off agreement to halt the armed subversion of Nicaragua by perpetually demanding ever-new concessions by Managua on how it should organise its press, its TV, its education, its trade-unionism, its political processes, its international economic links, its defence policy, etc, etc, etc, etc, etc, etc, ad infinitum.

Socialist camp thinking about how to wage a skilful propaganda war against bourgeois ideolo-

gy whilst firmly defending their own revolutionary gains & rights (but without giving way to obvious imperialist-fascist provocations to let mad-dog militarist circles in the West successfully whip up war hysteria & aggression whenever they choose), --needs to be rapidly developing in the opposite direction to the one it is taking at the moment under Gorbachev's influence, -namely towards pre-emptive measures to put a stop to crippling destructive imperialist subversion.

Mozambique, for example, faces impossible conditions for progress, or even survival, all the time the South African fascist state is going to be allowed to militarily undermine & sabotage with impunity every single effort at socialist economic construction, health & education reforms, scientific & technical advance, etc, made by the young weak socialist state. To sabotage something takes only the tiniest fraction of cost, effort, & manpower that it takes to build something up such as an economic enterprise, a social unit, a civilian infrastructure, etc. There is a much simpler, cheaper, quicker, more reliable, and more just way of halting South African fascist destruction of Mozambique's heroic efforts at socialist construction: - Let the mighty socialist camp aggressively seek out the South African fascist-militarist circles and destroy them.

The same should happen on the Afghan border against the destructive subversive interference by the overthrown tribal & feudal elements who are armed & organised against socialist Afghanistan by the CIA & Pakistani fascist-militarist circles.

And while the vastly greater practical dangers of playing into the hands of US fascist-militarist provocation circles (by an aggressive socialist-camp stand against anti-Nicaraguan subversive preparations in Honduras) must properly be considered, -at least the propaganda offensive should be taken to the USA, warning that unless CIA interference ceased, retaliatory measures would be inflicted on their sources, --and let American public opinion worry about Washington's Nicara-

gua policy from an entirely new & different viewpoint.

The philosophical Leninist message is also consistent when applied to the whole question of approaching Western workers' anti-communist prejudices in general.

Growing up in capitalist society, workers' consciousness in the West is trade-unionist class-collaboration, or bourgeois consciousness, as Marx classified it. Although naturally drawn relentlessly into bitter, -potentially revolutionary, -confrontation with employers by the unaltering material reality of capitalism's competitive production relations, --the existing trade-unionist consciousness has to be deliberately confronted, defeated, & replaced by Leninist understanding & party leadership. Otherwise, all spontaneous class struggle will remain endlessly bogged down in reformist futility.

And just as developing revolutionary understanding among workers involves routing their ancient illusions in the 'free' capitalist press monopolies and bourgeois-dominated 'parliamentary democracy' and 'municipal socialism' frauds, --so must workers' entire anti-communist upbringing be overturned and rooted out, -all the boggyman garbage about 'totalitarianism', etc, and the outrageous mis-education of the entire Western population in every basic question of modern history (and imperialism's degenerate warmongering dead-hand on mankind's fate.)

The same process of confrontation alone can defeat these anti-communist prejudices among Western workers as is the case with their equally fatal illusions in the 'free West' capitalist 'democracy', -the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which can only be replaced by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Letting out Sakharov as a 'propaganda gesture' or as a 'show of confidence' by Moscow to impress Western workers reeks of exactly the wrong philosophical approach to combatting their trade-union bourgeois consciousness. It hopelessly conciliates their reformist illusions

instead of confronting their anti-communist prejudices bluntly.

The fate of the CPGB and other Western communist parties (in degenerating ever-deeper into revisionism until they have ended up as openly & backwardly anti-communist as the bourgeois trade-union consciousness around them), was guaranteed by the philosophical corruption of the initial revisionist slide towards conciliation on ideological matters ('peaceful road to socialism', etc).

Tragically & paradoxically, this degeneration was greatly assisted by the catastrophic revisionist errors in international class-struggle strategy & tactics of the post-Lenin epoch (repeatedly discussed by the Bulletin including the Popular Front in Spain, 'social fascism' in Germany, the Greek CPs 1944 capitulation, etc, etc).

The cynicism & scepticism which does not want to put itself out confronting reformist anti-communist backwardness in Western society, -could potentially corrupt any Leninist party if not fought against relentlessly. Such unremitting theoretical Leninist struggle is the only way forward for the ILWP.

It is hopelessly disarming of the international Leninist fight to pretend that something like the Nicaraguan 'pluralism' propaganda gesture is what really can win round worldwide middle-class sympathy & public opinion into eventually persuading Washington to abandon its nazi-invasion plans against Managua. World pacifist anti-imperialist opinion certainly can have its effects. But it is essentially the influence of firm, decisive revolutionary advance on the anti-imperialist front line around the world by heroic proletarian-revolutionary and national-liberation struggle which actually dominates the shifts of petty-bourgeois 'public opinion'. The decisive developments of our time are the revolutions in South Africa, Philippines, El Salvador, Chile, Palestine, etc. Where those heroic struggles push imperialism-fascism back, so do all international struggles against capitalism everywhere benefit. Equally, as Lenin spelt out in unmistakable terms, -the only

real solidarity with their struggles is for revolutionary conflict to be stepped up in the sympathiser's own country, -the battle for Leninist understanding & organisation.

This week's latest outbursts of anti-communist venom & hysteria from Sakharov & Ratushinskaya about the USSR as a giant 'slave-camp' only confirm exactly the Bulletin's line of argument on these matters (see last week's issue). Letting Sakharov out now is exactly the wrong message to send to the West just at the moment of Reagan's appalling Irangate crisis, (-exposing US imperialisms degenerate warmongering essence and clumsy futility as never before); -and also at a time when the US imperialist-invasion ropes have just been placed around the necks of the incarcerated leaders of the Grenadan socialist revolutionary party New Jewel. Instead of letting Sakharov out of exile, he should be facing a stiff prison sentence, -or worse, -for being a disgusting agent of the revolting Irangate & Grenada & Nicaraguan-Contra warmonger Reagan.

This is not a matter of 'bad timing'. This is the dismal wretchedness of hopeless revisionist illusions coming out again in Moscow, -fooling & disarming themselves & others that warmongering imperialism will not have to be confronted at some stage or other. Wage war on these revisionist illusions. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

14. Blank history causes blank minds; drugs are just a symptom (Bulletin 378, 26/1/87)

Gorbachev's clean up & do-gooding urgency is fine but misses the real point. The problem of drug-addicted Soviet youth bleating 'what has our generation got to look forward to' in a new film now apparently showing to packed houses in Moscow raises far more profound issues than the mechanics of Party or Soviet elections.

With or without the junkie question, and leaving aside all inherited pre-revolutionary problems (continuing religious fantasies, superstitions, drink traditions, nationalism, etc) as well as all difficulties associated with non-stop Western bribery & propaganda subversion of the USSR, -it has always been predictable & inevitable that the long failure to sort out revisionist confusion in the leadership of Soviet society would accumulate bad social consequences.

All the time that Moscow continues to suppress a serious scientific Leninist debate on the revisionist defeatism of the Stalin leadership onwards (notwithstan-

ding its vital defeat of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, and on the arbitrariness, weaknesses, & mistakes in policy which this led to, (and is still leading to as Gorbachev himself admits), the USSR's own self-generated sicknesses can only continue, and must even get worse.

Trying to pass off a very wide spread of errors & crimes (notwithstanding the far more crucial historical triumphs) of the Stalin era, - both military, political, international, domestic, cultural, philosophical, etc. - as nothing more than the effects of the cult of the individual, to be hastily passed over in embarrassment, - is the continuing source of Soviet malaise.

Moscow is as stupid as the ostrich with its head in the sand in thinking that this pathetic cover-up of this huge historical black spot has not been noticed, or that the CPSU's terrified & phillistine refusal to return to the Leninist practice of the highest levels of open scientific polemics on all major questions of the world socialist revolution is of interest only to a few unrepresentative cranks who can be ignored.

The drugged Riga youth in the film may not perk up directly at the prospect of discussing, and taking part in, - the completion of the world socialist revolution, the routing of peaceful road to socialism illusions, the international ideological smashing of Trotskyism, anarchism, fascism, etc. the triumph of international Leninism over pacifism and nationalism, etc, etc, - but this question alone goes to the root of Soviet revisionism, complacency, paralysis, and social pointlessness.

Leninist leadership is what Soviet youth need, not stupid curtains to hide their political opinions behind. Is communism going to be about hiding in booths to conceal your vote on something? What a pathetic & dismal prospect. Let leadership be voted on, - but do it openly, after FULL discussion on the ENTIRE Leninist philosophy of defeating imperialism to advance to world communism. It is not how they vote which dispirits Soviet youth, but what there is to vote for. Rout the bureaucrats, but with Leninism, not mere formalism.

15. Only Lenin's international perspectives for revolution will inspire Soviet youth, not Gorbachev's poor grasp of the defeatist core of Stalin's problems (Bulletin 379, 4/2/87)

The speech on expanding the forms of democracy (as part of a campaign to raise the socialist-responsibility content of Soviet life) correctly urges an appeal to youth's aspirations, and admits that the problems began "in that specific historical situation when vigorous debates and creative ideas disappeared from theory and social science."

The first thing that will fail to appeal to youth is the ludicrous vagueness of "that specific historical situation" when "by virtue of well-known circumstances" that crushing disaster to the broadest creative political thinking in Russia took hold. In this period of 'openness', why so coy about the overwhelming historical problem (of the USSR's otherw ise brilliant development) which is

still unsatisfactorily explained, still deliberately skimmed over and covered up for, and still remains a crippling burden to carry, continuing to give vicious Western criticism of the Soviet Union a field day.

Already, there is a 'problem' about the 'problem' Gorbachev pretends he wants to 'frankly' face up to: He doesn't like to speak specifically & clearly about its origins in the Stalin group's grotesque revision of Leninism on fundamental issues of world socialism, - both the international perspectives, and their inevitable effect on the USSR's internal development.

And all of the speech so far available (to the ILWP) quickly confirms this hopeless limitation of Gorbachev's approach: He completely ignores the international implications of this dramatic long-standing "disappearance from theory & social science of vigorous debates & creative ideas".

What kind of Marxism is this, - to totally leave out the international context which alone gave all Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science its meaning (including the specific plans of Lenin's genius which put the building of Soviet socialism on its crucial first firm footing).

The obvious danger is that the new broom will just be more of the same old 'shake-up' exhortation which has been heard countless times before from Soviet leaders and which quickly becomes more a part of the problem than of the solution because it deals only with the symptoms of the malaise but never gets down to the real causes of the constipation & paralysis.

Even the bold admission that "vigorous debates and creative ideas disappeared from theory & social science" still utterly fails to say why this happened; - and then Gorbachev immediately slips back into another long rigmarole about the bad & many-sided effects of this (see excerpts).

The unstated 'explanation' about "that specific historic situation by virtue of well-known circumstances", - blaming it all on the 'cult of the individual', - is the biggest problem of all. It is pathetically inadequate, and totally un-Marxist, - completely

ignoring international class-struggle conditions within which alone all major social phenomena can & must be explained, - and substituting yet another mere symptom, - the boring psychological observation that people can become arse-lickers, - to continue covering up the cause of the chaos in much of the Moscow leadership's thinking from the 1920s onwards.

The defeatist paranoia which held sway thanks to the cult of Stalin gets a bit closer to the real problem because at least it poses the question: Defeatist about what?, - finally leading to the enormous confusion about the international perspectives for socialism in the USSR and for the world socialist revolution, which were at the heart of the Stalin group's difficulties.

Take the chaos over the fight against the rise of fascism in the 1930s as an example. For argument's sake, let it first be assumed that nothing Moscow could have said or done would ultimately have much altered the final shape of the inevitable confrontation with aggressive fascist imperialism (in the form of the German capitalist state's blitzkrieg in 1941). Even if this were so (and it is a huge 'if'), the strains & stresses within the Soviet state leadership were made a thousand times worse, - unnecessarily so, - by the fact that imperialism continued its relentless march towards anti-communist aggression partly as a result of hopelessly incorrect policies by the Stalin-led Communist International. To have had to face renewed capitalist intervention despite correct Soviet programme, strategy, & tactics, - domestically & internationally, - would have put damaging pressures enough on Moscow. To have to face possible annihilation while sickly suspicious that catastrophic mistakes had been made in the fight against fascism would lead to very unhealthy tensions.

But to have to suffer the greatest war onslaught in all of Western imperialisms vicious aggressive history while not even daring in Moscow to question whether possible mistakes in policy had in fact been mistakes

or not, must have created the most tortuous circumstances imaginable for continued Soviet development, - in every aspect of Soviet life.

And to keep on merely enumerating the symptoms of these difficulties, - as Gorbachev and others before him have continually done, - means never to lay the ghosts of this troubled past.

Until "vigorous debates & creative ideas of theory & social science" are launched full-frontal on exactly why the Popular Front policy in Spain was such a disaster; exactly why the CP's "social fascist" line against the social-democrats in Germany came about & proved such a failure; exactly what led to the "all power to the General Council" nonsense which helped lead to the General Strike's defeat in Britain in 1926; etc, etc, etc, through a whole series of policy calamities in the 1920s, 30s, 40s, 50s, and non-stop up to the present day in world socialist revolutionary affairs (Allende; Grenada; the Greek CP capitulation in 1944; the disastrous 'peaceful road to socialism'; the liquidation of Western CPs into class-collaborating reformism; establishing the Zionist thug-imperialist state with Soviet arms; refusing Peking nuclear weapons; backing the wrong side in the Zimbabwean forces; etc), - then all pretence of getting to the bottom of the Soviet social malaise and theoretical paralysis will be utterly futile.

But by far the best way to begin this historical reappraisal, - and with immediate relevance to current practical Soviet problems as stated by Gorbachev, - would be to take up the current problems of the world socialist perspective (South African aggression against the Front Line states; Western subversion of Middle East national-liberation struggles under the guise of combating 'terrorism'; the best tactics for routing Aquino's phony 'substitute' constitution which will only continue the monopoly-capitalist exploitation terrors & subservience to US imperialism of the Marcos regime; etc;) and best of all to make such "vigorous debates & creative ideas" the very forum for harnessing the

"tremendous political significance of the position taken by the younger generation".

What could be more relevant to their socialist future on earth than the defeat of imperialism? What better way to tap "their enthusiasm and dedication to the cause of socialism" and to "tackle the most difficult & boldest tasks" (given that there is "no other realistic way to form a personality, to mould a young person's civil position than his or her own involvement in all public affairs" in order to "eliminate the didactic tone & administrative methods")--than letting the youth loose on the coming International Peace Forum in Moscow to discuss all possible ways of inflicting further defeats on world imperialist warmongering aggression and its stooges like Aquino, Botha, the Zionists, etc.

Will the youths' views on volunteering to serve in the Front Line states against South African fascist aggression be heard at this Forum, -or will it just be Sakharov's fascist views on "how the 'democratic' West must keep its nuclear superiority over the 'totalitarian empire' (socialist camp, i. e.) in order for the world to sleep safely in its beds at night" (see recent Observer interview (Bulletin 376).

Is Gorbachev really serious about tackling the longstanding lack of 'openness' and lack of enthusiasm in some aspects of Soviet society?

It is a complete cop-out for Gorbachev to urge that "the efforts of the mass media to develop criticism & self-criticism in our society must be supported". Certainly let the press expose all that they can. But whatever happened to Leninist leadership? It is a well-known racket of the most affluent (from super-exploitation) imperialist states to allow a measure of 'press freedom' to endlessly 'criticise' the corrupt wrongdoings of City & Government provided nothing ever becomes of that criticism and the system can continue for ever, -each new ruling group having its own scandals to cover up, or apologise for, or lose office over, ---just as has been happening under capitalist 'democracy' since it was invented. But not-

hing ever changes, - and criminal colonial subversion, barbaric war intrigues, vicious arms-race jingoist & anti-communist hysteria, -and the degradations of periodic slumps & mass unemployment, -have continued relentlessly no matter how much dirty linen has been washed in public by no matter how much 'pioneering investigative journalism'.

The bourgeoisie never get to the nub of their society's ills, -because they positively like them that way. All society's ills are the best sources of their capitalist class's profits.

Let Gorbachev state matters again. The responsibility is his & his alone, first & foremost, for getting back to Leninism, press investigations notwithstanding.

The CIA's spies are falling like flies all over the Middle East. The talk is all again of using the big guns of the US 6th & 7th Fleets and the rapid-strike marine-air forces to blast the national-liberation movements back into submission to Western domination of their region, -under cover of 'eliminating terrorism'. Will Gorbachev throw the minds of the youth of the world into sceptical chaos by once again agreeing with Washington's Goebbels-like 'excuses' for imperialist onslaught under the guise of 'combatting terrorism'; or will the monopoly warmongers' bluff finally be called, -telling them to remove their 'endangered' ships from Middle East coasts or receive a worse blitzing than they can dish out.

Will the youth of the world be encouraged by Moscow to urge on the young revolutionaries of the Philippines to have no truck with the Kérensky-like posturing of Aquino which is just a cover for continuing exactly the same monopoly-capitalist racketeering & US colonial stoogery which was the incurable material basis for Marcos's murderous regime, -the general features of which are bound to continue, -just like capitalism in crisis everywhere.

Will Soviet youth be encouraged to unite with Chinese youth in the routing of bourgeois backwardness such as Fang Lizhi's (see next article) and that of thousands of other such bureauc-

ats & posturers who have disgracefully been allowed to worm their way into the Party in both countries (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 7); and be encouraged to go from there to announce the united might of Soviet & Chinese youth to be put at the disposal of the Front Line states in their fight against Pretoria's fascist aggression?

And so on, concerning a thousand burning issues facing mankind. Is Gorbachev really for Leninism?

Are moves like the sacking of bureaucratic Kunayev yet another cop-out, -merely making up a new complement on the Politburo where they all still, as before, never discuss a return to Leninism. What sort of prospect is that to hold out to youth, -that they can become a Politburo stooge one day, -to be booted out when things are admitted to have gone a little wrong (as Gorbachev does) but with no real progress towards the genuine solution to these recurring Soviet difficulties? Things like the sacking of Kunayev (and others) tend to raise more questions than they answer. What was he doing in the job in the first place? (Equally how did the anti-Leninist Fang Lizhi get into the Chinese CP? (See next story)). Is not the first step to take to re-establish Leninism, -and then find out who hasn't the faintest clue, and who needs sacking?

16. Gorbachev's revisionist philosophy worsens war threat. Bourgeois imperialist aggression cannot be 'reformed' (Bulletin 382, 25/2/87)

In telling the celebrity peace forum in Moscow that "our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy", Gorbachev was either stating a banal truism of isolationist idealism, or else a crass revision of Marxism-Leninism.

The entire conception, birth, development, and difficulties of the Soviet Union have been totally dominated permanently by issues of the international class struggle, -and could only not be in the mind of an empty-headed dreamer.

Gorbachev's subsequent remarks quickly confirmed his total igno-

rance of the class spirit of dialectical materialism, revealing the embarrassing stupidity of an idealistic opportunist.

⁶ We must have a new outlook and overcome the mentality, stereotypes and dogmas inherited from a past gone never to return.

It took time for our society and the Soviet leadership to develop an interest in the new mode of thinking. We pondered a goal deal. We criticised ourselves and others and asked ourselves difficult and challenging questions before we saw things as they are and became convinced that new approaches and methods are required for resolving international problems in today's complex and contradictory world, a world at a crossroads.

We came to conclusions that made us review something which once seemed axiomatic, since after Hiroshima and Nagasaki world war ceased to be a continuation of politics by other means. Nuclear war would incinerate the architects of such a policy, too.

We made ourselves face the fact that the stockpiling and sophistication of nuclear armaments mean the human race has lost its immortality. It can be regained only by destroying nuclear weapons.

We rejected any right for leaders of a country, be it the USSR, the US or any other, to pass a death sentence on mankind. We are not judges and the billions of people are not criminals to be punished. So the nuclear guillotine must be broken. The nuclear powers must overstep their nuclear shadow and enter a nuclear-free world, thus ending the alienation of politics from the general human norms of ethics.

A nuclear tornado will sweep away socialists and capitalists, the just and sinners alike. Is this situation moral? We communists do not think it is.

It may be said that we have come the hard way to the new outlook which is called upon to bridge the gap between political practice and universal moral and ethical standards. ⁷

Pure idealism.

Gorbachev can certainly totally abandon Marxist-Leninist materialism if he wishes, but he should have the 'glasnost' to openly admit that is what he is doing, -not sneakily dress up this naive childishness as a continuation of Leninism.

Marxist-Leninist science of the necessary overthrow of capitalism by proletarian revolution is precisely a judgement (of spontaneous human fears for survival) which mankind will ignore at its peril. It is precisely a total condemnation (of idealism which refuses to see that historic events are entirely governed by the international class struggle which is in turn completely dominated by unalterable material-interest contradictions basically between the proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie). Freedom can only be understood as the recognition of the necessary outcome of that struggle for the benefit of civilisations further progress, -the overthrow of capitalism by the working class. Mankind's free will can only be ultimately exercised in consciously understanding and helping the historic international proletarian-revolutionary struggle. Idealist confusion on these fundamental material truths

will certainly be punished by frustration & defeat. And in the epoch of inter-imperialist war-mongering degeneration, such frustrated & defeated inability to understand or carry out the successful overthrow of capitalist decay will undoubtedly result in a death sentence for millions, -as it has for hundreds of millions already this century, -including the nuclear guillotine.

It is reactionary revisionist nonsense to invent a 'nuclear annihilation morality' which is somehow supposed to be 'above' both the 'just & the sinners alike'.

There is only one historic reality which has evolved the concepts of 'morality', -the material conditions of successive class-war epochs, -from the morality of tribal societies, to that of slave societies, to that of feudalism, to that of capitalism, and finally to that of workers states building socialism. There is no 'gap' between political practice and 'universal moral & ethical standards', and no 'new outlook' can bridge it. There is only the clear choice between the political practice and moral & ethical standards of Western colonial-imperialism imposing more than 200 wars of domination, starvation, annihilation, torture, & brutality since World War II to continue the capitalist arms-race slaughter of both world wars and the inter-war years. And the Leninist understanding of revolutionary necessity, -basically to overthrow that capitalist system, replacing it in the only way possible by building communist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The last outstanding death sentence passed on mankind was the deliberate encouragement of fascist-imperialist war-mongering in the 1920s & 1930s as a 'bulwark against Bolshevism' which a certain amount of revisionist confusion in Moscow contributed to by failing to organise a consistent proletarian-revolutionary programme as the only real answer to that universal annihilation threat, -placing too much emphasis on purely tactical-propaganda ploys such as the peace movement and the popular-front 'dem-

ocracy' movement as illusory 'real alternatives for mankind to avoid destruction'.

Gorbachev is repeating now exactly those same revisionist illusions, -pretending that mere ideas can change the minds of the imperialist bourgeoisie. If anything is passing a new death sentence on mankind, -it is Gorbachev's cretinous naivete in misleading the international proletariat that peace protests alone will end the imperialist warmongering essence. The entire actual course of the 20th century proves the opposite, -as is being further amply elaborated in all contemporary developments now, (see lead story).

The human race never had any 'immortality', and nuclear armaments, sophisticated or otherwise, cannot end it. Mankind has only a permanent contradictory development in unity & conflict with nature (-including the formations of its own social development (class struggle, etc)).

Mankind's 'immortality' or uniqueness, such as it is, consists of the growing ability to be conscious of the requirements of that unity & conflict with nature. Gorbachev's anti-Leninist idiocies are the precise opposite of hopes for continuing mankind's 'immortality' in scientific understanding.

Gorbachev's assertion that 'after Hiroshima & Nagasaki, world war ceased to be a continuation of politics by other means' is utterly meaningless, -pure emotional garbage. Nuclear war certainly did not incinerate the architects of that vicious policy -US imperialism. Nor has it prevented the political content of the last 42 years of international class conflict (from imperialism's side) being open nuclear blackmail, or attempted blackmail. Under the epoch of decaying imperialism, world war remains the only possible fundamental policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie (see lead article).

As for the 'new mode of thinking' and the 'new approaches & methods' which are 'overcoming the mentality, stereotypes and dogmas inherited from a past gone never to return', -Gorbachev should be specific about exactly how this relates to the science of Leninism, -the only

authority with proven mastery of modern international affairs.

It seems to consist solely of grotesque class-collaboration, -outright betrayal & revision of everything Lenin ever fought for against the anti-Marxist swamp.

Against all the evidence of non-stop imperialist aggression against the Soviet revolution from day 1 in 1917 to the current moment, and despite all the evidence of non-stop universal arms-race aggression this century, up to the present day, -as imperialism's only policy (and its only possible policy, -Marxist-Leninist science makes absolutely clear), ---Gorbachev still merely asserts emotionally, -against all reason, -that the imperialist bourgeoisie will miraculously revolt against every material basis & instinct of its whole existence, -and somehow change its nature and agree 'nicely' henceforth to exhibit only peaceful bonhomie towards all mankind.

One of the chief results of the reconstructive drive in the Soviet Union is a general and universal confidence boost for our society. This bolsters our conviction that it is possible to establish trust in the sphere of international relations, too. The new mode of thinking is still labouring to break through in world politics. Trust is making ground very slowly. And I think this is why more and more people are realising that the fate of the major cause of our time should not be left to politicians alone. This cause concerns not only politicians. And we are witnessing the emergence and rise of a worldwide mass movement which embraces scientists, intellectuals of different professions, clergymen, women, young people, children (more and more), and even former military men and generals, who know full well what modern weapons are. And this is the result of people becoming more and more aware of what a very dangerous point the world has come to....

The Reykjavik meeting has made a great impression everywhere in the world because we approached the issue of reducing nuclear arsenals in an entirely new conceptual key as a political and psychological problem rather than just military and technical. And we almost found a solution. But what are we to do with that "almost" which stopped us from reaching the finish in Reykjavik?

I shall not discuss here why that happened. I hope you know our view. What I want to say is that when, at a certain moment, both sides agreed at Reykjavik to make deep cuts in their nuclear arsenals and then eliminate them entirely, they virtually recognised that nuclear weapons can no longer effectively guarantee security.

What happened in Reykjavik irreversibly changed the nature and essence of the debate about a future world. This is an important political judgement. However, some people were scared by the new opportunities and they are now pulling back hard. However, hard though the past may tug, there is no returning to it. I am sure mankind can and will quite soon throw off the chains of nuclear weapons. But this will require a fight, a hard struggle.

The new political outlook sets out to raise civilisation to a qualitatively new level. This alone serves to show that it is no one-off adjustment of position but a methodology for international affairs....

The only conclusion one can draw is that the policy of deterrence, considered in a historical context, does not reduce the risk of military conflict. In fact, it further increases that risk. Nevertheless, even after Reykjavik, some leaders continue to cling to such a doctrine.

And the most adamant supporters of that doctrine are those who are inclined to teach us morality. But what is their own moral face? They are convinced and make no secret of the fact that threats, force and the use of force are the only

language they know in dealing with others. How would you react if you met such a person in the street? How can educated leaders consider behaviour, generally considered unacceptable in relations between people, normal for relations between states?

Third, when disarmament is discussed a common thesis is that man is violent by nature and that he has a "war" instinct and that this instinct is inextinguishable.

Is war the perpetual concomitant of human existence then? If we accept this view, we shall have to reconcile ourselves with continuous development of ever more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction.

Such thinking is unacceptable. It is reminiscent of times when ever more sophisticated weapons were invented and used to conquer other peoples and enslave and pillage them. That past is no model for the future. Man living on the threshold of the twenty-first century knows a great deal and can do a great deal. That is why he must realise the need to demilitarise the world. We believe it possible to build such a world and we shall do everything to ensure success of what is perhaps the most ambitious social goal ever. ♪

Pure disinformation, -and potentially lethal for mankind's fight against imperialist warmongering decay.

Worldwide imperialist war-mongering and arms-race subversion is now running at a level which dwarfs all previous levels of monopoly-capitalist colonial aggression, and is still expanding at ever-faster rates. In its deliberate starvation and exploitation policies towards Africa, Asia & Latin America, plus more than 200 actions of direct military-colonial aggression since World War II (including Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, Malaysia, etc), -Western imperialism has brutally wiped out more tens of millions of people and caused more destruction than World Wars I & II together caused ten times over.

As well as greater nuclear arsenals than ever, -and being deliberately spread by fascist-imperialism to the Zionists, South Africa, Pakistan dictatorships etc, -chemical & biological warfare reached unprecedented levels in Vietnam. The Gulf war alone has brought back the character & butchery-rates of WWI trenches, including poisonous gas warfare.

This is nothing whatever to do with 'war being the perpetual concomitant of human existence'. In attempting to reduce matters to such a trivial idealist cliché, Gorbachev reduces himself to the same trivial idealist cliché level by attempting to answer with a simple yes/no approach. Only the complete history of the class struggle can answer this question adequately.

But even all these obvious refutations of Gorbachev's ridicu-

lous illusions are almost irrelevant compared to the far more urgent matter of what the world socialist revolution is going to do about the very real and very immediate detailed current US imperialist plans for widespread expansion of worldwide warmongering imminently.

The Contragate/Iranganate scandal might just as well not be sensationally bringing down the Reagan presidency as far as Gorbachev is concerned. The massive illegal all-out warmongering preparations to assassinate Gaddafi, invade Libya via Egypt, to continue turning Costa Rica, Honduras & El Salvador into launching pads for invading Nicaragua, having already wiped out socialism by the fascist invasion of Grenada, (Cuba would be the next target), might just as well not have taken place or been exposed as far as Gorbachev's infantile wishful thinking goes.

Equally, the entire massive US war preparations against socialist Indo-China and the socialist revolution on the Philippines in the Far East might be pure imagination as far as Gorbachev's faith that "man must realise the need to demilitarise the world" is concerned.

And as far as the non-stop US warmongering aggression in the Middle East and against socialist East Europe goes, Gorbachev's view that 'the past is no model for the future' is either sheer hypocrisy, or else it presages the most outrageous, treacherous, and cowardly retreats from socialist commitments in all history.

Correctly, the Soviet Union has had to go to war to prevent US armed subversion from overthrowing the revolutionary government of Afghanistan. It has had to be constantly vigilant to forestall fascist counter-revolution in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., in the course of various upheavals since the war.

Are CIA/Vatican, or tribal/feudal counter-revolutionary conspiracies to be given a free run henceforth by Moscow's revisionist insistence that war is no longer 'acceptable', or a 'continuation of politics', but has become 'hopelessly outdated' (see Bulletin 376 for refuta-

tion of earlier Gorbachev-type rubbish on this subject). ? Such a capitulation to imperialist aggression in order to make the real world conform to Gorbachev's idealist illusions (akin to Canute sitting on the shore telling the tide not to come in) would hopefully lead to Gorbachev's early removal from office.

And as another article examines, Gorbachev's revisionist idiocies can only throw the murkiest suspicions on the purposes behind Moscow's agent Syria in intervening once again in the Lebanon only when leftwing forces seem to be gaining the upper hand in the civil strife, - exactly as happened in Syria's previous intervention in 1976. It is remarkable that no Syrian intervention is anywhere in sight when US or Zionist imperialist forces have inbetweentimes inflicted really massive outrageous death & devastation upon the Lebanon. Is this the blind eye to imperialist warmongering, but self-justifying action to limit leftist warmongering to prove some hopeless illusion that wars are a thing of the past? Gorbachev's linking of complacent bureaucratic 'horror' over terrorism (spontaneous elemental struggle against oppression) with idiocies about joint US-Soviet military action against extra-terrestrials raises suspicions of even more sinister & unfortunate implications of Syria's intervention against spontaneous leftist guerrilla successes in Beirut.

“We have already said at the UN and other international forums -- and I would like to say it again today -- that we are prepared to co-operate with all other countries in fighting every manifestation of terrorism....”

The Soviet Union and the Soviet people consider themselves part of an international community. The worries of all mankind are our worries. its pain is our pain and its hopes are our hopes.

With all the differences between us, we must all learn to preserve our one big family of humanity.

At our meeting in Geneva, the US President said that if the Earth faced an invasion by extraterrestrials, the United States and the Soviet Union would join forces to repel such an invasion. I shall not dispute the hypothesis.

It is saddening to compare the Western petty-bourgeois-influenced knee-jerk reaction of Gorbachev to the widespread idealist confusion about 'terrorism' (see ILWP Books vol 6 for Lenin's much more positive understanding of spontaneous revolutionary struggle) with the simple & dignified refusal of the mere 'terrorist' Georges Abdallah to accept imperialist hypocrisy (ab-

out the Arab struggle for national-liberation) at his outrageous 'trial' in Paris.

In a sedate courtroom which played its part in the Dreyfus affair and the trials of wartime collaborators, Abdallah lost neither his self-control nor his determination to challenge conventional Western justice.

When the president of the court asked him to give his identity and other personal details, Abdallah repeatedly affirmed that he was an Arab combatant. A pensive man of medium height with neatly trimmed hair and a dark beard, Abdallah was particularly offended by the role of the US Government as a civil plaintiff in the trial.

In a declaration to the court, Abdallah accused the US of massacres in the Middle East, Latin America and Vietnam, compared them to the Nazis, and abused the Western allies as "Yankee criminals."

He asked the court: "With what independence do you claim to judge acts of war when you distinguish them from the process of imperialist aggression committed against our people. . . . I am here to ask you to wash the stain of our blood from your hands before you claim to judge us."

It is useless to try excusing Gorbachev's revisionist nonsense on the grounds that he was just doing his tactical peaceful coexistence duty for the celebrity forum in Moscow. He is responsible for the words he utters, and they convey unadulterated idealist confusion which can only do immense harm to the developing generations in the socialist camp. It cannot be a mere 'accident' that such gibberish can be uttered as

“For centuries, men have been seeking after immortality. It is difficult to accept that every one of us is mortal. But to tolerate the doom of all humanity, of human reason, is just impossible....”

Humanity must get stronger and overcome the nuclear sickness and thus enter the post-nuclear age. It will be immune to violence and attempts to dictate to others. Today, international relations are made soulless by the worship of force and the militarisation of mentality. Hence the goal of humanising international relations.”

Only a most ignorant philistine mentality could come out with such silly complacent wishful-thinking.

It is a sad indictment of Gorbachev's revisionist stupidity, - but also an inspiring guarantee for the successful revolutionary socialist future of mankind for overthrowing imperialism, -- that the young woman guerrilla Victoria Justiniani interviewed in the Guardian on the communist-revolutionary struggle against the US-colonialist stooge regime in the Philippines should be so determined not to be fooled by such revisionist theoretical backwardness as Gorbachev's into falling for similar

crap that the Aquino capitalist-imperialist regime has somehow changed its spots with the change of leadership from the feudal crook Marcos to the feudal landowner-patron of crooks like Marcos, - Cory Aquino.

“Like many members of the NPA, Comrade Vicvic has a strong sense of history. She cites two cases where premature ceasefires turned out to be disasters. “In Nicaragua, Sandino agreed to a ceasefire and negotiations, even though he had a large army. The government offered land to peasants who surrendered, and then during the talks Sandino was murdered. It was a very bad decision.”

“In the Philippines the Huk rebellion against the Japanese during the war achieved land reform for peasants, and set up a revolutionary government in part of Luzon island,” she went on. “After the war they stopped the armed struggle, gave up their firearms, and ran for parliament. What happened? The Huks were massacred. The landlords took back the land. The six congressmen who won election were denied their seats.”

Mrs Aquino's government wanted a replay of that, she says. But the NPA is fighting a prolonged people's war. It has not obliged.”

As the Bulletin has repeatedly insisted, the real campaigning cause for Moscow to take up to revitalise its sceptical youth is to let them join in the support and discussion for the correct Leninist revolutionary way forward in the Philippines, -and in scores more similar revolutionary frontline struggles around the world which are in reality preparing the actual, hard-won material sacrifices of defeating imperialism in order to end the warmongering threat which Gorbachev's revisionist nonsense brings closer, not removes.

None of this is any kind of challenge, of course, to Lenin's peaceful-coexistence tactic as such. Indeed it is only from the ILWP that a cheap popular pamphlet is readily available establishing at length the chapter & verse of Lenin's dialectical combination of his international revolutionary perspective with the immediately enforced diplomatic 'peaceful coexistence' tactics necessary for the weak Soviet republic (see ILWP Books vol 4). Not from the CPSU nor from its pathetic reformist stooges in the CPGB (or its spin-offs) is the revolutionary-scientific basis for

peaceful-coexistence tactics popularly available.

Nor can this Leninist dialectical inter-relationship between the world socialist revolutionary perspective and diplomatic interstate peaceful coexistence tactics for keeping the capitalist bourgeoisie well split & divided from any renewed combined assault on the socialist camp),--be in any way confused (by the philistine revisionist muddle-mongers) with the infantile ultra-leftist posturing of the petty-bourgeois Trot armchair-socialist 'revolutionaries' who daily storm the citadels of imperialist warmongering in their minds from the comfort of the Western academic ivory-towers, willing to sacrifice on the front line right down to the last Russian, Vietnamese, Cuban, South African, Zimbabwean, Nicaraguan, etc. Once again, it is the ILWP (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 7) which in practice is routing Trot revisionism in Britain, -not the comatose CPGB or its muddle-headed off-shoots who, far from publishing devastating exposures of Trot reactionary 'ultra-left' hypocrisy, -more often than not tag along behind it, -as in support of the fascist racket brewed up behind the Solidarnosc cover in Poland.

Preventing fascist-imperialism from provoking the decaying West into one last all-out holocaust unnecessarily, where it can be avoided by keeping the bourgeoisie divided with correct peace campaigns, etc, is only compatible with the scientific perspective for finally ending imperialism's non-stop warmongering threat in the only way possible, -by overthrowing imperialism, bit by bit. Peaceful-coexistence tactics are a completely unworkable waste of time outside of such tactics, -as the disastrous 1941-45 proved for the Stalin group's hopeless muddling of tactics in the 1930s, fatally retreating from the international revolutionary perspective behind the defeatist anti-Leninism of the Popular Front, the 'peaceful road to socialism' etc, -the whole constipated philosophical origins of Soviet 'stragational' problems today (see previous Bulletins for the only possible Leninist revolutionary

cure for Soviet youth scepticism -not Gorbachev's revisionist 'shake-up' nonsense.)

It will not work either to try 'excusing' Gorbachev's philosophical nonsense on the grounds that at least 'he is opening the way to more discussion with his glasnost approach'. The inevitability of a shake-up in the socialist camp was created by maturing contradictions of the international class conflict and deep imperialist crisis. The stage has been set for a return towards Leninism, -mostly within the front-line struggles for the overthrow of imperialism (from the Philippines to Chile, from South Africa to occupied Ireland) and from the struggles to build a revolutionary party against incurable capitalist decay (such as the development of the ILWP in Britain) --and to a lesser extent within the socialist states themselves (repercussions from the world revolutionary struggle, as possibly being evidenced in China's renewed left turn). All Gorbachevism is doing is usurping the space that resurgent Leninism

17. No 'disarmament' cure for capitalist warmongering or jingoist arms-race. Only Leninist revolution can halt fascism (Bulletin 383, 4/3/87)

Gorbachev has scored another good propaganda success in exposing Western warmongering's reluctance to accept even its own zero-zero option, finally agreed to by Moscow.

But no lasting peace, detente, or disarmament developments can come out of it, or even out of a dozen more proposed agreements like it.

The very character of capitalist economic exploitation around the planet is based essentially on class conflict, and at the summit of the market mechanism where international finance capital, the multi-nationals, state monopolies, and foreign trade concerns predominate, -the in-built competitiveness of the system means inter-governmental political confrontation, which is the very origins of chauvinistic flag-waving and 'defence' or 'strategic interests'.

Aggressive nationalism is now on a far wider & louder level

should have, and might have, filled in Moscow. It is a substitute for openness, -not openness itself, which can only be measured as Leninism.

Nor does all the hot-air promises about a 'serious re-examination of past theoretical mistakes' make much worthwhile progress so far. If they have something useful to say about the origins of their own revisionist confusion, why not just get on and say it. ? The endless promises that something new will be said soon about the defeatist weaknesses of past policies is looking more & more like continued empty windbagery, - a pure opportunist fraud. It must be very long odds against, now, that in view of Gorbachev's own ravaging revisionist confusion, - that Leninist understanding is to be reinstated against the revisionist nonsense of past Moscow policies (going all the way back to the defeatist retreats from an international revolutionary perspective in the 1920s & 1930s, and subsequently) (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 7). But the ILWP is reinstating Leninism. Build it.

than ever before in the history of systems of economic exploitation, and the unprecedented get-rich-quick postwar capitalist credit boom is fuelling international competitiveness & rivalry towards fever pitch.

Inevitably, this has been accompanied by the most fantastic arms-sales boom in history. Not only are the colossal spending rates easily at record levels in all the major imperialist powers; not only are weapons of unprecedented sophistication now widespread; but scores more 'newly independent' or newly industrialised states have since 1945 joined the older colonial countries in the mad arms race.

Although the endless warmongering rearmament has been successfully presented as the necessary 'free world' response to the 'communist evil empire', and is indeed an undoubted counter-revolutionary tyranny which has successfully dominated postwar Western thinking (and is specifically organised for intervention against the communist camp, the world socialist revolution and the national-liberation struggle), -it still coin-

cides exactly with imperialism's continuing inter-capitalist rivalry and extension of class war violence into 'national interest' shooting-war violence (which predates the specifically anti-Soviet stance at the heart of Western non-stop arms race.) The counter-revolutionary anti-communist essence of endless imperialist warmongering is much more fundamentally established by its routine inter-capitalist arms-race rivalry than by the specific later embellishment of re-arming 'to meet the Soviet threat'.

Anti-Soviet propaganda remains the main thrust and character of 'free world' counter-revolutionary preparations, and remains the main ideological target of revolutionary socialist agitation in the West.

But any successful reduction of anti-Soviet tension by Moscow's skilful peace propaganda and exploitation of Western differences only reasserts all the arms-race emphasis on the basic warmongering competitiveness of the imperialist system itself, -incapable of survival if wrenched away from non-stop chauvinistic militarism for keeping its own working classes disciplined.

From 1917 onwards, imperialism has always had trouble in overcoming its own cut-throat rivalries in order to do what pure reason dictated, -stifle the Bolshevik revolution at birth by united imperialist action. That still remains capitalism's fatal weakness, as Lenin explained (see below). In theory, the basic interest of the entire world bourgeoisie should remain an anti-communist armageddon, -and in general propaganda terms, the anti-Soviet bogey continues to be well used.

But in practice, the spontaneous, ambition-riddled, opportunist capitalist system will finish up doing far more inter-imperialist back-stabbing than it will risk united aggression against the formidable socialist camp 'enemy'.

Inter-imperialist warmongering will remain the bread-&-butter of the slump-ridden capitalist trade-war system of colonial domination and exploitation.

The hugely destructive and le-

ngthy armageddon being fought between Iran & Iraq is remarkably combining lethal military features of WWI, WWII, and WW-III together as if to make up for not having been much involved as independent capitalist states in this century's non-stop inter-imperialist warfare so far.

And the indivisibility of such 'regional' conflicts from the fundamental warmongering arms-race essence of the international capitalist system could hardly have been more degenerately exposed than in Reagan's sordid Irangate scandal. The all-powerful Western munitions monopolies could not possibly have helped being involved with both sides, and up to their elbows in the lucrative slaughter.

Over-competitive involvement with the different sides by rival imperialist military giants has so far been overtly avoided in the Gulf war, but clearly this will not remain the case permanently.

As other regional wars break out between Greece & Turkey, India & Pakistan, Chile & Argentina, etc, competing international capitalist interests are bound also to be at each other's throats eventually over 'unfair' arms supplies or 'unfair' trading & financial aid, -just as the imperialist camp is already beginning to do on simple trade-war questions themselves such as the EEC's grain market (denied to US farmers), state help for Airbus (illegal according to Boeing), etc.

Any country within the imperialist system will eventually use force against a neighbour, rival, or trade partner, etc, if it is felt it can be safely got away with. That was the crucial lesson of the astonishing war fought between Britain & Argentina over the Malvinas Islands recently, -an almost incredible event for postwar mentalities (raised on prejudices about 'anti-communist peacekeeping forces under NATO', etc) to try digesting the colonial gunboat-diplomacy essence of.

As the cut-throat conflicts within the incurable inter-imperialist slump system deepen, -(see last week's Bulletin on Brazil's unilateral reneging on debt interest payments, e. g.), -so will the regional and other contradictions of all kinds begin to reach

the point where various sorts of rival big powers involvements will result in irrevocable splits & enmities.

The Malvinas War was again a good example of this inevitable tendency where US intelligence support to its main imperialist partner Britain almost wrecked Washington's American-wide OAS links with the anti-communist bourgeoisies of the other capitalist states on the continent, -Argentina's Latin neighbours. At the same time, competitive supplying of lucrative hardware contracts (French exocet missiles, -variously supposed to have come from France, Italy, the Zionists, or other ostensible 'free world' 'allies' of Britain for example) similarly threatened to damage other longstanding Western 'friendships', etc.

Beyond this present level of relatively limited or localised types of inter-imperialist conflicts, there looms the far more serious & potentially devastating basic contradiction between the major imperialist powers themselves over the insoluble economic slump and trade war.

Inter-state rivalry and flag-waving chauvinism has scarcely started yet in what will be the main feature of the coming ten years of deep depression, fascist degeneration, and capitalist slump hysteria; but already the xenophobic hatreds have reached the point of 'patriotic' workers in the USA, for example, staging organised wrecking with sledgehammers of Japanese car imports, or helping trade-war-minded managements to refuse factory car-park spaces to any colleagues who drive foreign vehicles.

Far more dramatically, blunt import control legislation is being relentlessly piled up for debate, particularly in the USA but comparably throughout the capitalist world. Tariff barriers and other trade discrimination steps are bound to burst through in a flood sooner or later, -unleashing a torrent of suspicion and hate-filled counter-complaints.

Trade-war measures will obviously drastically escalate the moment the new Wall Street Crash arrives to recommence the deepest decade of depression as happened in the 1930s following

the 1929 Crash precedent. Then world trade was almost halved overnight, and unemployment in the capitalist countries nearly doubled. In the present shape of the British capitalist economy, that will mean nearly 8 million out of work in the coming period, -but even worse unemployment in the more intensively export-oriented economies like West Germany & Japan. Such was the flavour of the 1930s depression which led inexorably into fascist-warmongering degeneracy. Such will be the coming post-Crash period.

Given the tortuous competitive history of the capitalist system, filled with warmongering rivalry and colonial domination, there is no way that financially harmful discrimination against the goods of other countries, -even if general embargos rather than specific barriers against one particular trade flag, -can ever be regarded as anything but brutal, unfair, and nationally or even racially vindictive.

Escalating up from restrictions on goods themselves will quickly follow retaliatory or parallel measures in monetary, diplomatic, military, and other matters of unstable cooperation between states. Banking, currency, and interest-rate wars are a continuing feature of the capitalist system, but they can all become far more severe than postwar boomtime experience has recently indicated.

It is not necessary to look any further than West Europe for endless classic examples in this century of inter-imperialist rivalry (repeatedly breaking down all civilised 'restraints' on capitalist trade & colonial competition) degenerating into all-out inter-state conflict.

Because of the dollar-dominated shape of the postwar world, -and because of the irresistible rise of monopoly Japanese competitiveness, -it is already clear that the trade-block rivalry next time round will immediately be on an inter-continental basis from the start, -with the obvious popular guess that USA -Common Market conflict will be the first to break out in mutually-damaging and hate-sowing measures.

This century of inter-imperi-

alist rivalry and ever-deeper crises of battling 'surplus' capital & goods has always been engaged in a steady background arms-race of considerable proportions. Only the war-hysteria periods of intensified outbreaks of arms-race fever have tended to be called an 'arms race' as such, but never has there been the slightest possibility or interest by the world-dominant capitalist system of instituting a 'new world order' of disarmament & permanently peaceful cooperation. It has no appeal to the essentially aggressive and exploitative capitalist system. And no section of the 'free world' market system could remain capitalist and at the same time survive for long by staying out of the general arms-race warmongering routines (Switzerland, etc, being isolated tiny exceptions which only prove the general rule).

The weakness of Gorbachev's propaganda success in exposing the West's warmongering reluctance to engage in serious disarmament negotiations is that as usual, it is couched in illusion-riddled terms which attempt to fool the working class in the West too that imperialism could in reality actually disarm in practice. It cannot, -not unless it commits suicide and simply ceases to be the imperialist economic system any more. And this is a historic impossibility for the bourgeoisie as for any previous ruling class in the world. The very structure of all the previous exploitative ruling-class systems (slavery, feudalism, capitalism) makes it impossible for that ruling class to collectively decide to hand over power.

The epoch of imperialist warmongering crisis, beginning in the late 19th century, is one long unbroken record of arms-race aggression.

It was convenient from 1917 onwards, and particularly after the great expansion of the socialist system after 1945, -to 'justify' imperialism's non-stop arms-race warmongering as 'defence against communist aggression'; and anti-communist crusades, -as well as being obviously a 'good thing' for universal bourg-

eois survival if all areas of Bolshevik revolution & communist example could be destroyed, - were indeed a paying proposition to a certain extent, and at least potentially good colonialist ventures, as well as excellent jingoistic excuses for keeping the domestic working class flag-waving under uniforms and therefore free from socialist revolt. But the sheer military danger (and high cost in finance & prestige) of taking on determined revolutionary communist fighters quickly placed very strict limits on what the West could gain, on all counts, from such adventures, -epitomised by the disaster suffered by the greatest imperialist power, the USA, in Vietnam (and indirectly by all the imperialist powers there).

So while anti-communist intrigue remains a prime aim of imperialisms warmongering essence, it by no means exhausts that vital arms-race interest or possible course of action.

Western warmongering and militarisation would retain the same counter-revolutionary and anti-communist essence even if realistic political & strategic considerations dissuaded the West from ever again risking direct confrontation with communist state forces as such, and concentrated on purely local colonial or inter-imperialist theatres of military operation.

In the first flush of flag-waving national boastfulness and jingoistic hysteria, war is not necessarily at all 'unpopular' with masses still under the grip of degenerate Western culture, -as the Falklands war again recently proved, making Thatcher immensely 'popular' for slaughtering 'Argies' like it was some world cup competition. Reagan achieved equally instant ecstatic public acclaim for the butchery of hundreds of Grenada islanders in the cynical fascist blitzkrieg of four years patient and hard-won socialist construction there.

To that extent, it simply is not true, -and very misleading, -to keep on droning out the old Stalinist cliché that 'the people long for peace'. The ending of imperialist warmongering is a strictly scientific task to be carried out only by a meticulously

planned revolutionary overthrow of capitalism possible only through the rigorous preparation of a fully-trained party of outstanding revolutionary theoretical & practical leadership, --not at all a mere matter of 'people longing for peace' (which is contentious anyway).

The philistine shallowness in Moscow chooses to remain in blissful ignorance of the warmongering-fascist degeneracy threatening the 'culture' of millions of workers raised under the ethics of the capitalist system, -epitomised most recently by the spiteful, racist, opportunist nastiness of the Fleet Street tabloids -but already well observed by Marx & Engels 140 years ago as the 'bourgeois ideology' of the imperialist working class, and its trade union/parliamentary/municipal socialist/Labour politics.

Moscow may properly be delighted with a likely development of a more pro-Soviet mood in the West, -out of the imperialist crisis at large (Contragate,etc) and even in particular out of the correct Soviet peace offensive.

But it will remain a very shallow pro-Soviet mood if it does develop, -easily to be routed again by sustained Western anti-communist propaganda if the CIA black-propaganda masters so choose. One 'Tonkin Gulf' incident is all it needs to quickly sour any pro-communist sentiments in the West, as easily manufactured today as then (to get US military involvement in Vietnam & Indochina properly under way).

Nor is Western embarrassment over Moscow's skilful 'disarmament' initiatives anything but a relative difficulty for their warmongering programme, -not an absolute difficulty.

Huge reserves of gutter-press fascism & racism have been carefully built up for use in any emergency when the West has to risk everything to get war going at all costs, (-or face revolutionary overthrow). It was easy to whip up the hysteria for bombing the 'Arab pigs' in Tripoli, etc. Fullscale invasion would have been just as 'popular' had the CIA chosen to go through with its anti-Gadafi

plans at that time. Massacring the 'Argie' 'enemy without' even laid open the later miners-strike 'enemy within' which shows how nationalism can even be twisted to get the working class to turn against its own kind, and its own interests, in order to support a bit of flag-waving.

The ruling class has not even had to use a fraction yet of its vast armoury of 'the national survival is at stake' weapons & propaganda tricks for keeping in power. All its worst humbug & hypocrisy still lies in reserve.

It could even be envisaged hypothetically that a complete detente and non-aggression pact agreement could again be signed between imperialism and the Soviet Union, as briefly resigned from 1939 to 1941 with German imperialism, -but this time expanded to a socialist camp disarmament treaty with the whole of imperialism, -yet it would still not in the slightest reduce the general warmongering crisis of the imperialist system itself, -exactly as happened between 1939 & 1941.

To the very limited extent to which the ostentatious anti-communist crusade's supposed 'justification' for the non-stop imperialist arms-race is a specialised temporary feature of general Western warmongering, it may be that some small limitations on particular types of armaments in some particular geographical regions, -as variously proposed by the socialist camp and the national-liberation movement, - might just suit imperialism's own 'peace' propaganda purposes for a while, or conveniently cover some supply or production difficulties with undeserved credit for 'relaxation' measures.

But any such 'disarmament' gestures will never alter the general arms-race warmongering tendency of the imperialist system, -and will become a complete fraud on the working class if allowed to be presented as 'sincere moves' by imperialism, -and not continuously exposed by the socialist camp as still proving that all the West's talk of 'peaceful intentions' is vicious deception.

Any Western concessions to a slowing, limitation, or reversal

of the arms race by geographic region or particular weaponry must only be seen as the result of skilful peace propaganda by the socialist camp having the occasional limited ability to divide the pacifist-minded sections of the Western bourgeoisie off from the more aggressive monopoly-imperialist circles to prevent any combined anti-communist holocaust-armed-don by the whole capitalist world against the Soviet Union and the other workers states.

That will be achievement enough, -and comprises the whole of the strictly narrow aims that Lenin elaborated for his scientific 'diplomatic-peaceful-coexistence' tactics for the isolated young & weak Soviet republic surrounded by hostile warmongering imperialist super-powers.

Lenin's proposals were drawn up from 1918 onwards (see his 21 theses of that year, plus ILWP Books vol 4 for later consolidation of his tactics) to counter the naive widespread 'revolutionary' anticipation that the world's first workers state would simply march into every other country on earth and be welcomed as liberating heroes by the workers there, -an expectation which the non-dialectical Bukharin-Trotsky circles of the Soviet state bureaucracy were exploiting to lead the USSR to war against German imperialism and to certain defeat.

To the extent that history has since then been completely transformed leaving the Soviet Union easily the most powerful state on earth, all round, and the imperialist camp in weak & divided disarray, -Lenin would add to his peaceful coexistence tactics only the luxury of being able more freely to let Soviet might go to the aid of revolutionary movements heroically struggling to overthrow superior imperialist odds, and yet have no fear of giving imperialism the opportunity it is always seeking of justifying renewed general warmongering armageddon.

It is unscientific idiocy to suggest that Lenin would have extended his limited peaceful-coexistence holding tactics to the materially impossible noti-

on that somehow imperialism could be persuaded by Soviet strength to disarm completely, and simply commit capitalist class suicide, -thereby ending all arms-race problems for ever.

Such dreams are pure fantasy and can never happen. The only way that non-stop imperialist warmongering will ever be ended is by the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

And if the revisionist-defeatist confusion in Moscow were to devote just a fraction of the energy it expends on peaceful co-existence propaganda to restoring Leninist revolutionary science internationally, -putting an end to the reformist counter-revolutionary bankruptcy of the Western CPs, for example, -then that final overthrow of warmongering imperialism would become a closer possibility much more quickly.

And even though the existing anti-Leninist bureaucracy will continue securely in office indefinitely, history will again repeat itself and the next serious international steps Moscow will preside over will once more be further revolutionary additions to the socialist camp, not a continuation of the phony 'world peace', -exactly the same as happened when World War II (and its historic consequences) finally exploded.

Further to last week's Bulletin discussion, the final military holocaust imposed on the USSR at the end of a long decade of outright capitalist depression, fascist degeneracy, and armsrace hysteria, -to a certain extent nullifying all the Soviet Union's illusory 'international peace & security' proposals & propaganda of the desperate 1930s initiatives, -was a tragic disaster which was at the same time turned into a blistering revolutionary triumph for the invincible Red Army & Soviet workers state, -ultimately crushing imperialist warmongering, and subsequently unleashing (partially unwillingly because of the bureaucracy's continuing revisionist defeatism) the further decisive expansion of the world socialist revolution and national-liberation struggle which has finally prepared tottering imperialism for the grave.

But while the 1930s peace propaganda was a triumph to the extent of Lenin's limited perspective of merely being able to use peaceful coexistence diplomacy to encourage the pacifist-minded Western bourgeois sections to keep the aggressive monopoly-imperialist sections split from a combined 'free world' holocaust against the Soviet Union alone, -the disarmament campaign was an illusory disaster to the extent that the defeatist-revisionist bureaucracy already included within it the diversionary falsehood that the decaying capitalist world could somehow be prevented from going to international war again at all, -the delusion which became rampant in the leadership after Stalin, -and now raised to levels of hysterical stupidity by Gorbachev.

The defeatist-revisionist approach of ignoring the world socialist revolution and hoping solely for the impossible, -that imperialism would 'never again' unleash world war, -has already been tried, -and already been found to be a tragic disaster.

Whatever else might be said or speculated about what might have happened in the 1930s 'if only this' and 'if only that', etc, two certain truths must be highlighted. 1. Nothing in the end did prevent imperialism from plunging the world, including the Soviet Union, into international warmongering holocaust. 2. Leninist science unequivocally stated that that would be the case (see ILWP Books vol 4).

And Leninist science also suggests the one outstanding candidate for consideration in the 'if only' class of hypothesis, -the one supposition which the 'disarm imperialism peacefully' revisionists will never consider: Namely, if only the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism had been pursued more confidently & determinedly, as Lenin would have done, -and with the benefit of correct Leninist tactics (as opposed to the hopeless revisionist stupidities & missed opportunities imposed by the theoretically-weak Stalin leadership), -what might have been the prospects then of avoiding that specific fascist-led imper-

ialist international holocaust which while cleverly prevented by Stalin from being directed against the USSR alone, nevertheless did inflict colossal damage particularly against the Soviet Union.

But the dominant revisionist bureaucracy still insists on imposing just the hypotheses of the 'if only more peace petitions had been signed', 'if only more celebrity forums had been held in Moscow', etc, kind, --refusing to contemplate that the leadership's retreat from Leninism could have been at fault and suggesting, -in the worst bureaucratic 'shake-up' spirit, -that insufficient effort by ordinary people was the real cause of the 'peace' policy's failure, -much as Gorbachev is doing now.

And hand-in-glove with this revisionist philistinism comes the potentially non-Marxist confusion that 'the holocaust was inevitable anyway'. But that is not at all the same thing that Lenin was saying. He merely stated, correctly, that inter-imperialist warfare was inevitable, -and that a target once again would be the Soviet Union (as it had been in the just-finished invasion by the armies of the 14 leading 'free world' capitalist powers), -and that the USSR's survival might again depend on being able to keep the imperialist powers sufficiently divided from a totally united all-out onslaught on the Soviet workers state alone.

As pointed out, this perspective assumed that weaknesses & disasters inside the imperialist/colonialist camp would be pursued vigorously by the international revolutionary communist movement. It assumed that the more blatant, desperate steps by capitalism to reimpose generalised warmongering on the West (such as the build up of the fatuous Hitlerite nazi degeneracy) would face the likelihood of immediate revolutionary socialist overthrow there & then. Likewise, the Leninist scientific perspective on imperialism's warmongering inevitability would have assumed that the balance of class forces might have turned out vastly more in favour of the Soviet Union than

did happen in the final outcome had fascism & nazism faced more confident, determined and tactically astute Leninist revolutionary opposition (& overthrow), and had events like the Spanish civil war resulted in revolutionary socialist triumph instead of the pathetic defeat of the pathetic Popular Front 'peaceful road' policy nonsense.

While the ILWP's successful exposure of counter-revolutionary Trotskyite posturing during the past seven years has been crucial, it is also vital for Leninism to continue sharpening its understanding against other philosophical confusions of the 'it was all inevitable' kind. And while it was vital to rescue the Leninist stance of unconditional defence of the Soviet workers state from all the ultra-left Trotsky revisionism, it is also necessary to continue the search for a correct Leninist assessment of post-Lenin history against the tendencies & vestiges of defeatist conservative revisionism.

Thus, -far from the ultimate German imperialist holocaust being 'inevitable' in exactly the way and with exactly the same balance of class forces as did finally occur, Leninist science requires solely that the untried revolutionary alternative policy alone be stressed in all subsequent class struggle both in new situations and in reviewing past experiences, -not in order to substitute a wooden 'not inevitable' for the wooden 'inevitable' concerning the ultimate nazi holocaust, but so as to (a) insist on the only scientific policy regardless of speculation on how much difference it might really have achieved; and (b) to properly suggest that whole courses of events from the 1920s onwards could have been, and almost certainly would have been, entirely different given a continuation of Leninist leadership. It is unnecessarily energy-sapping and nostalgically time-wasting to detail about 'what might have been'. But it is certainly correct to insist that the search for Leninist scientific policy is the purpose of re-examining the post-Lenin past; and to insist that correct Leninist tactics & strategy

would certainly have led to differences in the historic outcome.

It is equally correct to argue this line against Gorbachev now. His 'war can now be outlawed' line is dangerous illusory garbage Imperialist warmongering can only be overthrown by socialist revolution. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

18. Western reaction tramples on naive Gorbachev (Bulletin 384, 11/3/87)

Predictably, the CIA-NATO counter-revolutionary circles have moved up a gear with their warmongering intrigues in the light of Moscow's capitulation to Reagan's insolent "zero-zero" option.

"It pays to deal with the Russians from strength" is the inevitable bourgeois reaction, -typified by leading Labour parliamentarian Callaghan who has again stabbed his party's petty-bourgeois pacifist defence policy in the back.

Blame the Soviet socialist system for the arms race, and blackmail their wish for peace by forcing them to weaken their defences, -is the ex-Labour leader's anti-communist crusading message. The concessions must all be from the side of the workers states, -not imperialism.

Mr Callaghan was blunt in his broad support for the line the Government has taken in approaching disarmament. "It is my experience that any concession that you make to the Russians, they will pocket it, say 'Thank you' and give you nothing in return," he said.

The former Labour prime minister told the Commons that he would not stop the Trident programme in present circumstances, and he made clear that he still opposed disarmament initiatives which were not tied at every stage to Soviet concessions.

The hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat by these petty-bourgeois parliamentary 'socialists' (supporters of every scrap of fascist-imperialist infamy by the West this century, -initiating most of the colonial warmongering against the national-liberation struggle and world socialist revolution while in office as Labour Governments) -will not fool or cow the USSR into weakening its defences against continued imperialist aggression and Cold War encirclement, - (first launched by the postwar La-

bour Government while butchering socialist revolution in Malaysia, Greece, Korea, etc.)

But by agreeing to the Western fraud in the way it has been done, (-agreeing to ignore the British & French imperialist nuclear threat, & agreeing that if no US land-based nuclear strategic forces should be based in Europe, -there should be no Soviet similar forces either, despite Russia being the biggest country in Europe,)---it only encourages reactionaries like the Callaghan Labour-imperialist tradition to reassert themselves more noisily (not that they have ever been out of the party leadership).

There is little real military danger to the socialist camp, and it would not necessarily have been bad propaganda tactics to call the West's bluff over the removal of SS20s to prevent the installation of Cruise & Pershing 2, -to expose the likely outcome that NATO is not interested in any disarmament measures at all, -even on their very own proposals which are highly favourable to the Western anti-communist crusade.

But the real weakness on the USSR's side is in the Gorbachev group's apparent belief that there exists some real underlying 'humanitarian' concern at the bottom of the bourgeois democratic system which it would be well worth making huge concessions to in order to encourage it.

In this cretinous, perilous illusion, Moscow has decided to accept a propaganda humiliation on the SS20 question in the daft expectation that since the 'complete nuclear disarmament process is now under way', -then the ultimate gains far outweigh the incidental temporary losses to the crowing rightwing militarist circles (especially the Labour Party establishment, proprietor J Callaghan) who are all now chortling: "Just stand firm to the communists, and they will cave in".

The Reagan-Thatcher negotiating bluff has been called, and the imperialist gangsters, plus their loyal Labourite stooges, are themselves under pressure for already clearly being so reluctant to actually sign any kind of deal with Moscow which actually

builds down the arms race, - however advantageous it is to NATO's sneaky tactics.

The one thing the Western warmongering anti-communist crusade needs above all else is a constant permanent atmosphere of arms-race hysteria, fear, and suspicion.

But in making the West an offer of trust which the imperialists will find hard to turn down (after themselves having made such a cheating nasty fuss in favour of the insolent 'zero-zero' which unilaterally disarms the Soviet Union in the face of British-French NATO rockets which are to be left out of the reckoning completely), - Gorbachev's illusion-riddled presentation simultaneously creates an even worse danger for the socialist camp (than the one his offer is defusing by proving there is a basis for trust.)

By retreating from the USSR's justified objections to the blatantly biased 'calculations' insisting that existing SS-20s must go if the Cruise-Pershing 2 escalation is to be avoided (-regardless of the British-French missiles, and the continuing cause for the SS20s--the provocative advanced-base US land, sea, & airborne missiles in Europe right on Soviet borders whereas there are no Soviet missiles on US borders),---Moscow has relaxed attention on the very colonialist-imperialist character of all Western warmongering arms-races.

It is correct to continually present disarmament proposals to the West in order to permanently expose capitalism's inbuilt inability to even contemplate ending its perpetual arms race.

But it is utter folly to pay as the price for this exposure, -the essential cards themselves proving that Western capitalist democracy and bourgeois-imperialist militarism are inseparable.

By implying, through capitulating to Reagan's insolent 'zero-zero' option, that the Soviet Union has nothing really to fear from Western warmongering anti-communist crusades, Gorbachev takes off all the pressure of exposure on the West from such debacles as the grimy Iran-

gate scandals, the nazi support for Contra terrorism by the US & UK, the treacherous Western blind-eye turned towards the aggressive fascist rampaging against frontline African states by the Apartheid monster regime, etc, etc.

Predictably, the most ruthless & degenerate CIA-NATO circles have gladly made hay while the sun shines given Gorbachev's stupid relaxation of hostile anti-imperialist pressure on them with his 'humanitarian' gesture towards the Cold Warriors.

The international counter-revolutionary executive in Washington has this week let it be known that vast new supplies of deadly Stinger anti-aircraft advanced guided missiles will now be going to the tribal-feudal reactionaries in Afghanistan whose sole aim is to systematically wreck every school, hospital, industrial infrastructure item, etc, of planned economic progress being brought by the 1978 April Revolutionary regime to that benighted country.

Despite the depraved farce of the Contra fascists now losing even Arturo Cruz, -the only remotely 'presentable' figurehead not totally compromised by mafia corruption, drug graft, or Somoza nazism, -still Washington brazenly continues with its plans to step up 'aid' to the CIA's mercenary thugs who openly merely try to slaughter every speck of social & economic advance in socialist Nicaragua.

To celebrate Gorbachev's propaganda capitulation to Reagan humiliating 'zero-zero' terms, Washington is now making no secret of escalating plans to turn Chad & Zaire in Africa into open centres of CIA-Nato-dominated counter-revolution and subversion against every scrap of socialist progress on that continent, and against every anti-imperialist regime there, -deliberately starving some into submission, and militarily intriguing against others using CIA mercenaries now liberally supplied with NATO arms either via France's numerous colonial bases continuing in existence there, or else via the vast refurbished Kamina air

base in the south of the Mobutu puppet regime's Zaire vastness. And as if these new provocations were not widespread & militarily menacing enough, the CIA counter-revolutionary network, still trying to disrupt Indo-China despite US imperialism being thrashed out of that area by the heroic communist guerrilla fighters of Vietnam, Laos, & Kampuchea, -set up an assassination-bombing attempt on the Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze on a visit there.

In addition to that, gruesome news from El Salvador indicates that vastly expanded renewed fascist death-squad activities are now being prepared against the reviving trade union movement which is demonstrating an uncomfortable independence from the dictatorial threat that Duarte was supposed to continue to represent (even though at present temporarily clothed in 'democratic' disguise.) The 'democracy' fraud is collapsing once again, -the fascist ruling class is on the desperate warpath, -and the sinister CIA manipulators are seeking to slaughter the renewed 'left' threat while trying to prevent the too-open exhibitions of nazi terror by the El Salvador capitalist system which proved so embarrassing to the Western 'image' in the past.

And despite paying the high price of re-encouraging all of this by giving Reagan-Thatcher a new lease of life as potential 'humanitarian saviours' of 'civilised life as we know it', etc, -any final deal offered on Cruise & Pershing II arms-race escalation, even though it may temporarily suit Western financial & strategic/political interests, -will probably not be worth the paper it is written on.

Keep embarrassing the warmongering imperialist system with disarmament offers it ultimately must reject; but do so in the Leninist spirit of using the exposure to further the real aim of building the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement throughout the world, -the only final guarantee of peace once it overthrows capitalism everywhere.

Revolutionary South Africa, Philippines, El Salvador, etc, are the only peaceful future for man-

kind, -not illusion-filled gestures towards incurable imperialist warmongering degeneracy typified by the depraved Reagan & Thatcher regimes. Build Leninism. Spread the Bulletin.

19. Historic necessity for Leninist theory disproves class-collaborating illusions of egalitarian swamp. Revolutionary communism is the only worthwhile individualism. 'Dissident' artists are purely bourgeois stooges. West cheers Soviet 'shake-up' so as to undermine dictatorship of the proletariat (Bulletin 385, 18/3/87)

Gorbachev's idealism about war no longer being inevitable "because the destruction it would cause does not bear contemplating, -people would cry out" is matched in the West by an unwillingness to consider that 'modern' capitalist society could possibly even be thought of as ever sinking back to the 1930s civil-war chaos of concentration camps, fascism, etc.

The greatest prop for this anti-Marxist swamp is the permanent human illusion that total crises (of anything) never really happen, -that somehow everything muddles on much the same as it has always done.

The only answer to all this confusion & philistinism is a sober study of the practical record & prospects of the capitalist system.

The most startling pattern is the devastating divide between illusion & reality about events this century.

Despite the now widely acknowledged grotesque contrast between the carefree flag-waving volunteering of the "small bit of bother in Belgium", "it will be all over in 6 months" "Goodbye Dolly, I must leave you" WWI preliminaries and the murdering vicious reality of the actual world class conflict fought out to a bitter unavoidable end; -and despite the equally casual attitudes of the 1920s & 1930s of the talkies & Hollywood, dance crazes & pop records, outlandish fashions & cabaret, etc, -crashing down in the reality of renewed arms race, invasions, massacres, concentration camps, aerial slaughter, and over 50 mi-

llion dead, etc, in WWII; and despite the postwar myth of '40 years of peace' in fact masking the most intensified period of persistent & widespread warmongering activities and imperialist arms-race in capitalism's entire history, -still the catastrophic gap between illusion & reality looms wider than ever.

A comfortable popular feeling which is universally claiming identity with 'Gorbachevism' in the Soviet Union, -broadly declares that greater toleration and less class conflict, more licence and less doctrinaire rigidity, more understanding and less discipline, and more laissez-faire but less centralisation, -- is the 'obvious' and 'inevitable' way to more equality & security.

What is envisaged is a steady relaxation & overcoming of old hatreds, dogmas, fears, & rivalries simultaneous with a belief that modern, sophisticated, high-tech mankind will never go back to fascism, red revolution, & generalised warmongering (qualifying for World War III status.)

Particularly seductive is the false conclusion that the revolt against much old conservative prejudice in British class society and white Western imperialist domination is part of a universal break with all discipline, restraint, and strict philosophical science, - (rather than, in fact, a specific shattering of phony bourgeois values and undeserved privileges.)

In personal morality, social aims, professional standards, and political organisation, - a widespread tendency to rubbish all values in general easily sets up these would-be 'egalitarian revolutionaries' to have their undoubted anti-imperialist anti-bourgeois venom completely cancelled out by their equally vicious but philistine scorn for Leninism and strong workers states.

Even more insidious is the genteel version of this anarchism-in-embryo which simply remains permanently at the passive cynicism level, - sceptical that anything ever really changes purposefully, and subjectively & insecurely obsessed with other peoples motives.

This fence-sitting agnostic co-

mplicity deliberately projects its own philistine retreat from decisive struggle & commitment out into a 'doubt' that the world is really heading for the greatest revolutionary warmongering crisis in history.

This has nothing whatever to do with pessimistic doomwatchers declaring "the end is nigh". Just the opposite. Revolutionary Leninism alone can be supremely confident about the future. As hard a struggle as it may be, the final overthrow of the utterly corrupt & decaying capitalist system holds out incalculable advantages & developments for mankind.

But a realistic assessment of imperialism's incurable crisis-degeneration does have a lot to do with scientific practical political preparations for meeting the upheavals to come with sufficiently widespread revolutionary consciousness to deliberately make sure that next time the capitalist mess is ended for good.

How crucial it is scientifically to understand the economic & political movement of class forces and how to steadily approach & finally achieve the correct revolutionary way out of capitalism's collapsing chaos is unanswerably demonstrated by Lenin's necessary relentless demolition (from 1902 to 1918, and then again, on a new level, from 1918 to 1923) of the fatally incorrect theories & analysis by other "outstanding revolutionary socialists of that period" such as Plekhanov, Bernstein, Axelrod, Kautsky, Martov, Trotsky, Luxemburg, etc, etc. This crucial need to correctly understand the international balance of class forces and the tactics & strategy of proletarian revolution was subsequently confirmed in the brilliant leadership of such as Mao, Tito, Ho, Castro, Mugabe, etc. Leninism provides the abundant basic material about class struggle, making possible the fundamental scientific knowledge these subsequent revolutionaries had about what needed to be done.

The essence of the 'modern' retreat from Leninism and of the triumph of illusion over reality is exemplified in the Western 'Euro' CPs delusion that the

1917 Bolshevik Revolution is no longer a model to be followed or has any great relevance at all to present-day struggles; and on another level in the general content & attitude of "Marxism Today" to politics.

The philosophical grasp, and dialectical tactical genius of Leninism is a vast & complex subject. Most of us will do well to master just a fraction of its depths after a lifetime's study.

Marxism Today thinks it much more important to interview Edwina Currie, and to discover that she is not such a bad person after all, -believing in health foods, anti-smoking, and private sexual freedom.

These are interesting matters but less momentous than what really happened in Grenada and how did Reagan get away with nazi blitzkrieg in broad daylight to suppress an important pioneering socialist construction in the Caribbean; why did the socialist camp do little or nothing about it, and why are the majority leadership of the New Jewel Movement languishing in chains even now, waiting for the imperialist invaders to put a rope around their necks; and what is being done to challenge the Moscow-Havana paralysis on this question.

Or what are the real conclusions to be drawn from the Allende regime experiment in Chile for which the CPGB's 'peaceful road to socialism' illusion must share some of the blame for helping to inspire, and what are the strategic & tactical lessons waiting to be established even now, at this late stage, as the naked fascist dictatorship reality of capitalist 'bourgeois democracy' rule continues under Pinochet to grind the Chilean masses into the ground.

Or what, at this even later stage, is yet to be concluded about the whole epoch of revisionist retreat & delusion known as Stalinism and the CPGB's grotesque sycophantic part in that defeatist abandonment of Leninism, particularly topical now in the light of Gorbachev's aggressive insistence on perpetuating the idiocy of 'peaceful coexistence as the solution to imperialism' coupled with the 'peaceful road to socialism'. Tell that

in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, South Africa, Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chad, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Guatemala, Timor, Sudan, Sahara, Philippines, Thailand, Honduras, Ireland, Palestine, etc, etc.

Or what should really be done to halt imperialist-fascist subversion of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Kampuchea, or about endless Zionist-imperialist repression & aggression in the Near East, etc.

Marxism Today has of course 'dealt with' all these matters too. But only as the rest of the bourgeois press does, -recommending 'sensible' compromises, collaboration, coexistence, truces, etc; never with a realistic perspective for ending capitalist-imperialist decay & disruption once & for all. Like all the bourgeois press, Marxism Today opportunistically & irresponsibly just skims the surface of 'problem areas' of the world simply out of this era's divorce between illusion & reality, and out of its own petty-bourgeois distancing itself from the real concerns & determinations of the overwhelming proletarian mass of the planet which is steadily building up to an outrage of revolutionary explosion, including in Britain & the West generally.

It may indeed be establishable that despite all the venomous gossip, Mrs Currie is in fact at least recognisably human, -for whatever use that anthropological conclusion is.

But much more importantly, she is a conscious ruthless supporter of an economic, political and class system which deliberately condemns tens of millions to die each year, mostly children, in diseased & malnourished agony, while mountains of food are built up & destroyed on purpose in the imperialist centres; which endlessly slaughters more millions each year by cold-bloodedly & profitably backing every fascist dictatorship and mercenary subversion it can; which knowingly drives the whole planet towards economic & military disaster by its cynical Cold War aggressive hysteria against the inevitability of socialist revolution, ever since 1917; and which still continues its vicious colonial domination &

interference wherever it can, from Ireland to the South Seas, while at the same time arm-racing its way to yet another all-out inter-imperialist trade-war military-aggression sort-out of insoluble capitalist rivalries, currently reflected in 17million out of work in the Common Market, and several times as many throughout the rest of the capitalist 'free market' system, -all buttressed by xenophobic race-hatred and fascist discrimination of the "we shall not be swamped" and "enemies without enemies within" kind. There is nothing new to learn about bourgeois-imperialist elitism, arrogance, and privileged greed, -only about how the capitalist-'democracy' system's vicious opportunism will fatally trip it up via international conflict, - (not a Currie question). This class needs exterminating, not interviewing.

How to end the rule, -and the existence, -of the bourgeoisie as a class (it is not a question of their individual fate) is, of course, the one giant issue that all revisionism has basically been running away from since revisionism first arose alongside Marxism. The fearful intimidation of the opportunist swamp by the vastly superior social power of the bourgeoisie (plus its honours, perks, rewards, etc, for collaboration in office), -has always tried concealing itself with pompous canting humbug about "changed conditions", "living in the modern world", "the irresistible mandate of democracy", "a completely peaceful 'revolution' in the way we live", etc, aided by bogus revisionist theories of a non-existent 'peaceful road to socialism' and a 'peaceful coexistence means of overcoming imperialism', etc.

In other words, the celebrity-seeking razzle-dazzle of Marxism Today is not at all some "worthwhile experiment in modernisation" or "harmless & welcome publicity" which "may incidentally play down party dogma, but that's no great damage and probably an advantage", etc, - but is in fact a cynically deliberate and treacherous smokescreen precisely to cover up all traces of the con-

scious & planned retreat from class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat (as the only possible historical perspective for civilisation.)

Fearful (-under pressure of the intense anti-communist hysteria of the Cold War period) -of being seen & exposed as being in favour of 'Stalinist dictatorship' in any shape or form, -the cowardly revisionist posturers have finally overcome their hangdog mealy-mouthedness to adopt the aggressive defence of fullscale revisionism, -friends with Mrs Currie, and proud of it, etc, -in other words 'accepted' by society, and no longer the despised 'Stalinist' outcasts.

It is no different with the Italian CP's pioneering of the retreat from Bolshevism. Their 'historic compromise' mould-breaking offer to put their largest-party status at the service of the 'democratic' Italian capitalist state for a routine proportional-representation share in coalition government alongside the various spiv 'socialist' outfits, etc, republicans, christian democrats, social democrats, etc, is even less 'scientific' than their long degenerate worship at Stalin's shrine. They have discovered nothing whatever about 'modern socialist revolution' which invalidates one iota of the vast treasure of class-struggle-knowledge amassed by the 1917 Revolution and Lenin's leadership tactics. Leading the rest of the 'Euros', these revisionists have basically deserted the socialist camp at the height of the Cold War conflict, -put to rout by the pressure on their own anti-Leninist ignorance (which kept them pathetically slave to Stalinist revisionist stupidities for such a shamefully long time.)

So far, 'Gorbachevism' will almost certainly suit these renegades from the revolutionary struggle down to the ground. Moscow's philistine new revision of Lenin to pronounce that "war is no longer inevitable, or a continuation of politics by other means, but is simply outdated in human affairs" and misleading the international working class that perpetual harmony is achievable between capital & labour and is in fact about to break out in a

symphony of loving class collaboration, - is exactly up the opportunist street of the Western CPs.

Even more to their liking is the phony 'revolutionary socialist restructuring & openness' propaganda shake-up by Gorbachev, - letting all the counter-revolutionary dissidents and fascist fanatics out of jail; moving towards dropping all philosophical & political values from artistic activities, etc; hammering state & party organisational rigidity without showing the slightest wish or sign of ability to replace it with a renewal of Leninist scientific theory as the only real organiser of the revolutionary proletariat; etc, --which all makes them feel much more at home with their own philistine opportunism, -and even able, once again, -to pretend to be 'advanced, modernising, revolutionary lefts' while selling out the class struggle.

Also encouraged are all the other brands of non-'communist' anti-communists who are either jeering at the attack on 'corruption', and 'lack of enthusiasm', and 'stifling of initiative' which Gorbachev has so gone on about in his 'shake-up' speeches, - saying 'I told you so, - it's all rotten & useless in the USSR'; or else sneering at Moscow's belated acceptance of Reagan's insulting 'zero-zero' blackmail terms (for giving NATO intermediate nuclear missiles complete monopoly over the to-be-withdrawn Soviet SS20s) -and claiming 'you only have to kick these communists hard and they come running'.

Now the anti-Soviet excitement is bubbling in the West over an anticipated attack by Gorbachev on the 'privileged' state-subsidy aspects of the Communist Party's leading role in society (which free state & party leaders from some of the time-consuming drudgery and uncertainty of the unavoidable discipline, during the construction of socialism, of rationing by short supply.)

This will be an excellent development as an attack on the complacent conservative attitudes which invariably creep back in with any state bureaucracy (see Lenin quotes Pp5-8) but again would have a million

times more purpose and long-term effectiveness if part of a concerted return to Leninist international revolutionary ideas and understanding.

If it is only part of a 'shake-up' posturing, however, or, - worse still, -a serious revisionist intention to try and dismantle the strong socialist state apparatus out of some misguided egalitarian lunacy, Gorbachev will indeed be walking into a Prague Spring type reversal (hopefully, -the sooner the better.)

It is axiomatic Leninism that until communism is reached in an entire world of planned plenty, then only the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of strong centralised socialist states will be able to educate the discipline needed and the guaranteed defence against imperialist counter-revolution, which will finally win the international class struggle.

Every single assumption & proposal associated with the 'Gorbachevism' enthusiasm in the Western anti-Leninist swamp is based on the lunacy that the class struggle is also 'out-of-date' just like war is now said to be, and that it is fading out and will shortly die a natural death.

There is indeed a need for new thinking on the question of winning disciplined enthusiasm for speeding up the building of socialism in the workers states and for building revolutionary parties to lead the working class to socialist power in the West. But that 'new' thinking is in fact the science of Leninist revolutionary internationalism, long since abandoned by Moscow and the Western CPs, --and nothing at all to do with philistine anarchic ideas now widespread in the West, (and naturally influencing Moscow), -that disciplined organisation is all 'out of date' too, -misidentified with 'old-fashioned bureaucracy' and with 'redundant dogmas', -and that 'freedom of expression' is the real key to unlocking the floodgates of socialist enthusiasm.

This is the worst revisionist crap imaginable.

Certainly Leninism crucially builds on the vital need for communists to individually and independently make themselves

masters of Marxist science. And to achieve that, it is equally crucial to organise a party only on the basis of branches & areas taking full responsibility for their own decisions & policies & campaigns, --consistent, of course, with the closest-possible permanent cooperation & interchange with the party centre (see ILWP Books vol 2). This was how Lenin built the Bolshevik Party from 1903 to 1917 - against Trotsky, Plekhanov, Martov, and all the rest, -as an instrument capable of leading the proletariat to power.

But this correct understanding of 'freedom of expression' is vitally, dialectically inseparable from the firmest possible grasp of disciplined unity, -the complete opposite of the political reality of the Gorbachevism swamp in the West which in its retreat from the science of Leninism is perpetually splintering into ever-increasing minorities who collectively cannot effectively manage a single municipal urinal, -as the appalling chaos and confusion in Labour local government dramatically demonstrates; not worse than Alliance & Tory local and central government which is edging towards revolutionary collapse & crisis, -but no better either. (The fascist Fleet Street press vilification of the 'loony left' is irrelevant to a realistic assessment of the utterly corrupt uselessness of local Labour government, or its national government efforts in the past (or in the future).)

Effective Leninist revolutionary-socialist disciplined unity is possible only on the basis of an acceptance of Marxism as a science, not unlike that required to build a successful aeroplane, or power station, or computer.

The science of class struggle since Marxism began contains vast quantities of verifiable lessons & conclusions based on real historical development, -including the crucial point that a serious study of the movement of class forces and the necessary tactics & strategy & programme for achieving socialism can only properly begin from the current highest point of class struggle, -e.g. what should be the tactics

for taking power in the Philippines revolution; what should be done about South African front-line confrontation; what is the way out of the Palestine-Lebanon problem of Zionist imperialism; what must be concluded about the Grenada debacle; what lessons must be learned from the Allende disaster; etc, --all matters which the Gorbachev swamp syndrome resolutely ignores.

But the 'freedom of expression' moves towards 'socialist enthusiasm' wants nothing whatever to do with a disciplined study of Marxist-Leninist science, and even less to do with a disciplined party-building struggle around the most thorough-possible theoretical approaches to all the current problems of the international conflict.

The attitude of 'must have a proper newspaper', 'must have red on it, or in full colour', 'must have brilliant picture display', 'must be nice light breezy articles, nothing too heavy', 'must be simple expressions, no lecturing or hard-to-grasp jargon', etc, is far wider than the politics-less opportunism of the Marxism Today or Newline approach. Which is bad luck on the collected works of Lenin (which sometimes don't even have a paragraph break on page 3, let alone dramatic pictures) or on the front page of the first issue of Iskra, which was just relentless columns of grey type. There will be few recruits to socialism, probably, who have not at some stage tried to justify their own kicking screaming subjective resistance to being made to think & fight and admit the defeat of their own prejudices, -by complaining 'if it was more readable, I would read it'.

Was Iskra a spark or wasn't it? Nor is it really true that 'Ah, but times have changed now. Modern people will never accept something that does not look really modern'. Tit-Bits and other continental dazzle-press imitators were already well underway by the time of Iskra, -with dramatic photos, latest celebrity sensations, etc, and all the rest of the crap that makes the Sun so utterly tediously boring today (closely followed by Soc-

ialist Worker.)

The WRP was once fired up about dropping the old staid Workers Press for the new all-colour razzle-dazzle Newline, - hitting the casual news-stand buyer with TV pages, racing & sport, celebrity stories, colour features, etc, - 'all the things that people like', -and slipping them in some 'revolutionary politics' in the clearly-marked 'editorials' (give 'straight news' in the reportage & stories) and by the choice of news matter to be 'objectively' covered. One or two lone voices said: 'This is all deduced crap'.

The Newline might have reached a million circulation. But its rotten anti-Leninist politics was always going to bring it down in the end. As it happens, the WRP collapsed before 10,000 circulation was reached.

The razzle-dazzle of Marxism Today has, -at approaching £1 per copy, -'advanced' by giving a 'daring kick' to adventurous Yuppies or providing glossy flirtation for complacent old intellectuals, and it could go further, -but the CP continues to collapse. That might revive too under the greenhouse effect of the Gorbachev swamp. But it will build on totally insecure and utterly hopeless political foundations. Reformism is not the answer to imperialist warmongering but its ally, and will perish along with imperialism.

Nor, of course, is there any real 'freedom of expression' at all in any of these razzle-dazzle rags. Leninist thinking on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of strong workers states was strictly kept out. There was 'freedom' in fact only for anti-Leninism, the very antithesis of the only scientific approach that freedom is the recognition of necessity. Without the Leninist science of what must happen to win the class struggle and finally end the epoch of warmongering imperialism, there is no real freedom of any kind for anybody.

This capitulation-to-philistinism essence of 'freedom of expression' is naturally rampant now in 'lifestyle' and artistic matters too, revelling in Gorbachev's

apparent stance that counter-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionary influences are no longer a problem for the Soviet Union.

As a result, every kind of irrational, mystical, and semi-religious influence is now squeezing out straightforward historical truth in every artistic sphere.

It is a pathetic defence of 'freedom of expression' irrationalism to doggedly keep repeating the obvious truism that human experience amounts to much more than can be expressed by strictly historical truth. Of course it does. But it is undoubtedly also the case that other more intimate & subtle inspiring aspects of human achievement & spirit flourish and find direction only when society itself is developing positively, -as demonstrated historically by the invariable coincidence of great artistic & intellectual flourishing with important & fundamental economic political & social revolution and change, or development & consolidation. And even if such a connection could not be established, it is still axiomatic that civilisation has generally only advanced on the basis of more highly developed social formations systematically replacing a preceding one.

What is 'outdated' in the present-day turmoil is not any abstract category like 'war' or 'privilege' or 'intolerance' but the specific concrete historical matter called Western capitalism's imperialist states. And the Soviet Union & the socialist camp do not have anything like security from counter-revolutionary overthrow by them.

It is not a question of choice between 'freedom of expression' to establish historical truth and 'freedom of expression' to establish artistic truth, but the clear need to establish the international revolutionary socialist camp more firmly than ever or else warmongering fascist-imperialism will remove all freedom for any kind of expression.

And where the Soviet socialist state still has a huge battle on its hands for survival & security, a concession to 'freedom of exp-

ression' in general, 'on principle' is just asking for the counter-revolutionary chaos that the Dubcek revisionists created.

It won't come just from rock-and-roll music, or drugs, or alcoholism, or dropping out, or any other aspect of 'youth culture' by itself. But the lyrics of current pop crazes gleefully regurgitated by the Bandanistas' favourite pro-Gorbachev 'expert' on Soviet affairs, Martin Walker, have a flavour of the nihilistic mood and philistinism which is latching onto Gorbachevism in the East & West, while naturally contemptuously cynical about Gorbachevism when pushed.

"Outta control, outta control, we all have to get, outta control," which is becoming a kind of underground youth anthem, was less than popular in official circles.

Then there was the song about the neanderthals in the Ministry of Culture, which has the stirring chorus:

*Nothing will change
and no-one will change
no way and no how
while these stiff remain in
power.*

And there is the break-dance song, about the cultural thaw:

*OK—so they let us break-dance
OK—so we can be happy
sometimes.
But still standing behind the
column is
the man in the thin tie
with cement in his eyes.*

So far, there have been no problems for Zvuki Mu, a rock-band which features an oboe among the usual guitars and drums, and a lead singer whose stage performance has elevated St Vitus's Dance into an art form.

They first became known with a song about kids hating to go to school, that sang of "too much football and the teachers' dead faces" and which finished on the chorus that every Moscow schoolkid seems to know: "Daddy. You'd better buy me a Walkman."

But the other night—at a hall in the Southern Suburbs where I trailed out to see them—they sang a number called Soyuzpechat, which is the word used for the state newspaper distribution system. Mr Gorbachev's policy of Glasnost, or openness in the Soviet press, has not left them much impressed:

*In the mornings, when I
finally go home,
Is when I want what I can
never get.
It was the fresh printed
papers
That taught me to dream.
It was the Soyuzpechat
That taught us how to
wait
When you pass me by
Don't make that kind of
face
As if you couldn't give a
shit*

*What the papers and this
country say about us.
And remember, the money
we all make is false money.
Counterfeit paper—
Soyuzpechat.*

One of the underground rock "fanzies," or fan magazines, which ran a double-column review of 1986 and preview of 1987, named Zvuki Mu as the band of 1986 and Telesvisor the band of 1987. It also gave listings for "Dread of the Year" with radio-activity in 1986 and Aids in 1987. It listed "legislation of rock" as the achievement of the year in 1986, and "Glasnost" as anti-climax of the year.

"Nostalgia of the Year" was cheap wine for 1986 and underground rock concerts for 1987. That may prove premature after Telesvisor's trouble. And I have my fears for Zvuki Mu's satirical song about the Perestroika, the official word for the Gorbachev reforms.

*They used to say we had to
strike proudly forward.
Now they say we have to
jump proudly forward.
But we have to turn round
first
And they never taught us to
turn round.*

Every time Gorbachev tries to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds by offering a conciliatory embrace to the likes of Sakharov and other counter-revolutionary dissidents, and to the likes of Tarkovsky and other 'artistic' individualist anti-Leninists, he is making a rod for his own back eventually.

Of course modern films and rock-and-roll have also been used in the West for hammering corrupt imperialist ruling class values & privileges. But their contribution is not the crucial one in the overthrow of imperialism, nor is their unthinking & un-Leninist kinship with like-minds in the East necessarily progressive at all. Much of it is specifically reactionary, -deliberately exploiting 'dissident' sympathy to get across very reactionary hardline anarchist petty-bourgeois views. And just as much film & rock-and-roll in the West is in any case as sympathetic towards fascist ideas as towards Leninism. Once again, the medium is definitely not the message (as claimed by the McLuhan-era anti-communist gibberish.)

The assumption that a 'freedom of expression' free-for-all East and West would be 'bound to' result in what Gorbachev's illusions have foreseen-(as the consequence of fear of nuclear

extinction)-as an outbreak of international brotherly love which will miraculously adjourn the historic class was between capitalism and the proletariat forever, - is the most idiotic & fatal nonsense that could be bandied about. The 1930s was just such a period of cultural abandon & daring, high-tech innovation, and shake-up of old prejudices. But Leninist revolutionary consciousness came nowhere, nor love.

It will be crucial in the currently unfolding international revolutionary crisis for the battle to be won for Leninist revolutionary theory. As the revolutionary struggle moves through the

Third World ever closer to the old industrial metropolitan heart lands, so precisely the detailed Bolshevik revolutionary experience will again become the most appropriate exact precedent to study, -building a revolutionary party in a decadent society with a large corrupted urban petty-bourgeoisie, used for running a decaying or lost empire.

The empty calls for 'unity' in spite of deep & unbridgable ideological differences which, for example, some small Moscow-intimidated groups in the anti-imperialist movement are parroting (to cover up their sla-

nderous rejection of the ILWP Leninist-theory campaign as 'organised disruption') are exactly the anti-scientific philistinism the Bolshevik Party was built in battle against. Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice. At the start of the century as the 1905 Revolution approached, the RSDLP old guard would fume demanding to 'get on with the immediate practical tasks' against Lenin's insistence on first always discussing in lengthy detail the balance of class forces overall and the precise new stage reached in the crisis of Tsarism. Exactly the same RSDLP old guard philistinism is

now everywhere raised against the ILWP's determined fight for revolutionary theory.

Gorbachev's shake-up is sadly not the same thing at all as the fight for revolutionary theory, or even synonymous with routine elimination of bureaucratic excesses, -but in fact an equally bureaucratic complement to those excesses when not administered within the framework of an overall Leninist grasp of the basic priorities of the international revolutionary socialist conflict against imperialism, -as Lenin explained in dealing with 1921 revisionist posturing about bureaucratic problems (quoted from ILWP Books vol 5).

6 "For even if the 'shake-up' policy were partly justified by the 'new tasks and methods' (Trotsky's thesis 12), it cannot be tolerated at the present time, and in the present situation, because it threatens a split.

"...Any difference, even an insignificant one, may become politically dangerous if it has a chance to grow into a split, and I mean the kind of split that will shake and destroy the whole political edifice...

"Clearly, in a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a split in the ranks of the proletariat, or between the proletarian party and the mass of the proletariat, is not just dangerous; it is extremely dangerous....

"Behind the effort to present the 'production' standpoint (Trotsky) or to overcome a one-sided political approach and combine it with an economic approach (Bukharin) we find:

"1. Neglect of Marxism, as expressed in the theoretically incorrect, eclectic definition of the relation between politics and economics;

2. Defence or camouflage of the political mistake expressed in the shake-up policy, which runs through the whole of Trotsky's platform pamphlet, and which, unless it is admitted and corrected, leads to the collapse of the dictatorship of the proletariat;...

Lenin continued:

"The state is a sphere of coercion. It would be madness to renounce coercion, especially in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that the administrative approach and 'steerage' are indispensable. The Party is the leader, the vanguard of the proletariat, which rules directly. It is not coercion but expulsion from the Party that is the specific means of influence and the means of purging and steeling the vanguard. The trade unions are a reservoir of the state power, a school of communism, and a school of management. The specific and cardinal thing in this sphere is NOT ad-

ministration but the 'ties' 'between the central state administration' (and of course the local as well), 'the national economy, and the BROAD MASSES of the working people' (see Party Programme, economic section, *5, dealing with the trade unions).

"The whole of Trotsky's platform pamphlet betrays an incorrect approach to the problem and a misunderstanding of this relationship....

"Trotsky and Bukharin have produced a hodgepodge of political mistakes in approach, breaks in the middle of the transmission belts, and unwarranted and futile attacks on 'administrative steerage'. It is now clear where the 'theoretical' source of the mistake lies...in Bukharin's substitution of eclecticism for dialectics. His eclectic approach has confused him and has landed him in syndicalism. Trotsky's mistake is one-track thinking, compulsiveness, exaggeration, and obstinacy....

"It is obviously wrong to boil this down to the Party Programme 'formulating' the trade unions task as 'organisation of production'. And if you insist on this error, and write it into your platform theses, you will get nothing but an anti-communist, syndicalist deviation.

"Incidentally, Comrade Trotsky says in his theses that 'over the last period we have not made any headway towards the goal set forth in the Programme but have in fact retreated from it'. That statement is unsupported, and I think wrong....

"...the question of combating red-tape was laid before the 8th Congress of Soviets. Consequently the whole Central Committee, the whole Party and the whole workers and peasants Republic had recognised that the question of the bureaucracy and ways of combating its evils was high on the agenda. Does any 'repudiation' of the 9th Congress of the RCP follow from all this? Of course not...What does follow is that we shall be extending democracy in the workers organisations, without turning it

into a fetish; that we shall redouble our attention to the struggle against bureaucratic practices; and that we shall take special care to rectify any unwarranted and harmful excesses of bureaucracy, no matter who points them out....

"...it is exactly one month since Comrade Trotsky's factional statement. It is now patent that this pronouncement, inappropriate in form and wrong in essence, has diverted the Party from its practical economic and production effort into rectifying political and theoretical mistakes....

Mensheviks and

Socialist-Revolutionaries undoubtedly shelter (and have sheltered) behind the opposition, and it is they who are spreading the rumours, incredibly malicious formulations, and inventions of all sorts to malign the Party, put vile interpretations on its decisions, aggravate conflicts, and ruin its work. That is a political trick used by the bourgeoisie, including the petty-bourgeois democrats, the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, who for obvious reasons hate and cannot help hating the Bolsheviks...."

(All quotations from Lenin's January 25, 1921 pamphlet 'Once again on the trade unions, the current situation, and the mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin'.)

In the midst of writing the pamphlet, Lenin elaborated on his denunciation of Trotsky in a speech to the communist group at the miners congress, in Moscow.

"...Is it becoming for such an influential person, such a prominent leader, to attack his Party comrades in this way?...

"I could well understand such a statement if Comrades Tomsky and Lozovsky were guilty...of, say, having flatly refused to sign the Brest Peace Treaty [as Trotsky had been guilty], or of having flatly opposed the war. The revolutionary interest is higher than formal democracy. But it is fundamentally wrong to approach the subject in such haste at the present moment. It won't do at all.

This point says that many trade unionists tend to cultivate in their midst a spirit of hostility and exclusiveness. What does that mean? What sort of talk is this? Is it the right kind of language? Is it the right approach? I had earlier said that I might succeed in acting as a 'buffer' and staying out of the discussion, because it is harmful to fight with Trotsky, - it does the Republic, the Party, and all of us a lot of harm, - but when this pamphlet came out, I felt I had to speak up.

"Trotsky writes that 'many trade unionists tend to cultivate a spirit of hostility for the new men'. How so? If that is true, those who are doing so should be named. Since this is not done, it is merely a shake-up, a bureaucratic approach to the business. ... Trotsky accuses Lozovsky and Tomsky of bureaucratic practices. I would say the reverse is true. It is no use reading anything further because the approach has spoiled everything; he has poured a spoonful of tar into the honey, and no matter how much honey he may add now, the whole is already spoiled....

"... a spirit of hostility has been aroused among the masses by a number of tactless actions. My opponent asserts that certain people have been cultivating a spirit of hostility. This shows that the question is seen in the wrong light... where the 'shake-up' catchword was launched. Trotsky was wrong in uttering it. Politically it is clear that such an approach will cause a split and bring down the dictatorship of the proletariat....

Comrade Bukharin went so far as to talk about the 'sacred slogan of workers democracy'. Those are his very words. When I read that I nearly crossed myself.

"I insist that a mistake always has a modest beginning and then grows up. Disagreements always start from small things. A slight cut is commonplace, but if it festers, it may result in a fatal illness. And this thing here is a festering wound. In November there was talk about a shake-up; by December, it had become a big mistake.

"The December Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee was against us. The majority sided with Trotsky and carried Trotsky and Bukharin's resolution, which you must have read. But even the CC members who did not sympathise with us had to admit that the water transport workers had more right on their side than Tsektran. That is a fact. When I ask what Tsektran's fault was, the answer is not that they had brought pressure to bear, - that goes to their credit, - but that they had allowed bureaucratic excesses.

"But once you have realised that you had allowed excesses you ought to rectify them, instead of arguing against rectification. That is all there is to it. It will take decades to overcome the evils of bureaucracy. It is a very difficult struggle, and anyone

who says we can rid ourselves of bureaucratic practices overnight by adopting anti-bureaucratic platforms is nothing but a quack with a bent for fine words. Bureaucratic excesses must be rectified right away. We must detect and rectify them without calling bad good, or black white.

"The workers and peasants realise that they have still to learn the art of government, but they are also very well aware that there are bureaucratic excesses, and it is a double fault to refuse to correct them... Even the best workers make mistakes. There are excellent workers in Tsektran, and we shall appoint them, and correct their bureaucratic excesses.

"Comrade Trotsky says that Comrades Tomsky and Lozovsky, - trade unionists both, - are guilty of cultivating in their midst a spirit of hostility for the new men. But this is monstrous. Only someone in the lunatic fringe can say a thing like that. This haste leads to arguments, platforms and accusations, and eventually creates the impression that everything is rotten....

"... To start a factional struggle and accuse Tomsky of cultivating among the masses a spirit of hostility for the Tsektranites is utterly to distort the facts, absolutely to spoil all the work, and entirely to damage all relations with the trade unions. But the trade unions embrace the whole proletariat. If this thing is persisted in and voted on by platforms, it will lead to the downfall of the Soviet power....

"... Trotsky's whole approach is wrong. I could have analysed any one of his theses but it would take me hours and you would all be bored to death. Every thesis reveals the same thoroughly wrong approach: 'Many trade unionists tend to cultivate a spirit of hostility'. There is a spirit of hostility for us among the trade union rank and file because of our mistakes, and the bureaucratic practices up on top, including myself, because it was I who appointed Glavpolitput... We must correct Tsektran's excesses, once we realise that we are a solid workers party with a firm footing and a head on its shoulders.

"But we are not renouncing either the method of appointment, or the dictatorship. This will not be tolerated by workers with a twenty years schooling in Russia. If we condone this mistake, we shall surely be brought down. It is a mistake, and that is the root of the matter....

"... We are not renouncing the dictatorship, or one-man management; these remain, I will support them. But I refuse to defend excesses and stupidity..

"... Tsektran has allowed excesses. We propose calling a spade a spade. It is no use covering up excesses with 'new tasks'; they must be corrected.

"But we have no intention of renouncing coercion. No sober-minded worker would go so far as to say that we could now dispense with coercion, or that we could dis-

pose the trade unions, or let them have the whole of industry....

"... Let us talk about vesting the rights in the trade unions when electricity has spread over the whole country. If we manage to achieve this in twenty years it will be incredibly quick work, for it cannot be done quickly. To talk about it before then will be deceiving the workers. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most stable thing in the world because it has won confidence by its deeds, and because the Party took great care to prevent diffusion. What does that mean?

"Does every worker know how to run the state? People working in the practical sphere know that this is not true, that millions of our organised workers are going through what we always said the trade unions were, namely a school of communism and administration. When they have attended this school for a number of years they will have learned to administer, but the going is slow. We have not even abolished illiteracy. We know that workers in touch with peasants are liable to fall for non-proletarian slogans. How many of the workers have been engaged in government? a few thousand throughout Russia and no more. If we say that it is not the Party but the trade unions that put up the candidates and administrate, it may sound very democratic, and might help us to catch a few votes, but not for long. It will be fatal for the dictatorship of the proletariat....

"... You cannot lead the proletariat without a Party. You all know that this is a fact. And it is quite improper for the proletariat to rush into the arms of syndicalism and talk about mandatory nominations to 'all-Russia producers congresses'. This is dangerous and jeopardizes the Party's guiding role. Only a very small percentage of the workers in the country are now organised. The majority of the peasants will follow the Party because its policy is correct, and because, during the Brest peace ordeal, it was capable of making temporary sacrifices and retreats, which was the right thing to do. Are we to throw all this away? Was it all a windfall? No, it was all won by the Party in decades of hard work. Everybody believes the word of the Bolsheviks, who have had twenty years of Party training.

"To govern you need an army of steeled revolutionary Communists. We have it, and it is called the Party. All this syndicalist nonsense about mandatory nominations of producers must go into the wastepaper basket. To proceed on those lines would mean thrusting the Party aside and making the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia impossible. This is the view I believe it to be my Party duty to put to you. It is, in my opinion, enunciated in the form of practical propositions in the platform called 'Draft Decision of the 10th Congress of the RCP' and signed by Lenin, Zinoviev, Tomsky, Rudzutak, Kalinin, Kamenev, Lozov-

osky, Petrovsky, Sergeyev and Stalin.

This remarkably blunt affirmation of the Bolshevik dictatorship and the Party's long 20-year preparation for the deadly serious business of wiping out bourgeois state power for the first time in human history - is aimed directly at Trotskyism and Trotsky, who only jumped on board the Bolshevik bandwagon just 12 weeks before the Great October Revolution, and was only allowed

Gorbachev is loudly 'shaking up' the bureaucracy. He is properly dealing with excesses. But is he doing it on the basis of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and from the only possible standpoint for judging the correct priorities for the Soviet revolution, - namely the perspective of the world socialist revolutionary overthrow of imperialism? No.

He is obviously going rapidly in the opposite direction on both counts. Raving revisionism has now been unleashed in the Soviet Union, and Leninism all but forgotten, apart from in name and one-line quotes only. The great sickness of the Soviet party, - the devastating revisionist stupidities of the Stalinist leadership, - still remain completely unanalysed from a Leninist viewpoint, - both on domestic and particularly foreign affairs.

And on foreign affairs himself, Gorbachev repeats all the old mistakes, - and adds some new ones of his own, such as encouraging the strengthening of the

on board because of his usefulness as a leading socialist figure in Russia and his considerable abilities. But in frankly stressing the Marxist-Bolshevik grasp of how the masses are slowly BROUGHT INTO the business of running the state, - and 'eventually' running the whole of social and economic administration without a state, - Lenin is underlining that the Bolshevik dictatorship

intends keeping firm control over the whole process, - including control over any revivals of factionalising confusion-mongering by leading public figures, whoever they are.



Zionist imperialist-fascist occupation regime of endless military aggression to yet new heights of arrogance by his capitulation to the foul Zionist anti-communist propaganda campaigns and his encouragement of still more recruitment from Russia to the colonisation of Palestine (and a permanent nuclear dagger (manipulated by the most reactionary US imperialist circles) against the Arab national-liberation aspirations). This further build-up of Zionism's military-colonial capitalism which dominates the Near East, helping sustain the likeliest detonation point for inter-imperialist World War III (with or without a sideshow against the socialist states, as happened in World War II) directly continues the ludicrous Stalin line of helping found the Zionist military colonisation in the first place, - by arming it at a crucial stage in 1948 against Arab resistance at a time when the Western imperialists were uncertain about the desperate (and potentially dangerous, - as it will yet

prove to the West) adventure of implanting permanent Western capitalist aggression in the Arab Near East.

The careless and historically ignorant way in which Gorbachev is encouraging Zionist imperialism seems almost fleet-footed.

Gorbachev's apparently chosen path to eliminate Western hostility to the USSR (by encouraging or accepting every rotten prejudice bourgeois idealism has against the dictatorship of the proletariat) must unavoidably be destined to end as a total disaster whenever the final accounting is reckoned. If capitulating to anti-communism was such a simple solution to the world's problems, revisionism would have skated home with all the laurels decades ago.

Gorbachev's apparent attitude (to the anti-Leninist swamp) of the laughable 'If you can't beat them, - join them' is equally doomed to damaging failure.

Against all this philistine stupidity, the actual world social-

ist perspective continues to fight on heroically and with enormous success & sacrifice in the Philippines, El Salvador, South Africa, Nicaragua, etc, and against appalling odds, - as demonstrated by yesterdays Washington decision to flood vast new CIA counter-revolutionary supplies and manpower into the fight against the Philippines revolution, - the sort of murderous fascist-imperialist move repeated a thousand times or more by the West since 1945 to which Moscow's revisionist weakness has failed to respond, - still vainly pretending that peaceful coexistence propaganda alone could topple imperialism (when in fact it is merely a limited temporary diplomatic tactic), and that the 'peaceful road to socialism' (which never even existed as a possible limited tactic in Leninist science, and which lies in charred & tortured ruin in Pinochet's dungeons) will transform the world.

Build Leninism against this cowardly & philistine ignorance. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

20. Daft Soviet hopes in parliamentary key to NATO-Zionist nazism (Bulletin 386, 25/3/87)

Forcing Thatcher to curry votes via a Moscow pilgrimage is a good propaganda coup for the USSR's Leninist diplomacy (of obliging imperialism to respond to Soviet disarmament proposals.)

But it is even more important, - vitally so, - to expose the hypocritical deceit with which the West tries to cover up the reality of its permanent (and incurable) warmongering arms race.

Even as Thatcher was paying courtesy visits to stronger imperialist rival 'allies' in France & Germany to ensure a good Western press for her Moscow posture, - astonishing details leaked out of the

casual but totally alarming secret re-equipment by NATO with thousands of nuclear shells in its forward-base positions, - each with the explosive power of the atomic bomb which wiped out Hiroshima.

Worse still, - not only has the Thatcher regime been exposed as having consistently lied to the degenerate Parliament about this nuclear escalation, - but the even more cowardly & deceitful Labourites intend to do absolutely nothing about it, - so frantically busy are they retreating from & apologising for their feeble 'unilateralist' posturing.

One of the Tory Government liars who have covered up the nuclear shell escalation, John Stanley, was

in a studio discussion with Labour's defence worm Denzil Davies on the very morning of these revelations. Instead of imperialist warmongering being exposed, all the Labour cretin could do was pretend that Reagan was the real disarmar and that Thatcher was alone holding up arms reduction agreements, - 'only now' available thanks to a 'complete change of heart by Moscow' (Labour lies.)

This parliamentary carve-up between crass anti-communism and rabid imperialist aggression on the government and 'opposition' benches in every Western 'democracy' is the reality facing Gorbachev's illusions that the dangers of nuclear war might put an end to anti-Soviet crusading and the permanent imperi-

alist arms race.

The degenerate NATO-colonialist conspiracy which only used the cover of the Cold War 'defence against communism' to justify deep capitalist warmongering aims & rivalries, - certainly is intimidated from direct interference with the USSR.

But once again the reality facing Gorbachev's illusions that world peace and class harmony 'can' break out (all the time the imperialist exploitation system exists) is that Western anti-communist colonial warmongering will endlessly try to subvert Soviet influence indirectly, or intrigue against the weaker parts of the socialist camp, all the time blatantly carrying on with its open military aggression threats elsewhere, such as

the Falklands war, the non-stop Zionist rampaging, the US naval menace warning Iran that 'the Persian Gulf is ours', etc.

There is no necessary harm in obliging Thatcher to make the diplomatic rounds in Moscow, but its value is limited or negative if general Soviet communist propaganda does not loudly & relentlessly expose the inevitable warmongering degeneracy which eventually becomes the main essence of insoluble capitalist economic crisis, (exactly as has happened twice already this century following earlier slump-collapses and cut-throat trade-war sort-out of incurable 'surplus capital' and 'over-production' problems of the anarchic 'free market'.)

Thatcher's electoral pretence of 'sound di-

sarment initiative's is worthless, and should only be exploited (in line with Lenin's peaceful coexistence diplomacy) in order to further expose divisions between Western bourgeois monopolist interests and Western bourgeois pacifist sentiments among the weaker competitors, and to show up the 'end-the-arms-race' fraud of every Western position, including that of the pacifists, and of the Labour 'unilateralists', etc.

No bourgeois pacifist, however peace-loving, is prepared to see proletarian dictatorship overthrow capitalism, the only possible final end to all imperialist warmongering, and most would in fact fight to prevent it. The Labourites openly boast they would spend even more on armaments in general than an imperialism is spending even now, and bearing in mind Labour's astonishing record of warmongering-imperialist 'firsts', including the launching of the Cold War; the founding of NATO; the rearming of Germany; the blitz on Korea; the initial anti-communist armed crusades against national-liberation victors in Greece, Malaya, Vietnam, etc; the military re-occupation of the colonised zone of Ireland; the 'independence' division of the Indian sub-continent to ensure that millions of Hindus & Muslims slaughtered each other; etc, etc, -- that is hardly surprising.

But there can be even less mistaking of the general warmongering thrust of the Western imperialist system overall, regardless of who is in office in which country. It has nothing whatever to do with any policies of any bourgeois-parliamentary party. The warmongering degeneracy of the capitalist system is dictated entirely by the economic & political imperatives of 'survival in the market place' in a world which has never ceased to be dominated by the combined financial, diplomatic, scientific, trading, and mil-

itary influence of the greatest imperialist power of the day. Rival power-block intrigues and confrontations about who is top dog, and who can muster most influence and trade-war advantages, is what the great historic turning points of this century, World Wars I & II, were all about. And just as World War II effectively started from the moment WWI was 'concluded' at the Versailles Treaty and by the Bolshevik Revolution, so WWII effectively began from the moment WWII was 'concluded' in the worldwide US colonial grab and the uneasy 'spheres of influence' armed truce between the capitalist & socialist camps.

Already, there have been more deaths and more warmongering destruction since 1945 in over 200 separate theatres of imperialist military aggression against the socialist camp or the national-liberation struggle than in the whole of WWII, by one means or another, directly through warmongering slaughter or indirectly through economic starvation.

And Western imperialism currently is poised at a higher stance of armed warmongering aggressiveness than at any previous moment in history.

The level, sophistication, & deadliness of the arsenals of every Western imperialist power dwarfs the destructive might available to the most successful military-capitalist belligerent in WWII. US colonial-military bases (over 120 in Britain alone, and several thousand worldwide) dominate the planet as no other empire in history has even dreamed of.

And the rate & degree of Western colonial-military activity overseas now unthinkingly 'accepted' today would in earlier periods have led a continuous press-headline roar about 'major war imminent'.

Vast military conflicts are currently raging non-stop in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Morocco, Chad, Angola,

Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique, Ethiopia, occupied Palestine, Lebanon, occupied Ireland, the Gulf war, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Timor, Kampuchea, Philippines, etc, and scores more conflicts.

The US 7th Fleet is at present massed off the Straits of Hormuz and instantly blitz Iran if Washington decides that its arbitrarily-designated 'strategic interest in the area' is 'threatened', i.e. if the people in the region decide their own political & economic fate in ways which US imperialism declares not to its liking.

Next month, more than 50,000 US invasion forces will descend on Honduras to menace socialist Nicaragua with instant destruction on top of the relentless killing & sabotage which the CIA is currently inflicting through its Contra stooges & mercenaries.

Libya has already had a foretaste of total aerial-bombardment annihilation to come if the self-sacrificing support it gives to the ANC, to Palestinians, to Polisario, and to others fighting for independence and national-liberation should incur further Washington displeasure.

Lebanon has been invaded by US marines, blasted by US 6th Fleet shellfire and bombing runs, and devastated by the 1982 invasion of US imperialism's local thug-stooges, the Zionists, who return daily to deliver more destruction in their US-supplied air force.

Grenada's outstanding achievements of four years socialist construction were wiped out by Reagan's nazi invasion & occupation there, -17 leaders of the New Jewel Movement still waiting in chains to be hanged by the imperialists.

Cuba remains as ever under permanent US military and trading blockade, its eastern tip still illegally occupied by the Guantanamo US military base, and its territory systematically & regularly violated by pro-

vocative US spy-plane overflights.

American colonialism remains equally poised for intervention in any other part of the twin continents it chooses to brazenly interfere with, -from the CIA installation of the Pinochet fascist regime in Chile, butchering the Allende elected government and then massacring tens of thousands of Chilean proletarians, -to the endless economic and military manipulation of the whole of Central America from the US military and secret-police command headquarters in the occupied Canal Zone (Panama). German imperialism's fascist reich had nothing to touch this US colonial domination and worldwide military aggression threat.

The provocative complaints from the USA's stooge nazi dictatorship in Pakistan about alleged 'communist aggression' in legitimate Afghan attempts to halt CIA-mercenary subversion, military raids and economic sabotage from across the Pakistan border, demonstrate how easily US imperialism can manufacture a new 'Tonkin Gulf incident' (the fictitious event to 'justify' the US invasion of Vietnam) to expand its war-of-intervention against socialist Afghanistan's developments any time it likes.

And in the Philippines, some of the mightiest of the US military-occupation and CIA worldwide forces are preparing in their giant bases there to go into battle to prevent or overthrow any socialist revolution which might ultimately result from the collapse of the degenerate Marcos US-run dictatorship.

Thatcher has all this warmongering-imperialist-colonialist filth on her hands, and much more besides, as she does her vote-catching scuttle around the Kremlin. Sadly, instead of going through the necessary peaceful-coexistence diplomatic rituals with scarcely-disguised contempt for the degenerate British capitalist stooges of US fascist-imperialist

aggression, Gorbachev is going to deliver his correct 'world peace' appeals believing his own illusions that such a propaganda offensive is all that is needed to dispose of NATO-imperialism's wretched arms-race warmongering conspiracy against mankind.

It is a ridiculous piece of wishful thinking. As fast as the 'peace-loving democratic' forces within the capitalist system peg the warmongering imperialist-monopoly circles back from one arms-race subversive racket like the Iran-gate/Contragate intrigue, the all-powerful military-industrial establishment is building up some new colonial anti-communist interference around Chad, or Kampuchea, or Zaire, or Egypt, or Turkey, or Pakistan, or South Africa, or any number of other areas of CIA-mercenary intervention, -arming some new fascist stooges like Savimbi, or Renamo, or the Contras, or the Mojahedin, or Pol Pot, etc, -staging some new 'Berlin disco bomb outrage', -or preparing some new arms-mad zombie presidential candidate like Haig to take over where the crazed automaton Reagan leaves off. The power of billions of dollars plus the monopoly bourgeoisie's permanent domination of the military, police, diplomatic, and civil service establishments

-guarantees that capitalist 'democracy' will always serve the interests of the capitalist class in the end, and that means the interests of the monopoly-imperialist ruling circles, -always.

The hate-filled new Weinberger outburst blaming the 'communist world domination aim' for the escalation of the arms race shows that the anti-Soviet lies have lost nothing of their power during the last 70 years (when actual history has proved conclusively that communism alone is saving mankind from degenerate warmongering destruction by Western imperialism); -and under the 'democratic' degeneracy of the capit-

alist 'free market' where the nazi politics & philistinism of the Sun can easily outstrip all other anti-communist propaganda, -only wishful thinking illusions can suggest that the next 70 years will bring any great changes on the anti-communist propaganda front.

But the undisguised Washington alarm over the triumphant communist revolutionary movement in the Philippines gives the clear clue to what will topple imperialist warmongering once and for all, - namely the socialist overthrow of the decadent capitalist system, -country by country, and continent by continent.

The forces for Leninism are in fact stronger now than ever before in history, -in spite of the tragic retreats & defeatism which has left Moscow prey to illusions that peaceful coexistence propaganda alone can defeat imperialism, and despite similar weaknesses in Leninist theory throughout the socialist camp which have held back its expansion so frustratingly.

In 1917 in the aftermath of WWI, the Bolshevik Party alone was equal to the task of overthrowing capitalism and then defeating the subsequent imperialist intervention, but unable to go to the aid of any other revolutionary struggles such as in Hungary & Germany. And while it is a tantalising tragedy, it is not necessarily so surprising that the weak Soviet state forces, and their even weaker ideological strength following Lenin's death and after Trotsky's treacherous splitting activities, - should have stuttered into retreat a little as far as world socialist revolutionary perspectives were concerned when faced with the rejuvenated combined might of Western anti-communist imperialism (by now well forewarned, and therefore well fore-armed, especially on the spy-propaganda-subversion

front) which virtuously faced Moscow with a worldwide military challenge or else accept retrenchment.

But although those revisionist illusions still hampered Moscow in the aftermath of WWII, nonetheless the worldwide forces of Leninism were in a much stronger position than ever before, even though themselves somewhat still hampered by Third International ideological weaknesses. Proletarian revolution advanced steadily from 1945 onwards to become the expanding international system, the shield of the national-liberation struggle, and an invincible military & economic challenge to imperialist world domination.

And now with the onset of the capitalist decline towards WWII and the ultimate decadence of renewed incurable slump, fascism and warmongering degeneracy, -the Leninist forces of proletarian revolution show every sign of leaping forward to meet the historic challenge for the worldwide overthrow of the imperialist system, -even despite the continuing revisionist illusions lingering around the established (and by now slightly conservative, inevitably, -see Lenin quotes Pp 5-8) socialist states (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 7).

Gorbachev's illusion-riddled propaganda is a disappointment (see recent Bulletins) but the innate proletarian strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp is unlikely to allow such wishful thinking (about brotherly love from degenerate Western imperialism) to lower the communist revolution's guard.

In Nicaragua, they show no signs of doing anything but fight the imperialist system with all their might. Ditto in El Salvador. The same in Cuba. Nor do the revolutionary socialist struggles in South Africa, Philippines, Namibia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, etc, show any intention of backing

off the non-stop spy-mercenary subversion of every socialist state (from Nicaragua to Mozambique, from Angola to Kampuchea, from Afghanistan to Ethiopia, etc), and the UN-sanctions-busting supply of arms to South Africa, as before to Rhodesia, etc, -propping up fascist dictatorships wherever possible round the planet.

Leninist understanding is the only science of the 20th century. Its triumph is inevitable because millions of people everywhere will feel the need to fight for its truth as their life's greatest requirement. The powerful 'modern' forces of philistinism will try in every way to weaken proletarian resolve by sloth, cowardice, or philosophically undermining any potential leadership, but the influence of revolutionary traditions, and revolutionary example is already proving, -world-wide, -capable of winning the subjective struggle, and routing scepticism. Conscious Bolshevik struggle, -to the background of the relentlessly deteriorating decadence of the capitalist system, -will overcome the gap between the sick warmongering reality of imperialism and the illusion-filled wishful thinking about reality which holds up the even faster expansion of the worldwide Leninist revolutionary movement. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

21. Lenin's 'peaceful coexistence' tactical diplomacy being ludicrously betrayed by Gorbachev's drivell about imperialism 'reforming itself' (Bulletin 387, 1/4/87)

Thatcher's propaganda trip should have received far rougher Soviet treatment.

Her provocative embrace of every scrap of feudal-religious obscurantism and counter-revolutionary dissidence that could be fitted into her itinerary is a calculated insult to the Soviet revolution.

Her hypocritical mouthing about 'democracy', the 'rule of law' and 'human rights' are in glaring & laughable contrast to the vicious reality of unquestioning British solidarity with every aspect of NATO-imperialist -skulduggery from the invasion-slaughter of

socialist Grenada to the non-stop spy-mercenary subversion of every socialist state (from Nicaragua to Mozambique, from Angola to Kampuchea, from Afghanistan to Ethiopia, etc), and the UN-sanctions-busting supply of arms to South Africa, as before to Rhodesia, etc, -propping up fascist dictatorships wherever possible round the planet.

Thatcher's enforced obeisance to disarmament is useful only for putting a temporary stop to the otherwise incessant 'Speak from strength' ranting (in favour of imperialism's endless, permanent warmongering arms race, -the unmistakable and unchangeable reality of capitalism's incurable cycle of boom/slump/war in the 20th century.)

While electioneering in Moscow pretending to play the non-existent 'responsible world statesmen' game, the Tory imperialist mentality is less likely to be whipping up some new outrage of bombing Tripoli, colonising the Falklands, sending SAS death squads into occupied Ireland, or justifying secret police provocations against the black communities or the proletariat in Britain.

All of these savage intrigues and lethal imperialist preparations still go on, of course, but the necessary business of creating the immediate frenzied hysteria for actually 'leading the nation' into some new imperialist brutality in practice cannot be taking place all the time Gorbachev keeps Thatcher (or Reagan, or Mitterand, or Kohl, etc) talking 'peace & disarmament' humbug in Moscow, Reykjavik, Geneva, or elsewhere.

No amount of Soviet peaceful-coexistence campaigning or disarmament proposals can detain the leaders of the warmongering imperialist system for ever of course. And no matter to what extent they are forced temporarily to pay their respects to the ideas of detente and negotiated settlements by the force of Soviet

example & agitation, -they also always invariably return to their hate-filled, xenophobic jingoist warmongering and anti-communist crusading as soon as decently possible or as soon as they can manufacture some new 'justification' by some phony 'Gulf of Tonkin' incident or other, or 'Berlin disco bombing' etc.

But to the limited extent that it is useful, -the non-stop Soviet peace-campaigning does without doubt correctly, -Leninist fashion, -temporarily & partially queer the pitch for the unrestrained warmongering chauvinism with which imperialism ruled the world in the early years of this century.

And that definitely helps create a climate of greater uncertainty (among mass petty-bourgeois public opinion) about uncritically supporting their 'national' interest (however brutal & blatant the warmongering colonial outrages whipped up.)

The non-stop Soviet peace proposals thus help create a small but not unimportant part of the many influences which have steadily increased the chances this century for successful revolutionary challenges to the incessant imperialist warmongering.

But the crucial understanding in all this is that imperialism does have to be overthrown.

It is criminal dangerous lunacy for Soviet socialist propaganda to leave matters at merely the correct inter-state diplomatic relationships of obliging the West to pay courtesy to the ideas of disarmament and peaceful coexistence occasionally. That is useful, but it is elementary Leninism to point out that it is not enough. It is not nearly enough.

And while Soviet inter-state diplomacy can correctly be limited to peaceful coexistence propaganda in certain areas of relations with the main centres of armed imperialist provocat-

ions (allowing communist party agitation from the socialist states to further the cause of Leninist revolutionary understanding, - if only they would follow Lenin's leadership and do vastly more of it), - what it certainly should not be doing is actually sowing confusion about how imperialist warmongering can be ended.

The over-zealous Soviet detente propaganda is one thing, - (scarcely credible in the 'human' values it attributes to the Western imperialist monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisie in the more purple prose about the 'idea of possible extinction for mankind altering all our values', and other such idealist idiocies; - and dangerously misleading to the USSR itself by the ludicrous nonsense that nuclear fear 'makes war out of date, and likely to be banned'.)

But the drivel that the iron laws of inter-imperialist warmongering crisis can simply be 'talked & negotiated out of existence' is loathsome treachery to the proletarian masses of the planet, daily fighting imperialism on a score or more front lines of the class struggle, who need Lenin's science of anti-imperialist conflict and revolutionary overthrow of capitalism (now so shamefully revised by Moscow in this particular) more urgently than ever before.

It is something of this Leninist revolutionary combativeness on the question of scientific understanding of the warmongering imperialist system which is tragically lacking from the socialist camp's performance of its noble duties in supporting the international revolutionary socialist struggle and national-liberation movement against capitalism.

Gorbachev's mention against Thatcher of the scandalous repression of human rights involved in capitalist exploitation, unemployment, poverty, racism,

etc, and in the blatant colonialism of British occupied areas of Ireland, for example, was the least required. But how much better it would have been if he had added the equally 'correct' & 'neutral' scientific observation that the capitalist system would face revolutionary overthrow in the not too distant future if it did not cease imposing on the backs of the working class the warmongering-fascist slump burdens of permanent mass unemployment exactly as was done in the 1930s Depression & arms race; and if it did not cease terrorising colonial areas like occupied Grenada, occupied Namibia, occupied Palestine, occupied Ireland, etc; and if it did not cease to bolster fascist dictatorships world-wide in Pakistan, South Africa, El Salvador, South Korea, Chile, Haiti, etc, etc.

As a 'christian', Thatcher feels free to spout her obnoxious filth about 'human rights' under the Soviet revolution which her class has been trying to strangle and starve to death ever since October 1917, butchering millions of people by wars of intervention, sabotage, starvation boycotts, etc, since then, - either directly as British imperialism leading the Western alliance, or else under German imperialist leadership in the Hitler fascism promoted by the Western bankers as the 'bulwark against Bolshevism'.

So as a would-be Marxist, Gorbachev ought to feel free to tell the scientific truth about revolution being the inevitable & deserved fate of capitalism's vicious, humbugging, warmongering class rule.

Although Gorbachev made a firmer banquet speech than might have been feared, there was not the slightest hint however of the revolutionary fate awaiting Thatcherism's arrogant decadence eventually.

Even less so was there in the current comment from doctor of history Kashlev on international relations, although he is not con-

strained at all to be 'diplomatic' like Gorbachev when on official state duty. Writing a communist commentary Kashlev could speak his mind openly and scientifically about the world without legitimately giving offence to anybody.

But while correctly stressing world proletarian revolt against Western 'information imperialism'; and UN votes against militarist propaganda, etc; he fails to point out that mere calls for a 'new international information order' and for an end to 'dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority and hatred, including fascist ideology and propaganda of war', etc, are so inadequate as to be potentially misleading if that is the only action envisaged against capitalist degeneracy. Why not pass motions for 'an end' to the imperialist system itself, and not just the West's 'information imperialism'? Because it would too much underline the illusion-filled futility of merely issuing passive calls or appeals for an end to reactionary ruling class dominance.

It is almost worse than useless for Kashlev & Co to simply keep repeating that the socialist camp has demanded 'an end to using television, broadcasting, and the press to spread mistrust and hostility between nations, and for the mass media to be placed at the service of peace & mutual understanding'.

The trade-war hatred being built up between the West & Japan is not going in that direction, nor will it.

Presenting the sadistic Contra mercenary killers & wreckers as 'like the Founding Fathers', and revelling in the 'Gotcha Argies' colonial bullying is the reality in the West, not Kashlev's illusions.

Lighting candles to 'freedom' in a medieval monastery in Zagorsk while hypocritically undermining any sanctions against fascist South Africa; and unleashing gutter pre-

ss race-hatred against Broadwater Farm in Tottenham for trying to protest the death of Cynthia Jarrett, - is the mark of the West's real thoughts on UN pieties.

Western TV, cinema, & publishing is awash with anti-Soviet propaganda of every kind. The USSR occasionally replies with something like 'Come & See', an apparently excellent film which makes the point of needing revolutionary fight against reaction. Good.

But why again just the safe target of wartime Nazis? With the fabulous means at their disposal, why not a lavish instant epic flooding Western screens about Irangate, the sordid secret dealings in arms, the filching of funds through Switzerland to fascist killers in the Contras etc?

Why not devastating exposures of Reagan's imbecile 'rule' reading from cue-cards prepared for him by the non-elected monopoly-imperialist establishment, of the endless deception of Congress and the Western 'democracy' system generally by all the 'free world' leaders', - a 'Yes, Minister' with a serious class-war punch, or 'Watergate' - type films exposing the capitalist class basis of the corruption and not just the detailed crookedness?

Western media propaganda endlessly suggests that the Soviet system is just vicious corruption and cretinous inefficiency, the exact opposite of the truth. But Kashlev and the Soviet media pretend in return only that Western society is really capable of rationality and high moral values, - again the exact opposite of the truth, but a double blow in favour of imperialism, and a double blow against the socialist camp.

Is Reagan's comatose stupidity and knee-jerk reactionariness embracing Contra killers as 'Founding Fathers' part of a potentially sane world? Is Thatcher's ignorant 'We shall be swamped'

racist provocation (while ensuring that real racial tyranny continues under the South African white dictatorship by preventing sanctions) part of a potentially sane world.

Is the lunacy & decadent corruption of the 'holy wars' on US television between rival religious shysters remotely rational, or the degenerate end of a dying system which had better be overthrown by its proletariat before even more damage is done?

Is the sheer cowardice & deceit of British 'democratic' traditions, - especially in the Labour Party & TUC who are now more eager for trade-war xenophobia than the National Front; who want 'Soviet moles' jailed faster than the Tories do; and who have even been discussing, it is revealed yesterday, deals with 'Ulster Unionist' fascism to gain the spoils of government office in a hung Parliament in return for letting the British colonists in occupied Ireland off the Anglo-Irish Treaty hook; - is such rotteness as this, plus all the rest of the corrupt historical lumber of bi-partisan British imperialism (with all the worst colonial atrocities all down to Labour Governments - see ILWP Books vol 7) - to be left standing?

But demolishing it requires much more than hoping for the best from such flickers of honesty as Kinnock & Healey belatedly revealing the leader of the NATO Western alliance, which they still fully support, as 'Gaga', reading from cue-cards, imagining Healey was British Ambassador in Washington, etc. No chance that these power-seeking petty-bourgeois opportunists, - nor their entire party & trade union support, - ever spilling anything like the real beans on the totally corrupt backwardness of the entire Western military-imperialist establishment (backed by the all-powerful finance-capital monopolies). To attempt it would mean an even wo-

rise mangling from the capitalist 'free world' media which they fear worse than the devil.

What is required to end the disastrous war-mongering collapse of degenerate Western society into drugs, fascism, trade-war, and race hatred is an undoubt-

edly firm, and undoubtedly alternative leadership without which mass petty-bourgeois public opinion in the West will continue to flounder in the wake of big bourgeois aggressive decadence.

Only one alternative to the scarcely-conce-

aled dictatorship of the monopoly-imperialist bourgeoisie is known to history, -the dictatorship of the proletariat. And only a completely committed and determinedly trained Leninist party can provide the necessary leadership to bring

this about.

Illusion-filled revisionism in Moscow is no help at all for the building of such a party, and is a positive hindrance, backing the reformist renegades of the Western CPs as it still does (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 7).

A Leningrad worker wrote to Izvestia last week incoherently pleading for just such a firm Leninist revolutionary leadership against imperialism as is lacking:

Moscow, Izvestia
Copies to the KGB of the USSR
and to the State Radio and
Television of the USSR
Dear Editors

In your issue of February 7, 1987, your newspaper carried a report of a discussion held at the *Izvestia* offices between Phil Donahue and Vladimir Posner as one of the American-Soviet "telebridge" programmes. You reported that the editorial office had received large numbers of letters (V. Posner: "Tons of letters") from Soviet viewers who had seen the previous programme in which the Lokshin family took part. Your reply to these letters was vague, saying that it was "difficult to answer them".

Why did you find it difficult to reply to the wrath and indignation aroused by this filthy anti-Soviet spectacle organised by Donahue and Posner? Moreover, you gave Posner the opportunity to express his view, having agreed with him beforehand on what he was going to say to your readers. This is what he said:

"I was shocked, since it was the first time in my life that I had come up against such anti-Americanism as I was seeing expressed by Soviet people. I have encountered hostility to the American government but have never come across real anti-Americanism. And now I have

Sadly, editor Bovin could only ludicrously distort what Bochevarov was trying to say, and put him down with more class-collaborating illusions that the problem of imperialism's incurable warmongering crisis can be solved by 'mutual understanding, tolerance, and the ability to exchange arguments but not epithets...improving the international psychological atmosphere, forming a public opinion favourable to the relaxation of international tension, and disarmament...for a fight against stagnation and narrowness of views, and the education of people in the spirit of true internationalism'.

Lenin was adamant that the only true internationalism, the only real way of showing solidarity with proletarian masses in struggle against capitalist tyranny all round the world (South Africa now, El Salvador, Philippines, occupied Palestine, Chile, Timor, etc) was waging the

revolutionary fight against one's own capitalist ruling class, not by class collaboration of any kind. The only correct Soviet internationalism is to spread Leninism as energetically as possible, and to denounce class-collaborating illusions, as Bochevarov's letter does.

But all that the complacent idiot editor Bovin can do is distort Bochevarov's strangled call for Leninism as "So do we say 'Kill the American'. No we won't defile ourselves, putting ourselves on a par with extreme chauvinism", etc.

But Bochevarov clearly merely wants a real revolutionary struggle against the US imperialist ruling class & system, -not just to 'kill Americans' - a pathetic slander and evasion of the issue.

And while on the subject, who elected the ignorant anti-Leninist Bovin to his job? If we have to suffer all the diversionary bullshit about glasnost (as a smokescreen from the

found it in these letters . . . I was shocked and by no means happy about it."

Dear editors, we shall call a spade a spade. It seems that you were shocked, along with Posner, that is, outraged and appalled by the patriotic anti-American feelings of Soviet people, that you, like him, were not happy about these feelings!

When did you begin to experience pangs - and not even veiled ones - of sympathy for an imperialist country, surrounded and nurtured by that country's ruling power of darkness, in the spirit of shameless anti-Sovietism and inhumanity, of animal hatred of all things Russian?

"Kill the Russian!", that's what we heard and read not so long ago during the run-up to the last Olympics. This is the real attitude of that country to us, to Russia, and no relaxation of tension, no efforts to show that we are not a nation of monsters, an evil empire, will ever change this attitude towards us.

Do we really have to love the Americans for this attitude to ourselves? Why should we feel any affinity for a country which, like the last troglodyte, crucified defenceless little Grenada, and is cold-bloodedly and maliciously trying to wear us down in Afghanistan, Poland, Angola, Mozambique, Cambodia and Vietnam?

It is not the first time you have dragged out the pages of your paper the idea that

real question of the need to get back to Leninism), let's have some real glasnost and put Bovin's performance up to the vote.

And Leninists everywhere cannot wait to have their opinions counted on the wretched Soviet revisionism of giving thousands more Zionist fanatics passage out of the USSR to go & add to the already infamous imperialist colonisation of occupied Palestine, a shameful episode of Western fascist-military intrigue to which the Soviet Union even more shamefully put its name in 1947-48, and is still too paralysed with its own defeatist illusions to re-examine & put right.

Moscow can give us more Leninist glasnost any time it likes. But with or without such help, the Leninist world revolutionary struggle will go on gaining strength everywhere. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

22. Western gold-digging corrupts dissident artists towards fascist reaction. Only mobilising revolutionary class instincts of Soviet workers will end stagnation. Real 'openness' can only begin with a critical look at Gorbachev's weak grasp of Leninism, not with arty mysticism (Bulletin 388, 8/4/87)

The poisonous hatred poured out by a group of prominent dissidents from the Soviet arts world (who have chosen life in the West) highlights the real issues raised by 'artistic sensitivity' Whatever particular grievances any of these writers, sculptors, or other performers had, -it is their corrupt philosophy which is the real basis of their breach with the Soviet Union, nothing else.

A reply from Moscow

Phil Donahue is "a very popular commentator".

In your issue for February 7, 1987, you claim that he "enjoys very wide popularity and respect". In whose eyes? Certainly not in Soviet eyes. Among Soviet viewers he has won himself the reputation of a political provocateur and ideological wrecker, and aroused the burning hatred of all Soviet patriots.

There, working in tandem with him, was the more cautious Posner. They admitted that the two of them picked the American and Soviet audiences for the telebridge. It is thanks to their care and attention that the Soviet audience always looks like a herd of wet-nosed calves before the onslaught of anti-Soviet and anti-Russian "accusers". We have no use for a telebridge which is harmful to our country and our people.

There is one question that interests me and all my televiewer friends. Who was responsible for Posner's becoming a political observer of the State Radio and Television of the USSR? Right now in our country elections of people to posts of authority are being carried out on the spot, and the practice will continue. We televiewers have every right to elect commentators and observers who express our point of view.

G. N. Bochevarov, Leningrad.

News (reproduced on a later page) pokes some good fun at the sordid self-seeking and self-justification of Iyubimov, Neizvestny, Aksyonov, & Co, but ignores the real challenge in their outburst which calls on the USSR to abandon socialism or else there can never be peace with imperialism.

Paradoxically, these egocentric pro-Western 'artistic' philistines have raised, -albeit from a near-fascist viewpoint, -the central historical question of the epoch, one which Moscow itself is still shamefully unsure about in its lingering defeatist confusion from the Stalin period (which helped create so many dissidents but which Moscow still cannot satisfactorily tackle.)

These money-grabbing dissident degenerates sneer:

The fact is that the Soviet leaders could, without truly altering the nature of the regime, afford an even greater temporary "retreat" than 53

that which is giving rise to so many undue hopes at the moment. They could reduce the excesses of the criminal-justice system, permit far greater emigration and withdraw from Afghanistan. They could even publish Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago". They could become as "free" and "capitalist" as Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia or China.

The real question is not how far the current "thaw" will go, but how long it will last.

What Westerners fail to understand is that if the Soviet leaders were really intent on radical change, they would have to begin by discarding the ruling ideology.

Ideology is that hard core of the Soviet system that does not allow the country to deviate too far for too long; unless the central ideological tenets were to be challenged, long-term Soviet strategy would remain imprisoned by its assumptions.

As long as there is no doctrinal

To which not only is the 'reply' about "one exhibition of avant Garde artists' work now follows another in Moscow" no answer at all but in fact makes it far more likely that ever-fresher crops of philosophically-degenerate dissident émigrés will continue to embarrass the USSR (and the world socialist revolution) in the future.

Equally, that pathetic attempt to woo back Tarkovsky before he died, -and the equally empty publicity given to the conceited bore Dudintsev in Soviet Weekly this week (former famed dissident author of 'Not By Bread Alone' in the 1950s), - are notable only for their conscious retreat from raising any Leninist stance against their mysticism.

Letting such anti-Marxists find a publishing or exhibition outlet for their confused philosophical reaction is one thing, - not the key question (although why a revolutionary socialist state fighting world imperialism should bother wasting resources on such anti-communist backwardness has yet to be convincingly justified).

But being in charge of a workers state in the midst of the greatest ideological class war in all history, - surrounded by imperialist anti-communist crusaders, -and having noth-

ing to say about the crude philistinism of Tarkovsky, Dudintsev, Aksyonov, Neizvestny, & Co, is also together a more serious & shameful paralysis by Moscow.

When are the CPSU leaders going to take up the central contradiction at the heart of the Stalinist defeatism which has so disfigured Soviet history (otherwise so brilliant apart from the tragic consequences of Stalinist revision of Leninist philosophy?)

When is the dialectical understanding to be restored which correctly sees tactical diplomatic peaceful coexistence with imperialism's incurable drive to war, -and Leninist international revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism worldwide, -not only as not contradictory but in fact as the only possible perspective for civilisations development.

Certainly the reactionary 'logical' challenge from Lyubimov & Co is shamefully ducked by Yakovlev. He has not a word to say in favour of proletarian revolutionary culture as the only way out of Western bourgeois degeneracy.

It is the capitalist West which is sick to its core, consumed with lethal monopolistic aggression, drugged escapism, and mass criminal vengeance. But Yakovlev refuses to deal with this central que-

stion, -the only possible reply to Lyubimov & Co's disgraceful slander that 'the Soviet Union is a gravely sick country'.

These ignorant narrow-minded dissidents choose to regard 'the West' as consisting only of 'people' who 'themselves would not tolerate for one moment' the conditions in the Soviet Union.

This is subjectivism running to insanity. It is only in the artificial privileged conditions of their own sheltered lives, -in the USSR or in exile, -that such irresponsible distortion of the historical truth takes root.

Even the tiny handful of industrialised imperialist giants at the top of the 'free world' system with totally false living standards (and therefore totally false political conditions under capitalism) do not at all enjoy in reality the 'democratic rights' claimed for them in anti-communist propaganda. Ask the many black victims of police killings in Britain, France, the USA, etc, what 'justice' they get. Ask the victims of systematic, endless fascist violence against immigrant communities throughout the West what they think of famed 'democratic' 'law and order' and the 'rule of law'. Ask all the complainants against continuous cases of police brutality & lawlessness for

their views on the 'democratic' system by which the police always investigate the complaints against themselves, -and 999 times out of 1,000 find themselves 'not guilty' or else with 'insufficient evidence to get a conviction', -invariably because other police refuse to give evidence or else deliberately & blatantly cover up for the crimes, -as in the brutalising of the hippies' Stonehenge odyssey by an army of truncheon-wielding police thugs, not one of whose officers in charge was brought to book. Likewise the slap-happy or trigger-happy police cowboy murderousness which killed Cynthia Jarrett and paralysed Cherry Groce allegedly produced no 'firm evidence' of individual culpability; but why were no officers charged for admittedly setting, or allowing the aggressive & careless tone to be set, -which caused the disastrous consequences to two completely innocent bystanders.

For the death of the counter-revolutionary priest-leader Popieluszko in their custody in Poland (for his criminal part in the CIA Vatican subversion financed by the \$50 million filched from the Banco Ambrosiano by the crooked Cardinal Marcinkus now doing a bunk from the Italian law by claiming sanctuary inside the Vati-

can), -three guardians of the Polish workers state had to go to prison.

But for the deliberate campaign of death-squad murders of Irish national-liberation fighters (against British colonial occupation of the north of Ireland), even the phony police 'inquiry' to cover up the truth under Stalker had to be outrageously disrupted by false charges against Stalker when his findings began to produce the 'wrong' result as far as the dictatorship (concealed British capitalist state domination of all affairs in the UK) was concerned.

For 75% of the countries of 'the West' on whose exploitation the higher standards of 'democratic rights' (such as they are) of the industrialised imperialist giants all depend, -even these minimal hypocritical conditions of 'democracy' are completely & openly non-existent.

The basis of the West's famed 'economic openness' and 'democratic success' is the naked fascist dictatorship grinding the face of thousands of millions of proletarians into the dirt in the majority of the capitalist world countries.

The ignorant philistines Lyubimov & Co do not want to know anything about the vicious exploitation of virtual slave-labour and

that which is giving rise to so many undue hopes at the moment. They could reduce the excesses of the criminal-justice system, permit far greater emigration and withdraw from Afghanistan. They could even publish Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago". They could become as "free" and "capitalist" as Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia or China.

child-labour in the clothing factories of Bangkok, the plantations of South Africa, the sweatshops of the Far East, and the US's 'own backyard' plants of South & Central America. They do not want to know about the corrupt trade union & labour movements throughout the West which have regularly sold out the working class in approving more than 200 acts of vicious colonial warmongering aggression by the West since World War II (which have caused even more casualties than that holocaust), - in Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, Kenya, Aden, Cyprus, Angola, Guatemala, etc. They do not want to know about the countless acts of criminal subversion masterminded by the CIA to instal fascist terror in Chile, Iran, Grenada, Dominican Republic Zaire, etc., - ousting the popular (and even democratically-elected) regimes there. They do not want to know about the grotesque starvation caused ceaselessly by deliberate Western monopoly-exploitation agricultural plantation methods in dependent Africa, etc.

Lyubimov & Co only want to know about their own wretched self-interest and conceited opinion of themselves. "When am I going to get the exposure and recognition that my great talent deserves?"

And foolishly, - instead of telling them to go to hell with their rotten philosophical & political dishonesty & distortions, - the Soviet bureaucracy soothingly lets them know that any old rubbish is now being exhibited in Moscow, so they can come home happily.

It is this ignorant cowardly refusal by Moscow to openly fight the battle for revolutionary Leninist internationalism in all spheres of human activity, including the arts, - which has helped Western bribes & propaganda win so many layers of dissidents (still continuing) out of the paralysis of Stalinist defeatism (and its attendant mistakes crimes & stupidities like the cult of the

individual), - the same prevalent condition in answer to which Gorbachev has come up with his glasnost and perestroika exhortation campaigns (equally useless).

It is precisely the mere 'shake-up' enthusiasm which has been so tediously & unimaginatively tried so many times before, - including during Stalin's lifetime, - as the shallow 'cure' for the demoralisation & paralysis caused by confused retreats from Leninist revolutionary understanding since Lenin's death.

But such shake-ups are essentially pointless in the absence of a scientific analysis of the real roots of previous mistakes (in domestic & international policies) which all lie in an incorrect assessment of the balance of class forces in the world, the direction they are moving towards, and the specific immediate priorities for the next best opportunity for further revolutionary transformation, and consolidation.

On this crucial question, things are to some extent worse now than ever they were during Stalin's leadership. Temporarily at times, emphasis is so concentrated by Moscow on the purely tactical diplomatic expedient of peaceful coexistence (with potentially superior imperialist aggressive strength) that idealist propaganda sentiments are uttered by Moscow bearing not the remotest connection to Marxist scientific understanding (see recent Bulletin analysis of Gorbachev's campaigns) of the material realities of the international class struggle.

(Against this, however, as the Bulletin has also explained, the worldwide spread of revolutionary Leninist organisation & combativeness, taking imperialism on in front line struggles, - the decisive historical matter longterm, - is dramatically expanding towards unprecedented levels).

Apart from specific

fresh official sackings at central or regional ministerial grade (a process which is not new but in fact as old as the Bolshevik Revolution itself), what is actually different for bus drivers in Smolensk or telephone operators in Kursk or librarians in Omsk or schoolteachers in Irkutsk or dentists in Minsk or town planners in Bratsk out of what Gorbachev has said (that their productivity, or their reconstruction, or their openness should suddenly take off like a rocket).

All that is different is that Gorbachev has said that everyone's productivity, reconstruction, and openness should take off like a rocket.

Which is roughly on a par with that time when the Lord said: Let there be light. And there was light. And you could see for blinding miles.

There is nothing new at all in any of the promises, or high-level sackings, or guarantees of openness, etc., - nor could there be anything new, - no matter how saintly the Gorbachevs might be. Gorbachev could go the whole hog and sack himself tomorrow (for lack of openness or reconstruction) but the optics of Tomsk would still not bat an eyelid. The Soviet Union will still continue its steady, relentless socialist progress.

Obviously vastly more could be achieved.

But only on a class basis. For any dramatic historical transformation, it is only to class forces that civilisation can look, in this epoch as for several previous millennia.

Japan, for example, has made a startling modern historical transformation on the basis of its peculiarly-evolved bourgeois-monopolistic nationalistic discipline providing Japanese big business with an opportunity for world dominance in the international free-market economy propped up by ageing Western imperialist decadence. For partially similar histo-

rical reasons, the German bourgeoisie has eagerly seized chances to play an equally aggressive 'upstart' role in capitalism's affairs this century, e.g.

On the greatest of all historic transformations this century is already engaged the Soviet proletariat (closely followed by the working masses of all the rest of the socialist camp), - the one revolutionary force to which Gorbachev can in fact appeal, - and is in fact appealing, but in a hopelessly half-arsed way.

For Moscow's appeal is not on the historic class basis of dramatic opportunity (which alone could help organise a prodigious leap in Soviet proletarian achievements on a par with the taking of power itself, with the heroic defence of the Bolshevik Revolution, with its seething industrialisation to catch up with the countries of imperialist intervention, and then with its protection against the most recent leaders of that intervention - the fascist-imperialist axis)

In its historic development, the Soviet proletariat is steadily ticking over, - ready to smash any further intervention and defend its revolutionary gains.

There is a clear historical opportunity to rouse the Soviet proletariat, - and the working masses of the entire socialist camp, - to much greater heights of achievement immediately, as Gorbachev would like.

But only on the basis of fulfilling the proletariat's historic class role, - the achieving of the complete worldwide victory of the forces of socialist revolution over the forces of imperialist reaction, - ending capitalist warmongering intervention for all time for all mankind, - and thereby wiping out fascism, racism and slump simultaneously.

But Gorbachev makes no such appeal to the Soviet proletariat's historic class interest. His appeal is to

individual workers in the name of productivity bonuses, - no bad thing in themselves but absolutely nothing new at all in the Soviet Union, and irrelevant to the key question of whether the Soviet proletariat as the foremost historic class force influencing the 20th century will press on to even more world-shattering achievements, (which have all been reached by no means in conflict with the individual material interests of each Soviet worker, obviously, - just the opposite; - but which were philosophically organised on something far more profound than productivity bonuses.)

Gorbachev, of course, does try his own ideological appeals - of the reformist-idealist kind, such as 'work to improve the life of our society', and 'work to ensure peaceful coexistence with imperialism', etc., - but they are historically rubbish, or only half the story.

The only question mark against Soviet activities in general as to whether or not they 'improve the life of our society' is over the scientific-philosophical leadership guiding the revolutionary process, - both domestically and internationally.

Openness is obviously an excellent atmosphere in which to try to find out what might have gone wrong in the past, but it is no answer in itself.

But where should such openness begin? There exists the remote possibility that if enough stray people ask enough stray questions, something might eventually be discovered about the damage to the revolution's ideals inflicted by revisionist retreats from Lenin's international Bolshevik perspectives since Lenin's death.

But the only remotely serious proposal is that such an 'openness re-evaluation of past mistakes (still undermining mass revolutionary enthusiasm) the scientific-philosophical

sophical leadership of the revolutionary process must begin with Gorbachev himself,—the current leader of the Soviet party.

Until Gorbachev starts to grasp that the intelligent vanguard of the international working class (including its important Soviet contingent, and those in the rest of the socialist camp) is waiting to hear what he has to say about the revisionist confusion (still continuing) which produced such damaging blows to the international revolutionary cause as the Popular Front debacle in the Spanish civil war; the 'social fascist' nonsense which split the anti-Hitler forces in Germany; the postwar collaboration illusions which condemned the Greek socialist revolution to defeat; the 'peaceful road to socialism' idiom which led Chile to fascist butchery in 1973, and to many other

disasters, including the collapse of the Western CPs into reformism; and the anti-Leninist paralysis which stood by helpless as Grenada was blitzkrieged out of the socialist camp; etc; etc,—then all talk of openness and reconstruction is so much hot air.

With a Leninist leadership, it is not difficult to see the Soviet Union performing miracles of production (and voluntary service abroad) to help defeat international imperialist intrigue & intervention which is crippling Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, etc, and many other heroic struggles for socialism,—defying imperialism to provoke even wider conflict in matters where Western intervention is so blatantly in the wrong.

But Gorbachev is if anything retreating even further from a Leninist grasp of the

world's revolutionary perspective than Moscow has ever done before. He makes no appeal at all to the Soviet proletariat's revolutionary class interest,—not in the matter of seeing the frontline anti-imperialist struggles as the crucial turning point for all of human history,—now summed up in the need to overthrow internationally the degenerate warmongering slump-ridden capitalist system.

The appeal to 'work for peaceful coexistence with imperialism' is even worse than the productivity-bonus appeal by being the complete idealist opposite to the only possible Marxist materialist understanding of the revolutionary solution to civilisation's crisis. A more guaranteed switch-off to revolutionary proletarian enthusiasm (in the Soviet Union and throughout the socialist camp)—for achieving anything,—could not be

imagined.

Class collaboration with warmongering imperialism & fascism as a solution to mankind's problems is a philosophical nonsense, and the class which is historically destined to bring to an end civilisation's pre-history of wars, philistinism, exploitation, & obscurantism,—the working class,—is not in a position to abandon its materially-inevitable revolutionary character for Gorbachev, God, or any other idealist.

Philistine revisionist confusion in Moscow can undoubtedly hold the Soviet proletariat back for any length of time,—and produce some wretched distortions in the process, such as the cult of the individual nonsense. But the Soviet working class is unlikely to be led anywhere far off the path,—until alongside the rest of the international proletariat it is led to the final revol-

utionary triumph over the bourgeois imperialist system.

Naturally, little of these matters is necessarily consciously formed in the minds of the Soviet masses as they resist Gorbachev's blandishments (or anything else). They await to be awakened to this revolutionary understanding. But the point is that nothing less than this Leninist perspective can really coincide with their deepest instincts and learned or inherited revolutionary experience, and therefore rouse them to new heights of enthusiastic achievement.

Leadership is everything. But Gorbachev is energetically waddling off in the wrong direction in search of it.

The latest economic progress report from the Novosti press agency in the USSR sums up the philosophical bankruptcy of Gorbachev's exhortations tragically well:

THE first few steps in the current drive for perestroika, or a drastic shake-up of the entire Soviet economic and social order, have proved to be difficult, timid and irresolute. After quickening its pace last year industrial production growth in the first two months of 1987 dropped from 4.9 to 2.9 per cent. Targets for productivity were not achieved either.

Recent failures may be attributed to several factors. First, for a long time we have not seen so severe a winter as the one we have had this year. Disrupted transport services and excessive consumption of fuel and energy slackened the pace of industrial growth.

But are severe winters new to Russia? They are certainly not. We simply failed to prepare ourselves adequately for the winter. References to "objective reasons" that until recently have been extensively used by economic managers to justify their failures are no longer taken into account. But many factory managers seem to be

No one wishes anything but success to such efforts to rekindle Soviet revolutionary dynamism; but the shallow, contemptuous philosophical emptiness of such purely bullying or threatening geeing-up of the working class in the face of the undoubted & acknowledged theoretical chaos & paralysis of the revolutionary leadership (off & on, since Lenin's death) — is unmistakable, and doomed to failure.

In the longterm historical perspective,

unprepared to work on such tough terms. And yet to live and work in a new way means to honour one's responsibilities. For instance, five years ago all shortcomings would have been attributed to biting frosts and heavy snow. (The snow cover this year has reached such dangerous thickness as to prompt nation-wide preparations for spring floods). This is no longer possible now.

Second, economic officials and managers have been told they will no longer be able to get away with failures to meet plan targets. The paramount plan indicator for 1987 is fulfilling one's contract obligation rather than procuring a pre-planned amount of goods.

Factories until this year could easily meet plan targets by manufacturing more expensive goods. This created a paradox whereby production plans (in roubles) were met, while demand for cheap and vital goods was not. The flaw had prevailed in the national economy for decades. No more. Failure to meet consumers' orders in time is punishable.

It was an unusual and tough measure. Only 77 per cent of all enterprises managed to fulfil

the Soviet Union will remain a brilliant triumph of revolutionary socialist struggle and organisation. But for the shallow purposes of Gorbachev's short-term stage-strutting to give a gloss to the 'inevitability of peaceful coexistence as a solution to mankind's problems', the slick propaganda glitter he is looking for may not be forthcoming,—as the sad, brittle, and politically empty Soviet documentary on Chernobyl this week on BBC1 revealed, (—as good and

courageous as it was compared to some past Soviet standards in such matters.) Once again, the deeper revolutionary-philosophical implications (deep in Soviet history) of the technological irresponsibility and political cover-up & buck-passing revealed,—simply failed to get a look in. (Even the slimy Fleet Street press tentative probing of commercial greed and speed-up's role in the Enterprise ferry disaster did better on that score.) What was

their contract obligations in January-February. Some missed their targets by a narrow margin of less than one per cent. But they, too, were denied bonuses.

Third, quality standards have been toughened as well. A state quality inspection service has been introduced at 1,500 enterprises to prevent breaches of quality standards. The new measure in January exposed poor performance by some enterprises, where workers and engineers were reprimanded with pay cuts. This caused a good deal of discontent. But then who prevented them from doing a good job? Quality control inspectors simply did not allow them to deceive others and themselves, too. Some are taking it easy and passions have quietened down. Many enterprises have managed to operate normally, manufacturing goods of top world standards.

The introduction of the state quality control service is but a first step toward making quality a universal yardstick superior to quantity. All products manufactured in this country (there are some 25 million items on the list) must be of top quality.

the family, educational and political background of the technologists who made such catastrophic mistakes,—seemingly so irresponsibly? What vacuum in the chain of leadership allowed them to be in charge of such a disaster? And even more forcefully should the same questions be gone into concerning political & ministerial authorities who in one case deliberately failed to report the appalling mishap at all for nine days (a shameful matter in wh-

ich the Soviet state leadership itself tried its own disgraceful cover-up initially —see ILWP Bulletins of that period).

As for the actual reply to the 7 dissident 'artists' (which totally failed to answer their main political/philosophical challenge), there is nothing at all to boast about in having one exhibition after another in Moscow of 'avant garde' artistic decadence. The obscurer black-propaganda disinformation depart-

ments of CIA psychological warfare will be delighted with such a retreat by the CPSU.

In the epoch of all-out international class war in which the anti-Leninist 'liberal' and revisionist swamp has played such a key role for the counter-revolution, any exhibitions of anti-party individualism or anti-political eclecticism which have the Guardian correspondent in ecstasy are bad news. It is a pity there is such purposelessness in the USSR for anyone to have any time for such subjective trivia, -even if there is an absence of more forceful art (dealing with mankind's epic international revolutionary struggle for emancipation) which should drive out the self-pitying dross.

The same with Tarkovsky. It is not so much that Moscow invited this conceited opportunist back into the fold, but that they did so without a single word to say against his self-indulgent mystical rubbish. The view now seems to be that if the West can get 'excited' by decadent notoriety for its own sake - such as Warhol's childish inanities, -then Moscow can match it with the likes of Tarkovsky's shallow nonsense, posturing as profundity.

But such a capitulation to irrationality does not result in a score draw at all, but in a complete white-wash in favour of the CIA and the Western imperialist bourgeoisie's general desire to see an end to all reason on the planet, - assiduously fostered through the drug culture, the alcohol industry, and cultural decadence & degeneracy of every kind, -in music, art, lifestyle, and every other means by which it can instil a sense of nihilism, purposelessness, cynicism, and above all a sceptical philistinism against the clearcut role of Leninist revolutionary theory. And the real scandal is that for its own purposes, -bureaucratic revisionism in the socialist

camp has no great objections to this last-mentioned phenomenon. Of course the bureaucracy can never finally get together with the Western bourgeoisie on this matter, -or on any other matter. The material forces of the international class struggle will always return the two camps to all-out enmity. But there are tragic interludes when the bureaucracy thinks it can get along with such Western decadence.

The double-page spread given to Dudintsev's egocentric meanderings in the latest Soviet Weekly illustrate this point. He delivers some very shallow kicks to some very soft targets, - as he did in his 'Not By Bread Alone' hayday. By all means give him an award for bravery, if it is felt to be relevant in the actual conditions which prevailed. But it is naive irresponsibility in the extreme to now start trumpeting his views in apparent admiration and without a word of comment or criticism from the state or party leadership to say what they think of his mysticism.

Again, what is needed is Leninism as the answer to Stalinism, -not the meanderings of every victim of Stalinism.

In 30 years, Dudintsev has got no further forward in his 'analysis' of Soviet problems than the abysmally shallow, idealist, anti-Marxist notion that "A terrible disease has taken root in our society, -the cult of the individual. We could have risen to tremendous heights had such an illness not lived within the organism of our society.... How did society react to this disease? With a swollen bureaucratic apparatus and all its ensuing consequences."

This non-materialist and anachronistic confusion is made worse by Dudintsev's big-headed illusion that he was the most important factor in the overcoming of this 'disease'.

Not only is this cl-

aim by the raving anti-communist Dudintsev indescribably silly but, -unchallenged, he is allowed by Soviet Weekly to go on to the mystical assertion of his influence in the words: "The fact that Nature has devised this mechanism of conscience shows her supreme wisdom and justice. I may be over-presumptuous in trying to resolve the question of the vicious human being. How are we to deal with the problem of wicked people? What kind of feelings do they have? What goes on inside them? I don't know (!) But it seems to me that at conscience is such a highly perfected, smooth-running mechanism that it goes on functioning even in the wicked and the immoral."

Accepting the dearth of Leninist understanding for Soviet Weekly to call on, it still seems a bit much to entrust proletarian consciousness back into the hands of the faith-healers, like Dudintsev.

Instead of that outdated irrelevance, why not a rattling good satirical piece deriding the US Moscow embassy capers of America's finest, -the Marine Corps? No great Leninist scholarship is needed for such mockery. Even the pro-Western Fleet Street hacks are effortlessly making savage anti-imperialist propaganda out of this latest US catastrophe. If the Marines aren't the Right Stuff, -with half Reagan's Cabinet ex-Corps members, -then what are the prospects for the rest of the imperialist circus? Perhaps Fr Dudintsev could at least be persuaded to deliver a little homily on their sins (in the light of his telling us, -courtesy of Soviet Weekly, that he wants the words 'destroy' and 'denounce' to be outlawed).

And while on the subject of Soviet Weekly, why does not the great new spirit of openness, and of printing, -and replying to (partially), -letters & speeches from all kinds of reactionary prats from Thatcher to Lyubimov, -not extend

to polemicalising with the ILWP Bulletin, which regularly challenges Soviet positions to a debate in the friendliest of polemical spirits, -in support of the strengthening of the Soviet workers state? Build Leninism.

23. Anti-Leninist swamp at ease with Gorbachevism (Bulletin 394, 20/5/87)

The Morning Star's attempt to discredit the Euro-reformism of the CPGB (as anti-Soviet) continues to score nothing but spectacular own goals.

'Tankie' leader Costello's latest essay on glasnost comes out just as anti-communist as what he is supposed to be attacking in the CP.

Under challenge is the view of 'some commentators' that "the changes in the Soviet Union are confirmation of all that they have ever said about the USSR as a caste-ridden dictatorship. For others especially the so-called Euro-Communists, it is evidence that their denigration of Soviet practices has now been recognised by Mikhail Gorbachev."

The Star's supposed 'reply' only reveals an even sicker, more bureaucratic pessimism still, -even more hostile to Leninism.

It is ignorant of even the faintest grasp of fundamental Marxist dialectics, -that, for example, correct strong leadership and a healthily flourishing mass democracy are not contradictory phenomena but absolutely essential to each other; or that in conscious socialist society, it is the faults of leadership alone, -going right to the top, -which ultimately bear the responsibility for the philosophical and political mistakes which can be the sole final explanation for why a socialist society could go wrong.

And this Star mentality certainly takes the line that things could go very wrong in the USSR. "As a longstanding friend who works for the Soviet TUC put it to me bluntly: 'Unless this works, we are

bugged'" the essay declares.

The blame for why they could go wrong is either viciously placed on the masses themselves; or else counter-revolutionarily placed on the Party structure itself, -effectively demanding the dismantling of the Bolshevik proletarian dictatorship.

Down one blind alley, the essay notes: "A train guard cynically remarked to me that the whole business of perestroika was 'like a strong wind in the taiga forests, -great movement at the top but peace & quiet reigning at ground level'" and sneers at the "incredibly slow service" in the hotel. Down the other, a blatantly Trotskyite note of petty-bourgeois intellectual indignation is struck: "When the Czech leadership attempted reforms similar in many ways to the perestroika, in 1968, the Soviet leaders of that time sent in the tanks. The supporters of that way of doing things are still around today. The course on which the current Soviet leaders have set their sights can win through, provided they maintain their appeal to the rank & file of the working class, with no compromising with the bureaucrats". No wonder the degenerate humbug of the bourgeois New Statesman was happy to print this Costello counter-revolutionary crap.

Totally ignored by the Star's philistine mentality is the role of Leninist scientific leadership; -why could advanced revolutionary theory achieve such miraculous leadership successes in impossible conditions from 1917 to 1923, quickly reacting to all mistakes and new difficulties, -giving way to such disastrous short-term and long-term mistaken policies and attitudes subsequently?

The main lines of Stalin's revisionist nonsense (his real crimes), -distorting Lenin's temporary peaceful co-existence tactic into a permanent retreat from the world revolutionary perspective; liquidating all notions of Leninist leadership into the Popular Front nonsense, or the even

more catastrophic 'peaceful road to socialism' illusion which massacred the Chilean working class; etc., etc., are even more ignorantly propagated by Gorbachev.

And the 'tankies' are just as crawlarsingly subservient to Moscow as they were in their darkest most kowtowing days to Stalin's stupidities.

They have learned absolutely nothing about the real Leninist content of criticism & polemical struggle. All of their 'bold' and 'independently-minded' rude thoughts now about possible Soviet 'buggeredness' are not Leninist science at all but the most putrid petty-bourgeois Western pessimism and philistinism, -utterly ignorant of what really needs to be done to return Soviet policy back to the only correct and workable philosophy of being in tune with the revolutionary reality of the world's advance to the overthrow of imperialism.

The only 'cure' to all the 'sickness' of Soviet society is by ending Moscow's futile fog of being out of harmony with what is really taking civilisation forward on the planet, -the front-line revolutionary struggles for the armed defeat of capitalist 'democracy'.

These ridiculous little petty-bourgeois democrats at the Morning Star would rather die than agree to such a world view. Costello is totally in sympathy with Dubcek's counter-revolutionary nonsense. The 'tankies' are already 90% in the same grave along with the revisionist treachery of the Italian Euro-CP reformism, aped by the CPGB and throughout the West.

Even more tragically, Gorbachev is climbing into the same coffin right alongside them.

Because of their primitive inability to grasp that 'Stalinism' got things wrong because of its incorrect world view and mistaken assessment of many specific developments, the Gorbachevites have already abandoned any notions of correcting

the leading philosophical line of the party, in favour of complete liquidation of all thought of continuing Lenin's science of the leading role of the party at all. Because these bureaucratic philistine ignoramus cannot get the song right, they are ready to shoot the pianist, -just as degenerate Dubcek wanted to do.

"It is because the party machine itself has not been properly fulfilling its job as mobiliser and watchdog at many levels that its power to decide on everything is being ended. Control of appointments for all senior posts in management has already been weakened by the extension of the electoral process with multiple-candidate contests," states the NS article.

"The party's de facto ability to nullify the election process through its powers to insist that its 'recommended' nominee for a post should get the placement is being undermined by the perestroika. The removal of this patronage spells enormous hope for a greater flowering of democratic involvement of the people," the bourgeois essay adds.

"Mr Gorbachev and his supporters are having a tough fight to hold their corner within the party. But the Communist Party itself is finding it will have to accept that its constitutionally-enshrined 'leading role' can no longer mean the power to decide all contentious matters at all levels," it trills.

"Today's needs require something very different from the old methods of barnstorming, mobilisation, and compulsion," the NS rejoices.

But the answer to bad leadership, unable to convince the masses to enthusiastically support and join in the running of socialist development, - is to provide correct leadership, one that is able to inspire mass initiative & confidence, -not to wipe out Leninism by wiping out the whole idea of leadership.

The key to solving the problems of low productivity does not lie in railing at the ancient realities of bureaucratic red tape

(see Lenin quotes in ILWP Perspectives), -as Gorbachev revisionism stupidly supposes, -or in chiding mass cynicism, as the 'Tankies' bureaucratically echo. It lies in correcting Moscow's accumulated past political nonsense since 1924, and providing Soviet society at last with a correct philosophical understanding of human history.

Without a scientific explanation of all of Stalin's revisionism, and of all the disasters it led to (notwithstanding the triumphs of Soviet history too, -due to the dictatorship of the proletariat) and is still leading to, -then mass cynicism can only continue to grow.

Gorbachev will be able to explain nothing to the Soviet people of why Moscow sits around uselessly silent while the CIA and the Western 'democratic' Goebbels-media contemptuously dispose of the Fiji people's elected anti-war government. He cannot explain the cretinous stupidity of Gerasimov's hostility to solidarity with the Philippine revolution (see above story) while US imperialism takes advantage of Moscow's idiot 'democracy' 'non-intervention' to murderously orchestrate, finance, and arm the Philippine people's repression.

Why should not the Soviet masses be utterly cynically incredulous at the ludicrous non-explanation of what happened on Grenada and why no help was offered to that blitzkrieged socialist development?

Why should not the Soviet masses be cynical at the huge cost & sacrifice of the Soviet revolutionary defence industries when nothing is done to halt the dangerous warmongering expansion of the USSR's deadliest imperialist enemies into Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Fiji, Grenada, Chad, occupied Palestine, Namibia, Chile, Falklands, etc, etc, etc.?

Is it really credible that the fascist criminal manic Reagan and his deranged monopoly-imperialist circles are really going to sit round a table and provide mankind with permanent peaceful-coexistence peace? It is crap. But

that is all the Soviet people hear from that bureaucratic revisionist Gorbachev.

The philistine ignorance of Leninism at the Morning Star hates the responsibilities of revolutionary leadership as much as it ever did in the disgraceful days of kowtowing to Stalin's every last stupid whim & gesture. It springs from a profound hostility to theory of the entire history of British labour movement struggle. The CPGB never developed a culture of independent theoretical polemics, -always dominated by opportunist pragmatism. Even though now split five ways, the revisionists have still not developed any serious political conflict (as opposed to organisational/bureaucratic dirty tricks), -based on their mutual profound ignorance of even a smattering of Leninist science. (Incidentally, the New Statesman was greatly enamoured of Stalinist anti-revolutionary theoretical backwardness in the 1930s).

The essay's proposed 'bold' solution of "the Party having to return to the early days following the 1917 Revolution when it could carry the day only if it won conviction within the working class" of course means anything but a return to Lenin's world-revolutionary perspective, -the only possible inspiration for the Revolution's fantastic achievements.

These crass petty-bourgeois want to reduce the heroics of the drive towards world proletarian dictatorship to the trivial formal minutiae of organisational questions -leaving out the real political guts of even these matters, -which were for party authority in all matters; the one-man management principle; and the achieving of the highest point of communist consciousness as the supreme aim in all things. It is scandalous lies to misrepresent the 1917 Revolution as introducing "real independent power (to organise, initiate, and campaign) to trade unions, local authorities, the youth, and women's organisations, free from tutelage from party

officialdom", -in the anti-communist way in which these words are understood by New Statesman readers. Even in the famous polemic against Trotsky for 'independent' trade unions as opposed to ultra-left militarisation plans, -the detailed lengthy arguments are unmistakably for independent communist trade unions, -not for unions 'independent' of the proletarian dictatorship, -as the faintest acquaintance with Lenin's texts can show (see ILWP Books vols 3 & 5).

Certainly all the mass Soviet organisations need to be encouraged as rapidly as possible towards their own independent understanding & initiatives of the world's progress towards international socialist revolution, -the only Leninist way to approach cadre training. Tutelage has nothing to do with Leninism, and was only introduced by those philistine routinists who were ignorant & incapable of Leninist theoretical polemics, - the Stalin Era CPGB most particularly.

But that independent understanding is not for developing a Sakharov, a Trotsky, a Stalin, a Dubcek, or a Khrushchev. It is only for the flowering of Leninism, -to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat for routing all revisionism. And the blame for that failure to flourish in Leninism of the mass organisations can not be laid at the door of the unions, the women, the youth, the intelligentsia, - or, of course, of the mass party itself, -but only at the door of the top leadership of the Soviet party & state. They have had unchallenged power since 1917. They have screwed things up, -to whatever extent it can at all be claimed that Soviet development is 'buggered'. It is ridiculous to hear Gorbachev 'barnstorming' on in the same old boring-routinist, bureaucratic way at the Soviet people to do better, - before a word has been heard from him to put right disastrous past errors of his party's ex-

leadership on dozens of crucial matters of world revolutionary leadership, past & present, - all vitally affecting how the international proletarian masses can show revolutionary enthusiasm.

24. Capitalist crisis ignored in Gorbachev's philosophical vacuum (Bulletin 418, 4/11/87)

Describing past leadership stagnation in the USSR another hundred times in his latest speech & book still gets the Soviet boss no nearer to explaining what caused it.

Until there is understanding of the roots of Stalinist revisionism in the fatal gap between world revolutionary necessity in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s and the sickly incomplete view of things put out by Moscow, - and in the covering up of that incorrect outlook, - then there can be no hope of overcoming revisionist ideology in the Soviet Union and leading the world's first workers state back to Leninism.

Worse than that, - the exact same ideological confusion & paralysis inevitably still stagnated the Soviet leadership throughout the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s as well.

But worst of all, - Gorbachev himself, for all of his railing against the effects & symptoms of leadership stagnation, is just as handicapped himself by an incorrect world view and can therefore no more restore Leninist inspiration to the Soviet revolution than could any of his predecessors. Unavoidably, the selfsame gap between word and deed at the highest level, - between what top leader Gorbachev says the world is like, and what the world is like in reality, - can only lead back to more stagnation.

All of Gorbachev's huffing & puffing to overcome bureaucratic hypocrisy by exhortation alone is unscientific nonsense, - in fact merely more bureaucratic hypocrisy as far as its ultimate failed effects will be concerned

Gorbachev's good intentions are not the issue. Revolutionary Marxism-Leninism has alw-

ays properly had utter scorn for 'socialist' leaders who ignore the scientific requirements of leadership (- giving a lead to revolutionary consciousness based on the necessary developments in the international class struggle & balance of class forces in every situation.)

Gorbachev cannot explain the present accurately, - hopelessly wrong perspectives on many struggles; and vast glaring gaps on many subjects Moscow still just won't touch. And the Soviet regime's attempts to explain the past are a scandalous joke. It is 31 years since Khrushchev first admitted that Stalin period policies were not all they should have been. It is more than two years since Gorbachev took over. And still all that the successor to Lenin can say about this crucial Soviet retreat from Leninism beginning in the 1920s is a few mumbled impressionist platitudes about Bukharin's well-known weaknesses, plus the promise of yet another Party history commission. What a farce! What a philistine bureaucrat!

Were Gorbachev seriously & fully consciously dedicated to the revolutionary emancipation of the world proletariat, he could do no better than start with a critical look at his own speech on Monday, and at his book just published.

Correct revolutionary science about society can only begin at one place, - the latest international balance of class forces and its detailed implications everywhere. At least Gorbachev did mention the Crash in the West in his speech (though probably more by luck than judgement since during the last 16 days since Black Monday, scarcely a paragraph from the entire Soviet Union has made an impact in the West on this crucial revolutionary development, during which time the tiny ILWP has published virtually a whole book on the matter). But what Gorbachev said was utter naive & misleading rubbish.

Moscow: The Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev, said yesterday that the wild oscillations on the

world's stock markets were a "grave symptom and a grave warning" of the danger of excessive military spending.

Mr Gorbachev addressed the extreme ups and downs of the stock markets in his Kremlin speech marking the seventieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

The New York Stock Exchange lost more than 500 points on October 19, and markets in world financial centres have been unstable since.

The Soviet Union could cooperate with the West to establish peace in the world, but must be careful of capitalist countries' tendency to channel money into military spending and world domination. Mr Gorbachev said.

Since the Second World War, he said, "the US economy had been orientated to and dependent on militarism, which at first seemed even to stimulate it.

"But then this senseless and socially useless squandering of resources led to an astronomical national debt and to other problems and maladies.

"In the final analysis, it has turned out that super-militarisation increasingly aggravates the domestic situation and upsets the economies of other countries," Mr Gorbachev said.

"The recent panic on the New York Stock Exchange and on other stock exchanges across the world - a panic without precedent in almost 60 years - is a grave symptom and a grave warning," he said.

Despite conflicts in East-West relations, Mr Gorbachev expressed the hope that the two systems could work together to prevent nuclear war. - AP.

This tedious drivel, (repeated in full from Western reports), describes reality exactly the wrong way round. It is the exact opposite of the truth. In philosophical method, it is idealist garbage. Any Soviet worker trying to get inspiration from his new leader will be totally disoriented.

Imperialism is not collapsing because it is in an arms race (the corollary of which is that if imperialism stopped arming, it would stop collapsing). Just the opposite. Imperialism is in a constant arms race because it is a system of permanent crash-crisis, - incurably so.

Gorbachev describes reality the wrong way round because he has imbibed the philosophy of the revisionist bureaucracy (- despite all his ranting against its stagnation. Nothing new in fact. Criticism, self-criticism, and urges for socks to be pulled up have been a feature throughout Soviet history especially in the Stalin period). This revisionist retreat, aped by Gorbachev on this first examined detail

of his latest speech, - goes right to the core of all the Soviet Union past & present difficulties, all in one go, - (which glasnost & perestroika exhortations have been unable to do in two years of massive outpourings, - and will continue to be unable to do until the essential questions of Leninism are faced.)

That core is the defeatism about prospects for world revolution which an inadequate leadership (in the 1920s, 1930s, and subsequently, ever since) has continuously rationalised into an outright revision of Leninist science on world revolution as both the main aim of history and the whole basis of Marxist social philosophy.

In distorting, and then criminally suppressing the world revolutionary essence of Leninism (still as rife under Gorbachev as ever before, - see ILWP Books vols 6 to 10), the philosophically stagnant Soviet leadership sought first to explain its failures, and later to shirk all its main responsibilities, by introducing reformist illusions about the conflict with imperialism (see ILWP Books vols 3 & 4).

Revisionist idiocy about a non-existent 'peaceful road to socialism' and crap about a 'peacefully negotiated end to imperialist warmongering and to the international class struggle', etc, was imposed to give philistine Soviet bureaucracy a permanent excuse for its inability to scientifically explain international revolutionary setbacks or inspire greater international revolutionary fervour as Leninism had done. If world revolution was bureaucratically manoeuvred off the agenda, then pressure & embarrassment on the Moscow leadership was greatly reduced.

These arbitrary censorship methods saved inadequate leadership from disgrace throughout a series of international revolutionary policy disasters during the 1920s & 1930s (in China, Britain, Germany, Spain, etc). This bureaucratic expediency rap-

idly evolved into an entire revisionist philosophy, into Stalinism - a permanently distorted opportunist muddle (despite which the underlying healthy strength of the Soviet workers state was nevertheless able to continue solving certain basic international class problems & domestic struggles facing its further development (the defeat of Trotskyism; the defeat of the kulaks; the defeat of German imperialism; the defeat of US nuclear encirclement; the defeat of CIA counter-revolution in East Europe, etc).)

Until all the distortions about the true pattern of world history are exposed & removed, Soviet national psychology cannot possibly be made well again. There are so many disastrous gaps between Moscow's word about world developments, both before and after, - and what actually happened, - that either total cynicism (anti-Party), or controlled opportunist (Party membership) scepticism, can alone result.

Take Chile as just one example among dozens that could be given. This was clearly another total disaster for the Popular Front 'peaceful' (i.e. non-existent) road to socialism echoing many other such disasters of the 1930s & 1940s. Still to this day, not a single scientific or critical word has been uttered by Moscow about this criminal CP-misleadership catastrophe, and about the appallingly devastating example the wrong philosophy, the bad outcome, and the subsequent cover-up (the worst disservice of all) have inflicted on the international revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

But even worse than this direct Moscow misleadership of the world socialist struggle, - (misleadership which Gorbachev doesn't even mention, never mind challenge, - and obviously supports wholeheartedly, but which fortunately is being successfully opposed & overcome by renewed Leninist revolutionary struggle developing locally (pioneered by Mac, 59

carried on by Ho, then Castro, and now taken on from Zimbabwe, Angola, Nicaragua, etc., to the Philippines, South Africa, El Salvador, etc.), - worse than Moscow's revisionist international misleadership is the philosophical poison it is inflicting on its own youth by denying the revolutionary vitality of all development and human progress.

Soviet youth are crying out for leadership in this question of revolutionary inspiration. The whole of Soviet society & culture is too. Fed only by Moscow's lies that mankind's future depends on the whole world putting up with the warmongering hypocrisy of Western arms-race imperialism, counter-revolutionary intrigues, and CIA/Zionist death squad activities against people in struggle everywhere, - no wonder there is such a lack of revolutionary inspiration in so much of Soviet life, with disaffected youth rotting their brains with a turn to Buddhism, or even more material opiates.

The alternative is not crudely to be put as just inviting volunteers to go and fight the imperialist counter-revolutionaries in Mozambique, Angola, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, etc., - as heroic & Leninist as that would be. Cuban civilian support for besieged Nicaragua demonstrates that risking getting killed is in no way the essence of the question, and indeed is no factor at all in the future philosophical dynamism of mankind. The philosophical heart of the matter lies in the perpetual human struggle, - against backwardness and for healthy social & natural development.

There is nothing healthy about pretending that the diseased rottenness of US imperialism can be overcome by peaceful coexistence. It is philistine, cowardly, anti-scientific nonsense, the very antithesis of Leninism. This crap philosophy has been imposed on Soviet society by wretched leadership inadequate, distorting Lenin's skilful diplomatic disarmament-propaganda tactics (to split the world bourgeoisie)

into an idiotic revisionist plan to 'reform' world imperialist warmongering out of existence. It is not a real struggle because it is not in accord with the necessary outcome world history must take, - which is for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialist reaction. It can only be a frustrating sceptical activity to try to get inspiration out of the world philosophy as preached from Moscow, scarred by repeated embarrassing episodes where the leadership simply clams up, - or lies, - ably to obvious disasters that have befallen their crippled 'reform' perspective such as the Chile tragedy, the Grenada US-blight setback, various CIA subversion, assassination, and coup attempts in Africa, Asia and Latin America, etc.

A crass trivialisation of Marxism also takes place in the long whining concentration in all Soviet 'criticism' (and in the never-ending 'self-critical' replies by the leadership) about living space, food queues, etc. Revolutionary materialist philosophy is of course based on the understanding that being conditions thinking, and that the cultural levels of social living and the human spirit cannot be influenced if the material conditions and opportunities for development have not been transformed. But something has gone badly astray when after 70 years socialist construction in the Soviet Union, there seem to be no more elevated concerns than whingeing about 'unfashionable shoes', or having less than the average square metres-worth of living space, or wanting to get crap subjective poetry published, or dreaming of Western rock-and-roll tapes, etc.

The grey editor of Pravda typified this spinelessness when mumbly that fraught questions of international working-class history were 'not a matter for him to deal with. It must await an academic commission'. Such is the decline in the role of the Party newspaper, Lenin's "organiser of the revolution" and building-scaffold

for the training of Party cadres!

An earlier generation of Soviet volunteers fought for international communism in Spain, - albeit tragically under the misleading guidance of tail-ending the doomed Popular Front government. Paradoxically, revisionist distortion was already crippling lively debate of that heroic experience, but the Spanish Civil War was certainly 'a matter for that generation to deal with', and even participate in. The history-making fight against German Nazi imperialism became the supreme moment in Soviet experience, - still dominating much of the best art now produced (what little there is) in books, films, etc. But current Soviet experience pretends to find nothing more elevating to dramatise than some piddling bureaucratic nonsense about how 'poor Olga lost her place in the housing waiting list'.

Living standards & welfare are obviously important concerns, and it is ultimately a key triumph of communist construction to remove all further anxieties about all such basic necessities. But to be so miserably obsessed with such matters is no great advance on the reformist mess of Harkney borough council. Is this what the earth-shattering Bolshevik Revolution was created for?

This Soviet concentration on such a mundane reflection of socialism's development problems (in response to Western badgering) is an insult to the USSR's achievements anyway. Of course it is a scandal that bureaucratic muddle is still capable of fouling up all of the basics some of the time and some of the basics all of the time.

But set against the unprecedented history-making triumphs of education, industrialisation, political organisation, military & scientific advance, etc., of Soviet progress, (-all carried out in the teeth of relentless imperialist embargo, hostility, subversion, sabotage and two holocaust invasions which twice totally devastated a huge

part of the economy plus millions of priceless cadres slaughtered, - and now having to prove superior to yet another imperialist encirclement, - this time by US nuclear destruction-bases ringing the USSR), - then the endless trivia about Olga's place in the housing queue seems a trifle overdone.

And Gorbachevism will also fail to make much impression on such banal bureaucratic problems just by going on about them, or by any amount of 'restructuring', either. The next crucial stage for this planet, - raising the spirits and fighting capacity of everyone, including the Soviet people, - is the next great international advance against aggressive warmongering imperialism, - continuing the historic, world-changing inroads already made by the Soviet Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the Vietnamese Revolution, the Cuban Revolution, the revolutions in southern Africa, etc., etc., - and driving back the life-wrecking rottenness of imperialism still further, and all its foul exploitative devastation, etc.

Bureaucratic sloth & humbug will be driven back to the extent that real, 20th century revolutionary inspiration is pumped back into mankind by further heroic advances against bourgeois-imperialist degeneracy and all its ideological equipment of idealism, cynicism, religious obscurantism, imperialism, nihilism, nationalism, reformism, feminism, racism, etc., (-everything in fact which is not dialectical materialism in its latest up-to-date revolutionary Leninist stance), - all philosophical backwardnesses which are rife in the West (unchallenged by the revisionist Communist Parties, and embraced by most of them), - and greatly re-infecting the Soviet Union thanks to the philistine feebleness of Stalinist defeatism.

But Gorbachev shows himself frighteningly illiterate in Leninism, and disturbingly proud of his shallow 'democratic' impressionism, the

antithesis of Marxism. True communist democracy will finally become a universal triumph through the continued strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat internationally, the final defeat of imperialism and its bourgeois philosophy, and the emancipation of all mankind from drudgery through dialectical materialist science.

The shallow Gorbachev does not even act upon a word of his own 'democracy' prattle. Far more damaging to the housing waiting lists in Omsk than anything else in recent years was, indirectly, the setback to the world socialist revolution and the encouragement to worldwide imperialist warmongering of the CIA's fascist coup in Chile in 1973. Instrumental in that tragedy was the damaging role of the 'peaceful road to socialism' revisionist idiocy imposed by the Chilean CP with active assistance from Moscow & Havana, etc.

If Gorbachev really wants to involve all the Soviet people in a 'democratic renewal' and a 'reconstruction' through 'openness', then let him launch a worldwide (not just Soviet) proletarian debate about what went wrong in Chile, how the 'peaceful road' boosted imperialist warmongering internationally, and how to recover from it (and indirectly, ultimately, overcome imperialist arms-race warmongering, thereby leading to real world-socialist disarmament, and the solving of Olga from Omsk's housing-list waiting problem almost overnight). Or the equally disastrous boost to US warmongering Ramboism of the Grenada tragedy, even more costly an imposition on the Soviet arms budget, sadly necessitated by ever-escalating imperialist arms-race expansion, (-regardless of the tactically useful but potentially dangerously misleading INF reduction deal).

Or a truly open discussion on any number of other burning topics in the international revolutionary struggle.

25. Death of Marxism through ignorance is the only real Moscow news (Bulletin 419, 11/11/87)

Moscow's degenerate opportunism in joining its voice to bourgeois hypocrisy 'condemnation' of 'violence' in the British colonially occupied zone of Ireland under its police-military dictatorship, is fairly mundane stuff compared to the truly grotesque treachery to Leninism which the revisionist Gorbachev leadership is now trying to inflict on the international proletariat.

A fuller review of Gorbachev's latest light-mindedness on Bolshevik history and the essence of scientific revolutionism will follow later, but it is essential to first of all nail the more outrageous distortions on the immediate prospects ahead for the international class struggle being spread simultaneously elsewhere by other Gorbachevites.

Leading Party commentators Palin & Bovin have just discussed in the widely read Moscow News, - published in at least ten languages, - how idealist thinking(!) has begun to 'rid the world' not only of any armed confrontation between the super-powers, but also of any future inter-imperialist wars too!

This truly remarkable triumph of mind over matter, which stands every single scientific understanding that Marx Engels & Lenin ever fought for on its head, - (claiming that it is not material necessity which dictates the ideology of classes, but the things which classes say they believe in which govern material reality), - is laid out in the following ludicrous and reactionary passages.

The key to grasping their truly monstrous falsification of Leninism lies in the coded language used to 'explain' why there exist no actual quotations to justify what these 'experts' pretend is Lenin's real meaning, but that on the contrary, all the actual quotes available support the exact opposite revol-

utionary science to the reformist class-collaborating crap these new 'theorists' are trying to cobble together.

This moronic drive is so contradicted by actual events on the planet now, as well as being totally contrary to the very ABC of Marxism-Leninism, that it reads like a sick CIA de-stabilising joke from Washington's black-propaganda disinformation department rather than something published in Moscow by leading Party commentators. Their seemingly deliberate ignoring of more than 200 imperialist campaigns of colonial warmongering or counter-revolutionary sabotage since 1945, - causing nearly 20 million deaths, - highlighted by Korea, Vietnam, Malaya, & Algeria but still raging ferociously now in Afghanistan, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola, Kampuchea, El Salvador, etc, not to mention the Gulf escalation and the non-stop warmongering cauldron of Zionist terrorism in the Near East, - gives the impression they have either been sitting on the moon for years, or have their heads up their arses.

The Gulf war has raged for seven years of near World War I savagery, - including gas attacks and trench warfare, - and it has been fought by two rival countries within the imperialist/capitalist system, an inter-imperialist war, partly pursued (as per inter-imperialist war tradition) as a diversion from capitalist crisis at home (and internationally). The Falklands War was similarly fought by both sides as a welcome foreign-war diversion from intense unpopularity at home, - another classic inter-imperialist confrontation. The entire Indian sub-continent is explosive with potential inter-capitalist wars. Greece & Turkey are never more than one move away from renewing hostilities against each other, - despite both being members of the NATO 'defence' alliance against 'communist invasion threat' nonsense.

Do these anti-Marxist idiots really imagine that all the Western

Cold War arms-race warmongering since 1945 has in fact been to 'resist Soviet threats' as the West has pretended? Only the most degenerate philistine stupidity & corruption could be so fooled. Imperialism remains armed to the teeth, - as always, - to lash out at any & every 'enemy' or 'hostile action' that it arrogantly declares to be 'harming its sphere of interests', - no matter who is on the receiving end. The only considerations: - whether the thuggery will be successful; and the most cost-effective way of keeping on top in the long term; - not whether warmongering is good or bad.

Far from imperialism moving away from wars as a solution to its insoluble economic & political contradictions, - the 1987 Crash crisis shatteringly jolts the whole hate-filled class & nationally-divided system inevitably closer back to all-out warmongering, - the imperialist system's only 20th century essence - as even revealed by the most dismal bourgeois historical 'science', let alone by the brilliant exposure of capitalism's relentlessly warring character by Leninism.

With such commentators as these, the CPSU has become under Gorbachev the most crass revisionist enemy of Leninism. Their frank admission that they now 'place humanitarian interests above class interests' is the most infamous wretched slogan of every anti-Marxist opportunist-reptile and anti-communist traitor in history, - the battle-cry of complacent philistines preserving their own petty-bourgeois collaboratorist frame-of-mind and bureaucratic self-interest. The outright falsification that Lenin was 'in favour of sacrificing class interests to the broader interest' is a criminal slander that Lenin was as gross an idealist as these anti-scientific cretins. Even more outrageous is the libellous slur that the works of theoretic-al genius where Lenin gives the direct lie to these revisionist illusions were merely 'cho-

leric outbursts written in the heat of the moment'. It will need a lot more than 'pure creative thinking' to get away with these counter-revolutionary distortions.

It is sheer calumny to present a list of 'chief merits for civilisation' of the October Revolution and not remotely get close to mentioning the price-less example to mankind of how relentless struggle, - inspired & led by correct revolutionary theory, - can overcome the most diabolical obstacles to human progress.

This is the chief lesson of the October Revolution and of all Marxism-Leninism, - the real inspiration of mankind, - and it is significant that these cowardly class-collaborating wretches do not even mention it. These pampered slob in Moscow could not give a damn about 'humanity' in reality, - only about their own philistine existences. Their 'concern' is pure hypocrisy, - as arrogant as the constant crap about the period since 1945 being 'free from war' when nearly 20 million people have been butchered in the Third World by imperialism, - nearly as many as died in World War II. They are a disgrace to the world's first workers state as a 'purely creative new leadership' which now finds it convenient to abandon the world revolution once they themselves are safely up the ladder.

Despite the shallow philistinism of Gorbachev, totally ignorant of Leninism, - revolutionary workers everywhere will continue to support the Soviet Union & the socialist camp unconditionally in all the conflicts with imperialism. And despite Gorbachev's class-collaborating backing for ridiculous cowardly revisionism in the West (by the corrupt and now reformist Communist Parties, and by others), - the socialist camp will never be able to completely abandon solidarity with the international revolutionary movement against imperialism - (simply by virtue of their very own existence as work-

ers states, building socialism.)

But the actual 'theoretical' backwardness of Gorbachevism is no friend of the international proletariat at all. It would be criminal folly not to denounce the anti-Leninist idealist illusions of the CPSU at every appropriate opportunity.

The fight against imperialist slaughter is an everyday reality outside the socialist camp - not just a memory of 1941-1945 or a fear about some unlikely superpower armageddon in the 1990s. (World War III is inevitable, but it will again be an inter-imperialist holocaust - see ILWP Books vol 11). It is a matter of life-and-death for millions for imperialism to be overthrown now. And the crucial weapon in that fight is correct revolutionary theory, - the correct science of the international class struggle, - i.e. Leninism - and not as distorted and falsified by the rubbishy commentators in Moscow.

Their last great lie is yet another grotesque childish misrepresentation of Leninism, - pretending that Lenin's genius peaceful-coexistence diplomatic tactic for Soviet survival when weak & still surrounded by stronger imperialism, a tactic for trade & treaties to split the warmongering imperialist powers, - was in fact a recipe for finally ending the threat of imperialist warmongering for all time. Lenin said nor meant no such thing (see ILWP Books vol 4 for complete documentation on Leninism on this subject). To his dying day, Lenin correctly insisted that only the revolutionary overthrow of the inevitably warmongering ruling-class system would finally end class-divided and nationally-divided world and usher in a completely new epoch for mankind of communist cooperation. And that is how it will be, -

but no thanks to Gorbachev's ideological revisionist pollution on matters of international proletarian struggle. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

A.B.: There is another special thing about our views in the 30s. We reasoned that while there was imperialism, wars were inevitable. Now we proceed from the fact that because of the changed historical and social environment, the "nature" of imperialism has necessarily to respond to this environment. Thus it is realistic, even if imperialism is there, to cut the links between causes and effects, the possibilities of wars and their unleashing. In fact, our entire concept of a non-nuclear, non-violent world proceeds from the possibility of preserving peace with imperialism existing on the globe.

V.F.: Imperialism as a system is no stranger to the instinct of self-preservation. It used to pick on a lesser evil at times. Today war for the West is an incomparably greater evil. Hence the political alternative to the solving of all international conflicts.

A.B.: I think there are two "instincts" at work. Firstly, there is the instinct of social self-preservation. It prevents the possibility of war between imperialist countries. Imperialist differences are not allowed to be brought to the boil, to turn into military conflicts in the face of world socialism. Secondly, there is the instinct of physical preservation. It sharply reduces chances of starting a deliberate nuclear war against socialism. This is because the first to start the war will be the second to die.

This brings us to another question: would the elimination of nuclear weapons mark a return to the situation where chances of war between capitalism and socialism reappear?

V.F.: In abstract, theoretical terms it cannot be ruled out that someone, under certain circumstances, may plunge into a military adventure. But the possibility is insignificant within the confines of the interdependent world and is becoming discarded as nations draw closer together, not only on political lines.

A.B.: The possibility of a world catastrophe, of a holocaust makes general survival the key issue. Today the whole of humanity is interested in it. We place this interest above class interests. I would call the change in our position epoch-making.

V.F.: Lenin identified himself with ideas, interests and categories common to all humanity. To Lenin belongs the formula: there may arise a situa-

tion where class interests will have to be sacrificed in the name of broader interests. Our ideological opponents prefer not to notice Lenin's fundamental thoughts or counter them by polemic words and assessments which Lenin reacted with in the midst of hot events.

A.B.: Lenin's writings require no updating. There is also no need to "sanctify" each new turn of events or each new understanding of these events with a Lenin phrase or formula. As we follow Lenin's behests, we should first and foremost rely on our own experience, our own power of intellect. The new thinking advocated by the Party is pure creative thinking.

V.F.: Experience shows that ordinary people and politicians often distort or even falsify notions and terms. One example is pacifism, a term that was coined long before the socialist revolution. Pacifism was once a form of struggle by certain social groups against militarism looming on the horizon. Later pacifism deteriorated into a passive protest and non-resistance to the evil of war, which made no distinction between wars, just and unjust. At the moment the idea of a non-violent world free from the obscenity of militarism also gives new possibilities for pacifist circles.

A.B.: In modern conditions we have also become pacifists as regards nuclear war, which means we are absolutely against nuclear war. A just nuclear war is impossible because justice is only needed for those who are living.

Can we say that a third world war would stimulate social progress? Of course, we cannot. Mao Zedong once insisted on the opposite, and there perhaps has been no one to dare to repeat this thesis. What we have here is a new theoretical proposition: we cannot consider in an abstract way that violence is the midwife of history. There is violence which can end all history.

V.F.: Some US statesmen say: a nuclear war would probably kill "only" 95 per cent of the population, and they include themselves in the five per cent of survivors.

A.B.: There cannot be winners. This has been said by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. It has been repeated for nearly 20 years. But look at practical politics. Nuclear weapons are being modernized, precision and reliability are being increased. Why

do that if a nuclear conflict will end in death anyway? This is only reasonable to do if one has in mind a limited nuclear war, if one thinks its escalation could be controlled. Some Americans think this way. What we say is that it cannot be controlled because any "limited" war would end in a world war. Such is the doctrine. But in reality we sometimes act as if the war can be controlled.

V.F.: If this happens it is because of the inertia we have been captives of for a long time. The Soviet Union was obliged to try and catch up with the Americans for decades until there was achieved parity not in theory but in practice.

A.B.: The race for symmetry should be abandoned. It is unnecessary. Sufficiency needs no symmetry.

V.F.: But Washington has a logic of its own. For it the arms race is a way of waging a war to deplete other countries because the US relies on a broader economic base. Hence the policy of strength in peacetime.

A.B.: Some other questions should also be seen in a new way. The most important way of defending our country and show our patriotic feelings is to do everything possible to prevent nuclear war. To protect our country against a nuclear war is the highest manifestation of patriotism today.

V.F.: The defence of one's country and internationalist duty are organic to patriotism. But do they provide an exhaustive description of patriotism?

Let's take Lenin: "Stick the bayonet into the ground". Or advocating the defeat of tsarism in World War I. Was it a patriotic position? Let's take the Bolsheviks' decision to disband the army right after the Revolution. Was it a patriotic decision or not? Hence, a socio-political notion cannot exist outside time and space.

But while the war danger is there the defence of the country will naturally be in the forefront. We'll be rid of this concern by disarmament alone. If we are to believe in its feasibility, we should learn to distinguish the shape of the world of the early 21st century. What will this world without nuclear weapons be like? What would happen if the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to deny states material possibility to wage offensive wars were realized? The way towards a non-violent world will be long but

humanity should prepare its mentality for it already today.

A.B.: Is it not a bit early? There is also the "opposite side", and its views of today and the future are, to put it mildly, do not coincide on all issues with ours.

V.F.: Our foreign policy is not so much one prompted by necessity as by conviction. This sets it apart from the policy of the other side. Such alternatives as a bit more force, or a bit less force, but still force are not for us. The CPSU and the Soviet state have firmly opted for a policy of common sense. Common sense commands that conditions be created where the use of force is impossible. Both theoretically and practically. The Delhi Declaration by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi has advanced the concept of a non-violent world, i.e., it has expanded an idea which could have been proclaimed heretical by a dogmatic Marxist. But we had to pay too high a price for the 70 years of experience of our state to afford a luxury of flirting with dogmatism.

What is the main importance and the chief merit of the October Revolution for civilization? Firstly, it lies in the fact that it gave a conceptually new social alternative because it has proved that it is possible to build a world without exploitation, without national oppression, a world of equal nations, a world where all its processes are directed democratically. Secondly, the October Revolution made a gift of the idea of a world without wars, a world without violence.

Both these merits are equally important. With time the second one has even gained in importance because peace has become a condition to preserve life on earth.

A.B.: This country came into being with the doctrine of peaceful coexistence. We were trying to ensure that the principle of peaceful coexistence regulate relations between states with differing socio-economic systems. But we have achieved more. The principle of peaceful coexistence can now accomplish more than that. It is now being increasingly applied in relations between states irrespective of their socio-economic systems. This is our tremendous contribution to world development, to making relations between states civilized. This is to the credit of socialism, to the credit of the 1917 October Revolution.



It took Marxist-Leninist scientific genius to lead the 1917 Revolution.
Workers and sailors in Petrograd, 1917

26. Gorbachev posturing a shallow joke on history (Bulletin 420, 18/11/87)

It is the absolute opposite of openness which the new Soviet leadership claims to be using to 'solve' difficulties in socialist development.

The Yeltsin affair has embarrassingly shown up the wretchedly timid & constipated CPSU inability to practice even the ABC of Bolshevism.

Lenin's party was built on open polemical struggle over what was the right programme and over how it should be correctly implemented.

The struggle at the top of the party was always regarded as the highest point of class conflict, and easily the most educative polemic for training the party's cadres.

Nowhere is the endless inter-action between revolutionary theory and practical results more richly and vividly illuminated than in the arguments & debates of the party's top leadership.

The making of the Bolshevik cadre party which carried out the October Revolution was in the detailed theoretical polemics Lenin conducted from 1902 to 1917 against other leading figures & tendencies in the RSDLP like Plekhanov, Martov, Bogdanov, Trotsky, & others and against the rest of the 'left' swamp in Russia, - and internationally (Kautsky, etc).

These were all crucial arguments, had out in the open, about the international balance of class forces, the stage reached in the development of the Russian revolution, the precise analysis of moods & movements among the masses & intelligentsia under Tsarism and the February

Revolution, and what was the correct programme, strategy and tactics to go forward. An avalanche of articles pamphlets & books immediately accompanied these polemics, - to instantly educate the entire mass movement as quickly as possible in the correct Marxist science, - following the arguments to & fro, pa-

rticipating in them, and educating the whole vanguard in practice of formulating a correct world view as well as in the practice of trying to put the policies into effect.

Arguments about the way forward for the Soviet Union & party today and for the international struggle for socialism and to combat imperialist warmongering, etc, are exactly what Yeltsin, Gorbachev, & Co have been disputing in the Politburo recently, as well as differences about accumulated & unresolved theoretical problems from the past (Stalinism, etc).

These conflicts themselves, the highest (such as it is) point of polemics in the current Soviet leadership, reflecting ultimately (as it must) contradictory philosophical tendencies deep down (reflecting past and continuing worldwide class attitudes), - these exchanges should be the most important material for leading the Soviet people to better understanding and further progress.

But astonishingly, - contrary to all the bullshit about 'openness', - these crucial discussions are being completely hidden from the Soviet masses and the international proletariat.

In just 48 hours, a few rumours in the Western (!) press about an argument in the Politburo had mushroomed alarmingly into Yeltsin's resignation accompanied by tales of months of past bitter disagreements about how the Soviet Union was proceeding and should proceed, plus hair-raising allegations about Bonapartism, ambition, immorality, panicky helplessness, etc.

But still not a single word is revealed about precisely what was being argued over, what principles of organisation, what attitude to party cadres, what view of the political attitude of the working class, what the correct balance of the Soviet economy, what line to take towards imperialism, what would

be the best revolutionary inspiration for Soviet workers, etc, etc

In the absence of a more exact picture of the conflicts inside the Politburo, it is hopelessly undermining & confusing for the Soviet masses unexpectedly to receive a bulletin about 'Bonapartism' and 'irresponsible personal ambition' suddenly running rampant within the very top leadership of the USSR, especially after all the propaganda about less arbitrariness & more openness in Soviet affairs, about new 'democratic' ways of doing things and an end to 'old methods', etc.

Whatever personal inadequacies Yeltsin may or may not suffer from (probably not much different from the rest of the leadership generation of bureaucrats), - either this way of dealing with politburo differences is wrong, or else Yeltsin should never have been put on such a top committee in the first place.

If Yeltsin has always been fundamentally poor leadership material, then the CPSU's entire method of political leadership is hopelessly awry for not having been conducive to Yeltsin's failings having been exposed long before now by correct Leninist procedures of endless interchange between practice, debate, & theory, - theory, debate, & practice, etc.

But if the main real problem in this instance lies in the Politburo's punitive-bureaucratic ways of tackling a polemical difficulty it otherwise cannot handle, then that still gives no guarantees about Yeltsin but it does demonstrate what a complete posturing wally Gorbachev is.

Either way, the real question-marks from the Yeltsin affair lie over the whole supposed new 'leadership' policy of Gorbachevism. It is a sad prospect.

The unresolved weaknesses in Soviet policy and performance go all the way back to the Stalin period.

It was then that the first great breach in

Lenin's "What is to be done" principles of party leadership was established. Instead of the scientific openness of objectively learning from mistakes through the endless interaction between theory & practice, - a policy so triumphantly carried on by Lenin in the first years of Soviet state leadership as well as in the crucial Bolshevik Party formative years, - real difficulties and differences began to be covered up or kept away from mass consumption, - especially difficulties with Lenin's perspectives for world revolution.

Tail-ending tactical errors around the 1926 British general strike and the 1927 revolutionary events in China - for example - were not fully analysed. Real complications for international Bolshevism, plus the real difficulties caused by Trotsky's splitting activities in the USSR and the Third International, - were used to gloss over these setbacks but with little being learned about how better to grasp Marxist-Leninist dialectical methods & science.

As crude compensation, Moscow's line at the end of the 1920s then lurched towards a more 'leftist' doctrinaire-sectarian approach both domestically & internationally, but more bureaucratic-instructionalist than ever, straying still further from Lenin's

sensitive 'What is to be done' methods of mass-movement building. The disastrous excesses of the collectivisation campaign date from this period, as does the colossal failure of the 'isolate the social fascists, - after Hitler our turn' strategy in Germany.

Still with hardly any lessons at all being learned from these calamities, an even more catastrophic lurch was bureaucratically imposed on international policy later with the Popular Front nonsense, - beginning the disgraceful process of abandoning the crucial independent scientific-revolutionary stance which Marxism-Leninism had seen as the absolute foundation of the historic class role of the communist proletariat, - a development which climaxed in the modern Western CPs disowning proletarian dictatorship completely, and openly embracing reformism, bourgeois democracy, and the non-existent 'peaceful' (Parliamentary) 'road to socialism', - i.e. outright class-collaboration. The loss of the Spanish Republic to fascism in the late 1930s, the failure simultaneously of the Popular Front government in France, and a series of disgraceful, feeble retreats from strong communist-partisan positions after the defeat of fascism throughout Europe in World War II - were part of this anti-Leninist debacle.



Gorbachev fails to return to the revolution-

ary internationalism of Leninism, abandoned by Stalinism.

grave setbacks have hitherto been accommodated by the greatest catastrophe of all, - the grotesque treacherous revision of Marxism-Leninism to simply adapt to the failures, - philosophical defeatism, the hallmark of a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic mind. By writing off the world socialist revolution and the armed overthrow of imperialism, - all the retreats, mistakes, and setbacks masterminded by Moscow since 1924 have been revised out of the history books.

Instead of all these priceless lessons for sharpening the grasp of Leninist revolutionary science, and for constantly strengthening the Bolshevik objective-minded combativeness of the Party, Moscow substituted deception, complacency, bureaucratism, suspicion, and self-delusion.

Fearlessly honest Leninist polemical methods died and remain dead. Routinism and sycophancy rule.

Now it is Gorbachev speeches which dominate all publications. Complete wisdom and monolithic unity again seem totally to prevail. No dissenting leadership polemics are published.

The same thing happened under previous regimes. It is only now that they are denounced as no good. And it is only now after two years bland leadership presentation as 'all agreed and all correct' - that Yeltsin is denounced as no good.

Is it surprising if widespread cynicism holds back the Soviet socialist revolution from even faster speeds of advance when no money at all can be wagered that Gorbachev himself won't some day suddenly be denounced as no good?

This is a pathetic farce of pretending to run a Leninist party. It is grossly stupid to think of conning a vast modern proletariat at the revolutionary peak of the 20th century into 'pulling its socks up' on this shoddy basis which answers nothing of the real political & phil-

the construction of socialism posed by history.

What nonsense for Gorbachev to be endlessly ranting on to Soviet workers about how all the old arbitrariness & secretiveness was being done away with and how all could participate in a new democratized development of Soviet opportunities under an open, honest, trustworthy new leadership - in which Yeltsin was a key figure for the important Moscow region, - only suddenly to discover that they were being urged to respond to what turns out all the time to have been not leadership but 'immense vanity, a serious crime against the party, insubstantial pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering, helpless fussiness, and panicky moods,' to quote Gorbachev.

And if, as Western media speculate, Yeltsin was in fact a 'god guy', a real Gorbachevite who fell foul of the 'old guard' Politburo majority, then that makes Gorbachev an even bigger 'pseudo-revolutionary phrasemonger' himself for pretending that some fantastic new broom had swept clean the old stodgy dissembling at the top of the Soviet Union making possible the unleashing of torrents of expansive new creativity.

What is really happening is that for whatever reason, Gorbachev is getting nowhere near tackling the real historic crisis of Soviet leadership.

Hitherto, the ILWP could only assert this, based on the failure of Gorbachev or the party he now leads to seriously address the appalling revisionist theoretical crimes of the Stalin era, plus obvious predictions that without a complete renewal of Leninist revolutionary philosophy throughout the Soviet population, there could be no dramatic economic improvement; and without a similar renewal in the international proletariat, there could be no early end to imperialist warmongering and Cold War hatr-

itary subversion of the socialist camp, - no matter how much disarmament pressure Gorbachev's peace offensives put on Washington to appear to be willing to slow the arms race (which will never happen in reality, - see ILWP Books vol 11).

Now there is the actual happening of the Yeltsin debacle to go on. And much more of this kind of nonsense will follow, - and much worse.

Even before Yeltsin's fall, the ILWP had begun discussing the prospect of very bitter disagreements surfacing openly at the top of the USSR, and being resolved in some very brutal & arbitrary manner.

This much seemed predictable from the astonishing depths of dishonesty & distortion to which Party commentators Falin & Bovin were prepared to degenerate (see Bulletin 419) in order to pretend that Lenin had been in favour of Gorbachev's capitulating class-collaborationist approach to the problem of imperialist warmongering and counter-revolutionary intrigue against the socialist camp and the worldwide national-liberation struggle.

Philistine elements prepared to go to that level of depravity will be ready to stoop to anything. Objective science (the Marxist-Leninist understanding of historical necessity), - the only morality, - obviously means nothing to them. Self-justification is everything. If what they want doesn't fit the facts, then the facts (and people) will be made to fit what they want.

Precisely this philosophical corruption-- (where class, individual, or group-interests are clung to or insisted upon despite reality demanding change and correction; where these interests & attitudes are becoming out of step with historical development & requirements, but where the historical truth then has to be distorted to meet the safety & comfort of the class, individual, or group which

ong), --- is the material/ideological starting-out point for all delusion, sycophancy, arbitrariness, and tyranny.

It is precisely on this point that Gorbachev's latest attempt to explain the Stalin era mistakes (in his 70th anniversary speech) is so pathetically inadequate, giving no confidence at all to the Soviet masses that these matters have yet been understood and fully overcome.

It is 31 years now since Moscow first started trying to explain what went wrong under Stalin. In all that time, it has got no further than the original shallow description of mere symptoms (cult of the individual, etc) amounting to no more than a few miserable articles, and nowhere collected for proper presentation & study. But much more seriously, not one word of a Marxist philosophical-class analysis has yet been produced on these momentous historical events in the international conflict between the influences of bourgeois imperialism and philosophical idealism, - and the dialectical-materialist science of proletarian revolution.

Despite all this time since Stalin's death in 1952, all the 'explanations' are still left at the individual-psychological level plus endless cataloguing of mere symptoms.

Gorbachev does no better in the historical section of his anniversary speech. In the passages underlined, it can be seen that he again changes the mere form in which the problem expressed itself partly (becoming too enamoured of 'rigid centralisation' - another symptom) but once more without still explaining WHY this should be so, - WHY a party solely trained

ding of cadres to have an independent grasp of dialectical necessity so as to be able to at all times give effective & correct leadership to the masses and in turn train the masses to understand the historical need to complete the world socialist revolution, --- why such a scientific party of revolutionary theory should suddenly turn to hopelessly barren & destructive 'methods of command', the bureaucratically top-heavy routinist-idealist crap of the entire 'left' swamp from which the Bolsheviks had consciously & dramatically broken away under Lenin deliberately to build a 'party of a new type' and only such a party.

We know all about the 'methods of command' being adopted. The question remains why did the Stalin leadership begin to deliberately start wrecking the only means of training worthwhile future communist cadres? Why adopt the known sterility of 'rigid centralisation'. Why was 'an atmosphere of intolerance, hostility, and suspicion created in the country'? (which Stalin then merely sought to rationalise and justify with his daft 'theory' of sharpening class contradictions as socialism advanced)

Gorbachev's feeble little part-'explanation' of a 'mechanical transfer' to socialist construction of 'methods dictated by the period of struggle with the hostile resistance' still explains absolutely nothing and once again lists mere symptoms. WHY did Stalin & Co suddenly start to treat as hostile the very party and masses that he was supposed to be building socialism with, and had been playing a leading Leninist role with up to that time? Something happened. What?

In Lenin's last works, which were extraordinarily rich intellectually and emotionally, there emerged a system of views and the very concept of socialist construction in our country. This is an immense theoretical asset for the party.

It is evidently worthwhile to say that even before and after the Revolution, in the first few years of socialist construction, not all party leaders by far shared Lenin's views on some of the most important problems. Besides, Lenin's recommendations

could not encompass all the concrete issues concerning the building of the new society.

Analysing the ideological disputes of those times, we should bear in mind that carrying out gigantic revolutionary transformations in a country such as Russia was then, was in itself a most difficult undertaking. Historically the country was on the march, its development was being sharply accelerated, all aspects of social life were changing rapidly and profoundly.

Reflecting the entire range of the interests of classes, social groups and strata, the needs and objectives of the times, the historical traditions and the pressure of urgent tasks — and also the conditions of the hostile capitalist encirclement — the ideological struggle was indissolubly intertwined with events and processes in the economy, on the political scene and in all spheres of people's lives.

In short, it was supremely difficult to find one's bearings and discover the only correct course in that intricate and stormy situation. To a considerable extent, too, the character of the ideological struggle was complicated by personal rivalries in the party leadership.

The old differences which had existed back in Lenin's lifetime also made themselves felt in the new situation, and in a very acute form. Lenin, as we know, had warned against this danger. In his *Letter to the Congress* he stressed that "it is not a trifle, or it is a trifle which can assume decisive importance". And that was largely what happened.

Their petty-bourgeois nature took the upper hand in the case of some authoritative leaders, and they took a factional stance. This agitated the party organisations, distracted them from vital affairs, and interfered with their work.

The leaders in question continued to provoke a split even after the vast majority in the party saw that their views were contrary to Lenin's ideas and plans, and that their proposals were erroneous and could push the country off the correct course.

This applied first of all to Leon Trotsky, who had after Lenin's death displayed excessive pretensions to top leadership in the party, thus fully confirming Lenin's opinion of him as an excessively self-assured politician who always vacillated and cheated.

Trotsky and the Trotskyites negated the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

In foreign policy they gave priority to the export of revolution, and in home policy to tightening the screws on the peasants, to the city's exploiting of the countryside, and to administrative and military decree in running society.

Trotskyism was a political current whose ideologists took cover behind leftist pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric, and in effect assumed a defeatist posture. It was essentially an attack on Leninism all down the line. The matter was of practical concern for the future of socialism in our country, the fate of the Revolution.

In the circumstances, it was essential to disprove Trotskyism before the whole people, and to lay bare its anti-socialist essence.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the Trotskyites were acting in common with the new opposition headed by Grigori Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev.

Aware that they constituted a minority, the opposition leaders had again and again saddled the party with discussions, counting on a split in its ranks.

But in the final analysis, the party spoke out for the line of the central committee and against the opposition, which was soon ideologically and organisationally crushed.

In short, the party's leading nucleus, headed by Joseph Stalin, had safeguarded Leninism in an ideological struggle.

It defined strategy and tactics in the initial stage of socialist construction, with its political course approved by most members of the party and most working people.

An important part in the ideological defeat of Trotskyism was played by Nikolai Bukharin, Felix Dzerzhinsky, Sergei Kirov, Grigori Ordjonikidze,

Jan Rudzutak and others.

At the very end of the '20s, a sharp struggle also ensued over ways of putting the peasantry on the socialist road. In substance, it revealed the different attitudes between the majority in the political bureau and the Bukharin group on how to apply the principles of the New Economic Policy at the new stage in the development of Soviet society.

The concrete conditions of that time — both at home and internationally — necessitated a considerable increase in the rate of socialist construction.

Bukharin and his followers had, in their calculations and theoretical propositions, underrated the practical significance of the time factor in building socialism in the '30s. In many ways, their posture reposed on dogmatic thinking and a non-dialectical assessment of the concrete situation. Bukharin himself, and his followers, soon admitted their mistakes.

In this connection, it is not amiss to recall Lenin's opinion of Bukharin. "Bukharin," he said, "is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it)."

The facts again confirmed that Lenin had been right.

As we see, the political discussions of that time reflected a difficult process in the party's development, marked by acute struggle over crucial problems of socialist construction.

In that struggle, which had to be endured, there took shape the concept of industrialisation and collectivisation.

Under the leadership of the party, of its central committee, a heavy industry, including engineering, a defence industry and a chemical industry abreast of the times, were built in short order practically from scratch, and the general electrification plan was completed.

Looking at history with a sober eye, considering the aggregate of internal and international realities, one cannot help asking whether a course other than that suggested by the party could have been taken in those conditions. If we wish to be faithful to history and the truth of life, there can be only one answer: no other course could be taken.

In those conditions, with the threat of imperialist aggression visibly building up, the party was increasingly convinced that it was essential not just to cover but, literally, to race across the distance from the sledgehammer and wooden plough to an advanced industry in the shortest possible time, for without this the cause of the Revolution would be inevitably destroyed.

The vital necessity of the party's plans, understood and accepted by the masses, and of the slogans and objectives embodying the revolutionary spirit of the October Revolution, found expression in the astonishing enthusiasm shown by millions of Soviet people who joined in building the country's industry.

In most difficult conditions, in the absence of mechanisation, on semi-starvation rations, people performed miracles.

They were inspired by the fact that they had a hand in a great historical cause. Though they were not sufficiently literate, their class instinct told them that they were participating in a momentous and unprecedented undertaking.

It is our duty and the duty of those who will follow us to remember this exploit of our fathers and grandfathers.

Everyone must know that their labour and their selfless dedication were not in vain.

They endured everything that befell them and made a great contribution to the consolidation of the gains of the October Revolution; to laying the foundations of the strength that enabled them to safeguard the Motherland from a deadly peril; to save socialism for the future, for all of us, comrades. Hallowed be their memory!

At the same time, the period under review also saw some losses. They were in a definite sense connected with the successes I have just referred to. People had begun to believe in the universal effectiveness of rigid centralisation, in that methods of command were the shortest and best way of resolving any and all problems.

This had an effect on the attitude towards people, towards their conditions of life.

A party and government leadership system of administrative command emerged in the country and red tape gained strength, even though Lenin had warned about its danger in his day. And a corresponding structure of administration and planning began to take shape.

In industry — given its scale at the time, when literally all the main components of the industrial edifice were conspicuous — such methods, such a system of management generally produced results.

But an equally rigid centralisation-and-command system was impermissible in tackling the problems of refashioning rural life.

It must be said frankly: at the new stage there was a deficit of the Leninist attitude considerable to the interests of the working peasantry. Most important of all, there was an underestimation of the fact that the peasantry as a class had changed radically in the years since the Revolution.

The principal figure was now the middle peasant. He had asserted himself as a farmer working on the land he had received from the Revolution, and had over a whole decade become convinced that Soviet government was his government too.

He had become a staunch and dependable ally of the working class — an ally on a new basis, becoming convinced in practical terms that his life was increasingly taking a turn for the better.

And if there had been more consideration for objective economic laws and more attention had been given to the social processes taking place in the village, if in general the attitude to this vast mass of the working peasantry — most of whom had taken part in the Revolution and had defended it from the White Guards and the forces of intervention — had been politically more judicious, if there had been a consistent line to promote the alliance with the middle peasantry against the kulak (the village moneybag), then there would not have been all those excesses that occurred in carrying out collectivisation.

Today it is clear: in a tremendous undertaking, which affected the fate of the majority of the country's population, there was a departure from Lenin's policy towards the peasantry.

This most important and very complex social process, in which a great deal depended on local conditions, was directed by predominantly administrative methods.

A conviction had arisen that all problems could be solved at a stroke, overnight. Whole regions and parts of the country began to compete: who would achieve complete collectivisation more quickly. Arbitrary percentage targets were issued from above. Flagrant violations of the principles of collectivisation occurred everywhere.

Nor were excesses avoided in the struggle against the kulaks. The basically correct policy of fighting the kulaks was often interpreted so broadly that it encompassed a considerable part of the middle peasantry too. Such is the reality of history.

But, comrades, if we assess the significance of collectivisation as a whole in consolidating socialism in the countryside, it was in the final analysis a transformation of fundamental importance.

Collectivisation implied a radical change in the entire mode of life of the larger part of the country's population to a socialist footing. It created the social base for modernising the agrarian sector and rearing it along the lines of advanced farming techniques; it made possible a considerable rise in the productivity of labour, and it released a substantial share of manpower needed for other spheres of socialist construction. All this had an historical effect.

To understand the situation of those years it

must be borne in mind that the administrative-command system, which had begun to take shape in the process of industrialisation and which had received a fresh impetus during collectivisation, had told on the whole socio-political life of the country. Once established in the economy, it has spread to its superstructure, restricting the development of the democratic potential of socialism and holding back the progress of socialist democracy.

But this does not give a full picture of how complex that period was.

What had happened? The time of the gravest ideological-political tests for the party was actually over. Millions of people had joined enthusiastically in the work of bringing about socialist transformations. The first successes were becoming apparent.

Yet at that time methods dictated by the period of struggle with the hostile resistance of the ex-

The crucial things that happened in this vital period, which Gorbachev pretends to be dealing with but which he in fact does not mention at all (which is significant considering the philosophical sickness reigning to this day in Moscow), were the disastrous setbacks on the international revolutionary front. The worldwide overthrow of imperialism was a vital part of the Marxist-Leninist understanding.

Gorbachev must either be a complete fool or a complete rogue (or merely a posturer who reads speeches written by other people) not to go into this decisive question in this speech, especially after having actually studied Lenin's last works, -indeed a priceless source of scientific knowledge.

For the key new emphasis from Lenin is how the world socialist revolution would, in the light of events, much more likely overthrow imperialism via the East and the colonially-dominated world, proceeding from national-liberation struggle, than via the early Marxist expectation that the most powerful industrial working class (that of West Europe) would storm directly to an almost instant worldwide communist revolution.

These vital insights were not in any way accompanied, however, by the slightest hint of withdrawing from all-out revolutionary confrontation in Europe & elsewhere by the forces of the Third International. Lenin's skillful diplomatic tactics of 'peaceful coexistence' to survive the

plioter classes were being mechanically transferred to the period of peaceful socialist construction, when conditions had cardinally changed.

An atmosphere of intolerance, hostility, and suspicion was created in the country.

As time went on, this political practice gained in scale and was backed up by the erroneous 'theory' of an aggravation of the class struggle in the course of socialist construction.

All this had a dire effect on the country's socio-political development and produced grim consequences.

Quite obviously it was the absence of a proper level of democratisation in Soviet society that made the personality cult, the violations of legality and the wanton repressive measures of the '30s possible.

I am putting things bluntly. Those were real crimes stemming from an abuse of power. Many thousands of people inside and outside the party

difficult period of a weak Soviet Union surrounded by a far more powerful & hostile world imperialism, -were intended solely as a holding operation to keep aggressive imperialism at bay by splitting the imperialist bourgeoisie between a more pacifist grouping and the more warlike predatory elements.

But clearly Lenin was able to write nowhere near enough on these matters before he died, and clearly the Stalinist leadership had as great difficulty in coming to terms with the dialectical perspective (of eventual victory out of defeat) as the whole Party had had in accepting the Brest-Litovsk capitulation to German imperialism as the best and the only way forward.

All of Moscow's unmistakable & alarming subsequent zig-zag course on world revolutionary policy (and on many domestic matters too as a by-product) indicate how badly undermined was the post-Lenin leadership by (1) lack of confidence on the future of world revolution (and of the USSR's ultimate security); and specifically (2) how to analyse, explain and cope with the terrifying setbacks (Germany, Britain, China, etc in the 1920s, - then Germany again, Spain, China again, France, etc in the 1930s) to the international proletarian struggle.

What happened which lay the Stalin group so low was the revealed poverty of their revolutionary theory in trying to convincingly explain to the communist movement a realistic scientific

perspective for the ultimate triumph of world Bolshevism when at that time, in fact, things were suffering defeat all around them.

And that remains Moscow's problem to this day, -as the Bulletin has repeatedly explained (see ILWP Books vol 13).

What Gorbachev and his commentators (see Bulletin 419) are telling the Soviet mass movement today about how they can enthusiastically build a future world relying for their future security on 'agreements' with Reagan's crazed degenerate warmongering-imperialist circles (!) and such nonsense, - is worse crap than Stalin was giving everybody.

The Soviet party cadres & masses could never possibly be wholly convinced by the wild lurches in Moscow's world revolutionary perspectives under Stalin which indicated so much despair & nervousness. And when it could not be convinced, the communist movement had to be bullied and browbeaten. Certainly learning from mistakes plus open polemical debate had to become a thing of the past if that leadership was to survive. The methods of command, -of intolerance, hostility, suspicion, and sycophancy, - became routine.

But there is no chance at all of any worthwhile independently-minded Bolshevik cadres being remotely convinced by the naive class-collaborationist nonsense Gorbachev & his commentators put forward as world perspectives. And despite all the propaganda about 'openness' and 'd-

were subjected to wholesale repressive measures. Such, comrades, is the bitter truth.

Serious damage was done to the cause of socialism and to the authority of the party. And we must say this bluntly. This is necessary in order to assert Lenin's ideal of socialism once and for all.

There is now much discussion about the role of Stalin in our history. His was an extremely contradictory personality. To remain faithful to historical truth we have to see both Stalin's incontestable contribution to the struggle for socialism, to the defence of its gains, and the gross political errors and abuses committed by him and by those around him, for which our people paid a heavy price and which had grave consequences for the life of our society.

It is sometimes said that Stalin did not know of many instances of lawlessness. Documents at our disposal show that this is not so.

emocratisation', etc, - no vestiges remain at all now of any system of learning from mistakes. There is no open Leninist polemicising. There has been none for decades. There is left only the same boring old bureaucratic routines of suddenly-discovered 'crimes against the party' and 'irresponsible ambition & vanity' and other shallow-psychological nonsense which can be dreamed up against anyone at any time, - and is.

But the real crimes are the real mistakes on real policies. Gorbachev ignores them. Gorbachev is running them. The abiding nonsense of class-collaboration with imperialist warmongering degeneracy has been well examined (ILWP Books vol 13, Bulletin 419). The catastrophe of the local application of this retreat from Leninism as in Chile has similarly been well analysed. But the latest statement from the CPC again demonstrates the disastrous philosophical vacuum of Gorbachevism, which still refuses to analyse the international setbacks of its own period (let alone those of the Stalin era), and in fact still blindly supports the general nonsense of the 'peaceful road to socialism' and the doubly-treacherous CPC in particular.

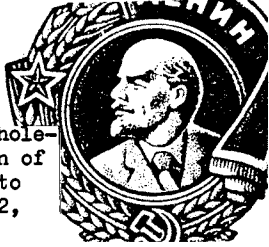
'True free elections' is still the CPC call in Chile. South Korean nascent petty-bourgeois democracy is taken as the great inspirer, not the armed communist revolution in the Philippines. It was petty-bourgeois democracy which delivered the Chilean proletar-

iat into fascist tyranny in the first place, under Allende & the CP. But the CPC cannot wait to begin the military-coup cycle all over again: "The CPC has taken in the electoral process under reactionary governments... in illegality... when prospects of being elected were non-existent. But always our party participated wholeheartedly if these elections led to the eventual success of the popular cause. At the present time, we take part wherever the electoral process allows mass expression, & promotes the widest possible democratisation of the social forces; and also we always abide by its results". Slaves so used to slavery, they didn't want it to end!

Without a Marxist class-philosophical explanation of Stalin's defeatism on the international balance of class forces, Gorbachev hands the question to the cynics & clerics: - 'It was bound to go wrong'; 'Someone was bound to take advantage'; 'Man is bad', etc.

Enough delusion, cliquism, & distortion exists in Trot groups under capitalism to dispose of Trotsky's myth of a 'ruling caste' needing 'revolutionary overthrow' in the USSR. But never has any bent regime of any kind occurred anywhere in history without there being a gap between what historical necessity demanded, and what some leadership clique needed for their own protection.

Leninist science is the only solution to these problems. Gorbachevism can only make it worse. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin. Jack Bradshaw



27. Gorbachev's whole-sale falsification of Leninism brought to book (Bulletin 422, 2/12/87)

Whereas the section of the 1917 anniversary speech on Stalin (see Bulletin 420, and ILWP Books vol 13) fails to understand the origins of bureaucratic defeatism in Moscow (in the inability after Lenin to see how defence of the Soviet state could coexist with pursuit of the world socialist revolution) and will fail to re-inspire the Soviet masses with correct future perspectives,--the section on 'creative theory' crudely distorts Lenin's analysis of the imperialist epoch and will be even more widely damaging than just in the USSR.

As with the original Bolshevik defeat of all 'left' swamp confusion (both in the labour movement in Russia and within international socialist currents generally),-- the key to successful revolutionary practice in the overthrow of imperialist warmongering remains correct revolutionary theory.

In the battle against exploitation, slump, and capitalist arms-race degeneracy in the West, the working class is forced to fight with both hands tied behind its back by the utterly philistine backwardness now of not only the reformist labour & trade union movement,-- but by the even more treacherous & abysmal stupidity of the official Communist Parties whose embrace of 'peaceful road to socialism' brain-rot has polluted them even further into becoming openly anti-Soviet petty-bourgeois hysterics,-- ready to scream abuse (at the USSR) along with the rest of the imperialist propaganda poison-machine the moment something happens which can be used to smear the socialist camp (e.g. the CIA's endless spying sabotage and fascist subversion activities, dressed up to look like 'totalitarian crimes' such as Afghanistan, Zionist dissidents, Baltic nationalism, Solidarnosc, Nicaraguan Contras, Ethiopian separatists, Prague Spring revisionists, 1956 Hungary Arrow Cross fascists, KAL007 spy-plane provocations, expensively-bribed Soviet 'stars' paid fortunes to 'defect', etc, etc).

And yet these Western CP degenerates are still feted by Moscow as the 'official' representatives of Lenin's revolutionary communist movement in their countries.

Worse than that, this theoretical bankruptcy of the old Third International,-- still badly hampering the proletariat in many capitalist countries, -- is kept alive by Moscow's own embrace of much of the revisionist anti-Leninist nonsense these CPs now promulgate.

Thus Gorbachev not only will miss the illusory jackpot of 'proving' socialism is superior to capitalism through the market place,--convincing imperialists to become cooperators(!) through higher Soviet productivity; but he is also going to totally mislead the international proletariat about what future struggles they must prepare for in the world,--for eternal peace with crazed geriatric warmongers and anti-communist intriguers like the Reagan administration, or, in reality, for the revolutionary overthrow of decaying capitalism as it tries to unleash World War III on mankind. At the same time Moscow is doing everything to discourage Leninism in the West, which could alone make those revolutions, but

everything to encourage the revisionist-reformist retreat from Leninism which will open the door to the imperialist warmongers, just as the anti-Leninist 'left' swamp did in 1914.

Gorbachev's first central point is a lie:

He realised that the country had secured not merely a 'breathing space' but something much more important -- "a new period, in which we have won the right to our fundamental international existence in the network of capitalist states". In a resolute step, Lenin suggested a policy of learning and mastering the art of long-term 'existence side by side' with them. Countering leftist extremism, he argued that it was possible for countries with different social systems to coexist peacefully.

Lenin argued no such thing. He fought at Brest-Litovsk and elsewhere for an organised retreat & holding operation against temporarily superior imperialist forces. He brilliantly advocated & introduced an aggressive 'peaceful coexistence, disarmament, & trading' campaign to keep imperialism divided and keep it on the defensive from a propaganda point of view. But it is utter lying slander to suggest that Lenin had the slightest thought of abandoning the revolutionary road to socialism or the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism as the only final certain end to its endemic warmongering character which was bound, Lenin stated categorically, to lead to repeated renewals of world war and armed subversion of the socialist camp. ILWP Books vol 4 collected much of this material from Lenin's works:

'To play down the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist state in favour of the 'peace struggle' to prevent war is in fact the VERY WAY TO BRING WAR CLOSER.

Lenin, of course, was naturally in favour of immediate peace and trade agreements with imperialism to end the capitalist powers' armed intervention against the young Bolshevik Revolution to give the USSR a 'peaceful coexistence' breathing space before the next imperialist war broke out.

But Lenin remained adamant, and correct, to his last breath that revolution was the only way to finally end the threat of imperialist war.

There are dozens of clear statements from the latter period of Lenin's years at the head of the Soviet state. There is no suggestion that he anywhere refuted them, and all his references to 'peaceful coexistence' throughout his works are solely to encourage bourgeois pacifism (about which the Bolsheviks had no illusions) to disrupt imperialism, to win more support for the Soviet Union, and try to create the best conditions possible to put off further armed capitalist intervention.

For example, in 'The Communist International No 20' in 1922, Lenin bluntly declared: "A revolution is necessary if new imperialist wars are to be averted... There is no doubt that only the proletarian revolution can and certainly will put a stop to all war."

Lenin even goes on to say that a victorious proletarian revolution in just one

country, say France; (let alone merely a few peace marches) could not even put "a stop to all war once and for all", and it was a "pacifist illusion" to think that it could.

Lenin then went on to even warn French workers to talk war to the imperialists in order to get the capitalist warmongers to back down and stop threatening the working class.

"Just as reactionary wars, and imperialist wars in particular, are criminal and fatal, so revolutionary wars are legitimate and just - i.e. wars waged against the capitalists in defence of the oppressed classes, wars against the oppressors in defence of the nations oppressed by the imperialists of a handful of countries, wars in defence of the socialist revolution against foreign invaders.

"The more clearly the masses of workers and peasants of France understand this, the less probably and less prolonged will be the inevitable attempts of the French, British and other capitalists to crush the revolution of the workers and peasants of France by means of war....

"The events of the last few years have revealed the utter falsity and fraud of the pacifist ideology. This fraud must be thoroughly exposed....

"The new war now in preparation between America and Japan, and WHICH IS UNAVOIDABLE IF CAPITALISM CONTINUES TO EXIST, will inevitably involve capitalist France, for she is implicated in all the imperialist crimes, atrocities, and villainies of the present imperialist era.

"EITHER ANOTHER WAR, OR SERIES OF WARS, to 'defend' French imperialism - or a SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. There is NO OTHER CHOICE before the workers and peasants of France." (emphases added).

The war between the imperialist camps, which included America and Japan on opposite sides, broke out just 17 years after the above was published, despite an unprecedented 'peace movement' in the 1930s. And French imperialism was INEVITABLE, as Lenin said, deep in it - and France's workers too.

And Lenin repeatedly spelt out the same warning to the workers of all the imperialist powers about the forthcoming war, - and a SERIES of wars, - if capitalism was not overthrown.

So it proved, and so it is still proving, and will INEVITABLY continue to prove for as long as imperialism remains unoverthrown.

Lenin's Pravda article on the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution, in 1921, was even more explicit.

"The question of imperialist wars, of

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

"It is a question of life and death for millions upon millions of people. It is a question of whether 20,000,000 people (as compared with the 10,000,000 who were killed in the war of 1914-18 and in the supplementary 'minor' wars that are still going on) are to be slaughtered in the next imperialist war, which the bourgeoisie are preparing, and which is growing out of capitalism before our very eyes...."

"The Brest peace (forced on the Soviet Union by Imperialist Germany) has been exposed. And with every passing day the significance and consequences of a peace that is even worse than the Brest peace - the peace of Versailles - are being more relentlessly exposed.

"And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising THE GRIM AND INEXORABLE TRUTH THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ESCAPE IMPERIALIST WAR (emphasis added), - and imperialist peace which inevitably engenders imperialist war; - that it is impossible to escape that inferno EXCEPT BY A BOLSHEVIK STRUGGLE AND A BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION (original emphasis)....."

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

"Gentlemen, capitalists of all countries, keep up your hypocritical pretence of 'defending the fatherland' - the Japanese fatherland against the American, the American against the Japanese, the French against the British, and so forth. Gentlemen, knights of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, pacifist petty bourgeoisie and philistines of the entire world, go on 'evading' the question of how to combat imperialist wars by issuing new 'Basle Manifestos' (the 1912 Socialist International congress in Switzerland which correctly called for the peace struggle against the forthcoming war to become a struggle for the overthrow of the ruling class, a policy immediately reneged on by the whole of the Second International save

the Bolsheviks, the Bulgarians and the Serbian parties.)

"The first Bolshevik revolution has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world. Subsequent revolution will deliver the rest of mankind from such wars and from such a world."

Lenin also derided in the same article the social-pacifists of the period whose modern 'Marxist' and 'Trotskyist' equivalents either abandon the defence of the USSR, or a clear-cut revolutionary line, in order to confuse the class consciousness of workers by an uncritical popular-front sucking up to the petty bourgeois pacifist CND, etc.

"The lackeys of the bourgeoisie and its yes-men the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks and the petty-bourgeois allegedly 'socialist' democrats all over the world, - derided our slogan 'Convert the imperialist war into a civil war'. But that slogan proved to be the truth. It was the only truth, - unpleasant, blunt, naked and brutal, - but nevertheless the truth, as against the host of most refined jingoist and pacifist lies."

But ignoring the colossal achievements of Leninism in the most fertile period of revolutionary socialist struggle, the NCP were knee-deep in philistine petty-bourgeois pacifism at their recent third congress.

Their reprinted documents put at the front of the main political resolution in headlines half-an-inch tall: "Mankind's prime task - the struggle for peace."

Wrong. The struggle has got to be for revolution, without which there is not a hope of peace.

But the entire first section of the NCP resolution dealing with "mankind's prime task" does not even once mention revolution, let alone call for it.

In fact the NCP state the EXACT PACIFIST OPPOSITE to Lenin's understanding that without revolution, there can be no peace. Without peace, say these philistines echoing the petty bourgeois social-pacifist boobies of Lenin's day, there can be no revolution!!

"We support detente and work to implement peaceful coexistence," they declare. "This theory takes cognisance of the fact that the process of the world's revolutionary change to socialism spans a period of decades. In the context of this continuing transformation, mankind MUST AVOID ANOTHER WORLD WAR, and END LOCAL ONES by combining to IMPOSE PEACE ON THE AGGRESSOR and further consolidate peace by achieving nuclear disarmament and then general disarmament."

Lenin also proposed disarmament talks as another way of embarrassing the imperialists, but he would have thrown up at

this lying pacifist misleading of the working class that imperialist wars can be abolished by anything other than the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system in the main Western countries, primarily the USA.

"It is on this basis of the combination of all... who feel able and compelled to strive to consolidate world peace, that war can be averted," say the NCP. Not a mention of revolution.

And while this imbecilic pacifist prattle is going on, the 'minor wars' which Lenin put sarcastically in inverted commas to deride the chauvinism of the big-nation pacifists pleased not to be in a major war themselves, - continue daily to butcher thousands, non-stop; - in Iran, El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Philippines, Afghanistan, Sahara, Chad, Palestine, Cambodia, Guatemala, Ireland, etc.

The ONLY solution to ALL wars, big and small, is the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism."

Next, Gorbachev deceitfully tries to get round the problem that Lenin himself was totally opposed to what the Moscow revisionists now try to present as 'Leninist policy', - namely the sick & ludicrous prospect of everlasting class-collaboration with warmongering imperialism as the only future for mankind. He slyly declares:

"Naturally, there have been changes in Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence."

What he means, of course, is that all the changes are in Gorbachev & Co's concept of peaceful coexistence, not Lenin's.

Having misrepresented Lenin's tactic of temporary Soviet defensiveness (before the worldwide revolutionary socialist triumph could be assured, while the USSR was weak) as a barmy wish for 'perpetual class-collaboration with imperialism', Gorbachev now elaborates his 'theory' for (his still non-Leninist) reformist compromise with putrid capitalism even when the Soviet Union and the socialist camp are now infinitely strong.

This modern form of Malthusian petty-bourgeois bureaucratic-philistine pessimistic illusion is as alien to Leninist science as was the original 19th century vicar's crap about 'world death through over-industrialisation/starvation' to Marx.

Just as Malthus gained wide popularity with 'progressive' intelligentsia who could see how accurate was the Marxist critique of capitalist crisis but lacked dialectical understanding to see how the downtrodden proletariat could do anything about it, or greatly feared as 'chaos' all attempts by the proletariat to do anything about it, or simply lacked all confidence in anything and merely projected their subjective pessimism out onto the outside world, - so does the modern bureaucratic-philistine mind have no faith at all in the proletariat's ability to overthrow Western imperialism:

"At first it was needed above all to create a modicum of external conditions for the construction of a new society in the country of the socialist Revolution.

Continuing the class-based policy of the victorious proletariat, peaceful coexistence later, particularly in the nuclear age, became a condition for the survival of the entire human race.

The April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU central committee was a landmark in the develop-

ment of Leninist thought along this line too. The new concept of foreign policy was presented in detail at the 27th Congress.

As you know, this concept proceeds from the idea that for all the profound contradictions of the contemporary world, for all the radical differences among the countries that comprise it, it is interrelated, interdependent and integral.

The reasons for this include the internationalisation of world economic ties, the comprehensive scope of the scientific and technological revolution, the essentially novel role played by the mass media, the state of the Earth's resources, the common environmental danger, and the crying social problems of the developing world which affect us all.

The main reason, however, is the problem of human survival. This problem is now with us because the development of nuclear weapons and the threatening prospect of their use have called into question the very survival of the human race.

That was how Lenin's idea about the priority of the interests of social development acquired a new meaning and a new importance.

First it must be emphatically pointed out that Lenin never once in his lifetime came remotely near any such concept that the ever-more-terrifying armaments (imperialism was endlessly equipping itself with) creating ever greater destruction including in Lenin's own immediate bitter experience of the First World War, - meant that the entire basis & purpose of Marxism-Leninism, - (to achieve the emancipation of mankind through the overthrow & wiping-out of predatory, murderous class society), - was completely null and void, - the greatest philosophical hoax in history, i.e.

Secondly, the notion itself that the whole class-based science of historical materialism would be totally superseded and rendered hopelessly out-of-date by sheer technological revolution (including the terrifying problem of ever-improving mass means of military destruction) certainly was widespread in the era of Marx Engels & Lenin but was never embraced by them.

Thirdly, the idea itself makes utter scientific nonsense, - and even worse philosophical gibberish.

Nuclear-explosion radiation dangers are a horrifying prospect, but then so are those of largescale bacteriological warfare, or even largescale gas-chemical warfare. Ways to maim or poison millions of people in a short space of time are not exactly new. Many more died from 'conventional' fire-bombing raids on Tokyo (and other World War II cities) than died from atomic explosions in Hiroshima & Nagasaki. Far more died from the dioxin defoliation holocaust against Vietnam than died from the nuclear blitz on Japan. These are appalling things to contemplate but the historic capitalist world-system, - based on ruthless class conflict and international rivalry, - has borne responsibility for all of it without a second thought, and even now continues to press ahead with easily the most gargantuan, technologically-advanced, lethal arms-race in history, - the system's permanent feature, and inseparable from the very nature of capitalist competition and colonial domination, - including a rapidly-spreading nuclear potential.

It is precisely these relentless, incurable fundamental laws of the competitive capitalist system which make it necessary to overthrow its warmongering destructiveness if mankind is to survive.

There is indeed a real threat to civilisation's survival, - and it comes precisely from that cowardly collapse (from Marxist-Leninist class science and the revolutionary will to fight) typified by

Gorbachevism.

His class-collaborating capitulation to imperialism's degenerate threat to inflict mass annihilation on those who would challenge its warmongering, crisis-ridden, decadent rule is philosophically inseparable from the complacent revisionist worms in the West who now not only think that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a 'bad thing' but would really like to discard all of Lenin as well, if they could get away with it.

Gorbachev is degenerating relentlessly down this same philistine-bureaucratic road. His group's only use for Lenin now is to steal the name but outrageously falsify everything Lenin stood for (see Bulletin 419 for distortions by Gorbachev's leading commentators).

The attitude essentially entirely accepts the relentless Western propaganda that communist misdeeds are a contributory factor to modern world problems and past historical grievances. Gorbachev's anniversary speech (see this article & Bulletin 420) is full of this kind of 'liberal-minded', 'reasonable' crap:

‘Naturally, not all our subsequent foreign policy efforts were successful. We have had our share of setbacks. We did not make full use of all the opportunities that opened before us both before and after the Second World War.

We failed to translate the enormous moral prestige with which the Soviet Union emerged from the war into effective efforts to consolidate the peace-loving, democratic forces and to stop those who orchestrated the Cold War. We did not always respond adequately to imperialist provocations....

The old stereotypes in domestic and foreign policy began to crumble. Attempts were made to break down the command-bureaucratic methods of administration established in the '30s and '40s, to make socialism more dynamic, to emphasise humanitarian ideals and values, and to revive the creative spirit of Leninism in theory and practice....

In short, there were changes for the better — in Soviet society and in international relations. However, several subjectivist errors were committed, and they handicapped socialism's advance to a new stage, doing much to discredit progressive initiatives.

The fact is that fundamentally new problems concerning domestic and foreign policies, and party development, were often being solved by voluntaristic methods, with the aid of the old political and economic mechanism....

It was stated that in the latter years of the life and activities of Leonid Brezhnev the search for ways of further advancement had been largely hampered by an addiction to habitual formulas and schemes, which did not reflect the new realities. The gap between word and deed had widened....

The most important thing is that our concept and our firm dedication to peace are reflected in practical action, in all our international moves, and in the very style of our foreign policy and diplomacy which are permeated with a commitment to dialogue — a frank and honest dialogue conducted with due regard for mutual concerns and for the advances of world science, without attempting to out-manoeuvre or deceive anyone.

And so, now that more than two years have elapsed, we can say with confidence that the new political thinking is not merely another declaration or appeal but a philosophy of action and, if you will, a philosophy of a way of life. In its development, it is keeping pace with objective processes under way in our world, and it is in fact already working....

We want all the advances of science and technology to be put at the service of man, we do not want them to upset the environmental balance. We are drawing harsh lessons from tragic events such as the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident. We advocate an end to the use of science for

military purposes.

Today, engineers, scientists, physicians, educators, writers and members of the artistic community must enhance their sense of social responsibility, their professional competence and the value of their creative achievements....

The October 1986 meeting in Reykjavik ranks among the events which have occurred since the new stage in international affairs began, which deserve to be mentioned on this occasion and which will go down in history.

The Reykjavik meeting gave a practical boost to the new political thinking, enabled it to gain ground in diverse social and political quarters, and made international political contacts more fruitful.

The new thinking with its regard for universal human values and emphasis on common sense and openness, is forging ahead on the international scene, destroying the stereotypes of anti-Sovietism and dispelling distrust of our initiatives and actions.

It is true that, gauged against the scope of the tasks mankind will have to tackle to ensure its survival, very, very little has so far been accomplished. But a beginning has been made, and the first signs of change are in evidence.

This is borne out, among other things, by the understanding we have reached with the United States on concluding in the near future an agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The conclusion of this agreement is very important in itself: it will, for the first time, eliminate a whole class of nuclear weapons, be the first tangible step along the path of scrapping nuclear arsenals, and will show that it is in fact possible to advance in this direction without prejudice to anyone's interests.

That is obviously a major success of the new way of thinking, a result of our readiness to search for mutually acceptable solutions while strictly safeguarding the principle of equal security.

However, the question concerning this agreement was largely settled back in Reykjavik, at my second meeting with the US President.

In this critical period the world expects the third and fourth Soviet-US summits to produce more than merely an official acknowledgment of the decisions agreed upon a year ago, and more than merely a continuation of the discussion. The growing danger that weapons may be perfected to a point where they will become uncontrollable is urging us to waste no time.

If this deeply-permeated note of self-criticism in front of the Western people was an apology by the communist revolution & proletarian dictatorship for not having succeeded earlier in strangling the life out of imperialism's rotten neck, it would be one thing. But all of this is in fact in the spirit of 'We take our share of the blame too for the crisis the world is in'.

Rubbish to that. This has nothing whatever to do with the Marxist-Leninist philosophical approach to history. The only sane & healthy class-combative attitude correctly regards the ruling imperialist world bourgeoisie as responsible for everything unpleasant that has continued on this earth (since the flag of communist revolt was first raised) by insisting on maintaining its class rule whatever that required (including two world wars and this whole century of unprecedented colonial bloodshed and crippling arms race (& nuclear Cold War) which even now is hurtling the planet full tilt towards inter-imperialist World War III in the wake of the Great Crash and the cut-throat trade war and monstrous unemployment & poverty (already crippling the Third World) which will follow throughout the capitalist system), --- and by insisting on waging permanent counter-revolutionary intrigue & subversion against any revolutionary socialist states (which broke away from capitalism) and ag-

ainst much of the national-liberation struggle as well, regardless of the appalling suffering & destruction & barbarism this meant imposing.

The difficulties & mistakes which have developed (in revolutionary socialist attempts to break out of capitalism's slump-ridden warmongering cycle) are matters for communists to be self-critical about to other communists in order to correct from a Leninist point of view. Lost postwar opportunities should not be regretted (as Gorbachev implies) for not having been readier to class-collaborate with US imperialist Cold War nuclear diktat, -but for not having been more successful in wiping out capitalist ruling classes in other countries where there was a chance of doing so (Greece, Malaya, Austria, etc.).

But as far as addressing the capitalist world is concerned, - all errors, crimes, & setbacks of the socialist camp are truly to be hurled in the bourgeoisie's face as ultimately solely the consequence of imperialist subversion & undermining of the workers states which has gone on relentlessly since October 1917 and with frequently devastating results. But for the blockade & encirclement, and bribery-sabotage intriguing (maintaining class differences & suspicions at their most nerve-racking level), the Soviet workers state would have evolved peacefully & unhysterically after 1917, Lenin would never have been shot, and the world would be a different place entirely.

Which brings the argument back to Gorbachev's illusions. He wants the world to be a different place entirely. He does not want to know what were the sinister forces which, unseen, destabilised the Grenada socialist revolution, which assassinated Machel in Mozambique, which killed Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso just a few weeks ago, or murdered the leading civil rights figure in El Salvador, or wiped out countless important anti-imperialist leaders before them, all round the world, since 1917, but particularly relentlessly since the era of CIA world-subversion dawned in 1945. Gorbachev does not want to consider the murderous uncontrollable imperialist forces trying to throttle the life out of socialist Nicaragua, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Kampuchea, etc. The scientific reality of counter-revolution he wishes to pretend 'no longer exists', - just because his phillistine bureaucracy is now powerful enough to score occasional disarmament-propaganda points against a particularly paralysed US imperialist regime.

The marginal re-assessment & redeployment of nuclear arsenals agreed by Moscow & Washington cannot possibly prevent the international capitalist system from continuing to be prejudicial to the interests of ordinary people all over the earth, nor remotely alter the chronic insecurity of everyone, all the time that the imperialist bourgeoisie continues to rule.

The idea that weapons technology itself becomes 'uncontrollable' is pure Malthusian gibberish from an abysmally bureaucratic phillistine. The weaponry, at whatever level, remains fully under the control of either the imperialist bourgeoisie & its agents, or its stooges, - or under the control of the communist revolution. The ILWP is in no doubt what Marx, Engels, & Lenin would have been in favour of. They were revolutionary communists to their bootlaces and to their dying breath. This Gorbachev is just a big revisionist who would

fit nicely into the degenerate CPGB whose life's ambition is to class-collaborate with such dishonest moronic reptiles as Neil Kinnock, Shirley Williams, and David Alton, etc.

These people are not new. They gave us the last 100 years of infamous 'parliamentary reformist' class-collaboration with the most barbaric century of ruling class destruction & brutality in history. Labour's name is on most of it in modern Britain (see ILWP Books vols 9 & 10). They are still at it, -imposing the blood-bath of hated colonial-partition on Ireland, stifling its national-liberation struggle, -and propping up the NATO imperialist warmongering machinery which is daily sharpening up the most devastating counter-revolutionary aggression-programme ever known, to be imposed on Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, etc., if any of them try to go communist, and for extending further afield to the blitz of Libya, the Lebanon, Syria, Ethiopia, etc., -wherever the vicious vengeful insanity of collapsing capitalism takes these 'freedom' forces. Gorbachev is busy trying to relax everyone's guard against them, and unbolt everyone's door for them:

At this new turning point in world history, as we celebrate the 70th anniversary of our revolution which could not have won through without theoretical preparation, we are examining the theoretical aspects of the prospects of advancement to durable peace.

The new way of thinking has helped us to generally prove that a comprehensive system of international security in the context of disarmament is needed and is possible.

Now we must prove that the attainment of this goal is necessary and feasible. We must identify the laws governing the interaction of the forces which, through rivalry, contradictions and conflicting interests, can produce the desired effect....

The first question relates to the nature of imperialism. We know that it is the major source of the war threat.

It goes without saying that external factors cannot change the nature of a social system. But, given the current stage of the world's development and the new level of its interdependence and integration, is it possible to influence that nature and block its more dangerous manifestations?

In other words, can one count on the laws operating in the integral world, in which universal human values have top priority, to restrict the scope of the destructive effects produced by the operation of the egocentric laws which benefit only the ruling classes and which are basic to the capitalist system?

This mystical rubbish about an 'integrated world' suddenly being responsible for undermining the whole Marxist-Leninist class-based interpretation of history is used more like some religious incantation than as science. When wasn't the world so integrated? That is what Lenin's "Imperialism" studies are all about, -demonstrating that only through inter-imperialist conflict and yet another re-dividing up of spheres of influence could the by-now totally colonised & economically exploited world (fully integrated into the world capitalist market) be fought for leadership over.

Far from 'human values' having top priority in such a world, the very 'integration' is the reason why the opposite must happen. In terms of economic power, this 'integration' merely means total imperialist-market penetration & exploitation, -and therefore means total alienation (Marx & Engels: German Ideology & Economic Manuscripts). In a world where the masses are totally alienated, it is the reality (which prevails) of the death squads in Guatemala, Colombia, Haiti, El

Salvador, etc., the massacring atavistic reaction-gangs in Nicaragua, Mozambique, Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Zimbabwe, etc., --not the dream world of Gorbachev's 'universal human values having top priority'.

Cheekily, Gorbachev goes through some of the 'questions' posed by his demented insistence on international class-collaboration instead of class war:

The second question is connected with the first one: can capitalism get rid of militarism and function and develop in the economic sphere without it? Is it not a delusion on our part to invite the West to draw up and compare conversion programmes for switching the economy to civilian production?

The third question: can the capitalist system do without neo-colonialism, currently one of the factors essential to its survival?

In other words, can this system function without the practices of inequitable trade with the Third World which is fraught with unforeseeable consequences?

Another related question: how realistic is our hope that the awareness of the terrible threat the world is facing - and we know that this awareness is making its way even into the higher echelons of the Western ruling elite - will be translated into practical policies?

After all, however forceful the arguments of common sense, however well-developed the sense of responsibility, however powerful the instinct of self-preservation, there are still things which must not be underrated and which are determined by an economic and, consequently, a class-based self-interest.

In other words, the question is whether capitalism can adapt itself to the conditions of a nuclear-free world without weapons, to the conditions of a new and equitable economic order, to the conditions in which the intellectual and moral values of the two world systems will be compared honestly. These are far from idle questions. The course history will take in the coming decades will depend on the way they are answered.

Astonishingly, he tries to 'answer' these questions with some boasting about his 'Leninist' methods of only testing theory with practice, but then by totally ignoring every scrap of postwar international class-war experience which does not fit in with his prejudices, and idiotically asserting as 'universal new truths' just a few vague outlines backed by even fewer facts:

Here, too, we are loyal to the Leninist tradition, to the very essence of Leninism - an organic blend of theory and practice, an approach to theory as a tool of practice and to practice as a mechanism verifying the viability of theory.

That is how we are acting, projecting the new way of thinking onto our foreign policy activities, adjusting and specifying it by political experience.

To sum up, what do we count on in our awareness that a safe world will have to be built jointly with capitalist countries?

The post-war period has witnessed an in-depth modification of the contradictions that used to determine the principle trends in the world's economy and politics. I refer above all to the trends that inevitably led to wars, to world wars between capitalist countries themselves.

Today the situation is different. It is not only the lessons of the past war but also the fear of sapping its own strength in the face of socialism (by now a world system) that have prevented capitalism from allowing its "internal" contradictions to go to extremes.

These contradictions began to evolve into a technological race against competitors and were dampened with the help of neo-colonialism. A kind of latter-day "peaceful" repartitioning of the world was started, in line with the rule Lenin identified - "according to capital", the bigger share going to whoever was the strongest and wealthiest

at the moment.

There is nothing in Lenin at all about any 'peaceful' repartitioning of the world, nothing at all. This is a complete fabrication, an utterly vile lie, cunningly dressed up linguistically so that it is not quite possible to catch Gorbachev actually stating that Lenin foresaw 'peaceful' repartitioning, but associating Lenin with the crap notion by crafty verbal juxtaposition.

In reality the postwar period has seen the worst sustained onslaught by armed imperialist aggression (more than 200 acts of counter-revolutionary colonial brigandry by the West ranging from massive wars in Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, Malaya, Palestine, Portuguese colonies, etc to CIA coups as in Chile, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Belgian Congo, Grenada, etc), - the worst reign of tyrannical brutality in all history.

Even more astoundingly, Gorbachev then follows up this grotesque lie so beloved by complacent European bureaucrats about '40 years unbroken peace' with wholly self-contradictory idiocy about the capitalist arms race somehow having helped the imperialist countries to 'solve' their fundamentally insoluble economic crisis and at the same time move away from war, --- the exact opposite of the truth, of Leninist theory, and of what any fool could observe personally if not blinded by insane prejudice:

Some countries began to "ease" tensions in their economies by re-channelling resources into the military-industrial complex on the pretext of a "Soviet threat". The changes occurring within the technological and organisational infrastructure of the capitalist economy also helped to allay contradictions and to balance different interests.

Gorbachev himself then gives the lie to this fantasy but deliberately fails to see the entire forest so that he can concentrate on one illusory speculative tree:

The next point. Can a capitalist economy develop without militarisation? This brings to mind the "economic miracle" in Japan, West Germany and Italy — although it is true that when the "miracle" was over, they switched to militarism again.

But here one should examine the degree to which this switch was rooted in the substantive laws governing the operation of contemporary monopoly capital and the role played by extraneous factors — the "contagious example" of the US military-industrial complex, the cold war and its spirit, considerations of prestige, the desire to have one's own "mailed fist" to be able to talk to one's competitors in a commonly understood language, and the intention to back one's economic invasion of the Third World with power politics.

Whatever the actual reasons, there was a period when the modern capitalist economy developed rapidly in several countries whose arms spending was minimal. The relevant historical experience is available.

The facts remain that every imperialist power undoubtedly is busy arming itself to the teeth, and will carry on doing so, as they have always done whenever not prevented from doing so (as Germany, Japan, & Italy, mildly, temporarily were) by superior imperialist diktat.

Gorbachev then tries the most pitiful wishful thinking of all, - a pathetic moralising plea to US imperialism to deny its own essence and agree that the USA did much better when it was not leading the arms race, - about as useful as asking vultures to take up vegetarianism.

This issue can also be considered from a different angle — the other way round.

Ever since the war, the US economy has been oriented and dependent on militarism, which at first seemed even to stimulate it. But then this

senseless and socially useless squandering of resources led to an astronomical national debt and to other problems and maladies.

In the final analysis it has turned out that super-militarisation increasingly aggravates the domestic situation and upsets the economies of other countries.

The recent panic on the New York stock exchange and on other stock exchanges across the world — a panic without precedent in almost 60 years — is a grave symptom and a grave warning.

He tries bolstering this lunatic vision with another burst of criminal historical falsification and self-abasement, -pretending that the 'nuclear threat', - as the 'fascist threat', - somehow afflict mankind from 'outside' known international relations and have to be met by joint East-West efforts, as was Hitler's threat in the early 1940s.

But that is not all there is to it. Since an alliance between a socialist country and capitalist states proved possible in the past, when the threat of fascism arose, does this not suggest a lesson for the present, for today's world which faces the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the need to ensure safe nuclear power production and overcome the danger to the environment?

These are all perfectly real and acute problems. Grasping them is not enough: practical solutions must also be found.

This is Mickey Mouse reasoning easily on a par with Reagan's insulting Geneva humbug about 'if they invaded from Mars, we would have to pull together for the good of mankind', etc.

The threats don't come from outside anywhere, that is the point. They all come from right inside the known international dominant system of human & economic relations called capitalism which has produced its fascist menace and its nuclear threat deep from within its own degenerate anti-human exploitation character, - a tyrannical elitist essence which was a force for good historically but is now solely a force for reaction which can never change. By replying to the decadent Reagan's hypocrisy about alliance against Martian external threats with an offer to ally against the 'nuclear threat menacing us all', Gorbachev does not score points but rather gives the whole game away, letting imperialism completely off the hook.

Gorbachev's last fatuous 'answer' to the questions he asked himself is yet another prize example of missing the wood for the trees. He totally misses out the chief realities of a fascist-dictatorship - bent dying ruling class on the one hand, - and a revolution-bound proletariat on the other. He describes the world as one of sweet reason, - not materially-governed class-historic forces, (for which only correctly-recognised historical necessity offers real freedom & development, - and it all belongs to the revolutionary working class and its communist future). Inevitably, he ends up by preaching good will at these irreconcilably contradictory historical forces, just like any bureaucratic vicar:

The third point: the inequitable, exploitative relations with the developing countries. For all the fantastic innovations in the creation of an "alternative (man-made) environment", developed capitalism has been and will be unable to do without these countries' resources. That is an objective fact.

The calls for severing the historically shaped world economic ties are dangerous and offer no solution.

But the neo-colonialist methods of using the resources of others, the arbitrary practices of the transnational corporations, the debt-related bondage, the debts that are nearing the trillion-dollar

mark and obviously cannot be repaid, also lead to an impasse.

All this gives rise to acute problems within the capitalist countries themselves too. The various speculation on this score is essentially aimed at making the Third World a kind of scapegoat and blaming it for numerous difficulties — including falling living standards — in the metropolitan countries.

Time and again attempts are made to "rally the nation together" on a chauvinistic basis, to lure the working people into a "partnership" in the exploitation of other countries, while making the masses accept the policy of latter-day capitalist modernisation.

However, none of these or similar stratagems can do away with the problem itself. They can only mitigate it temporarily. Inequitable trade remains a fact that will eventually culminate in an explosion. It appears that Western leaders are beginning to understand that this outcome is a distinct possibility — but so far, they have been merely trying to resort to various stop-gap measures.

Indeed, the novelty of the international economic and political processes of our time has not yet been fully grasped and assimilated.

Yet this will have to be done because the ongoing processes have the force of an objective law: either a disaster or a joint quest for a new economic order taking into account the interests of all on an equal basis.

The way to establishing such an order, as we see it today, has become discernible: it is through implementing the "disarmament for development" concept.

Thus, in looking for an answer to our third question too we see that the situation does not seem to defy resolution.

In this area as well, contradictions can be modified. But this requires an understanding of reality and the mapping out of practical actions in the spirit of the new thinking.

This last stuff is closer to the spirit of moral rearmament than Leninism. And it gets steadily worse throughout the rest of Gorbachev's speech. He does not ignore, of course, the question of revolutionary forces which used to feature so importantly in Leninism. Gorbachev's answer is to recruit the petty-bourgeois reformist-protest movements, - and to pass them off as 'new':

There is another important point to be made. In the last few decades, development within the capitalist world proper has given rise to new forms of social contradictions and movements.

Among them are movements to remove the nuclear threat, protect the environment, eliminate racial discrimination, rule out policies dividing society into the privileged and the underprivileged, and prevent the disaster threatening industrial areas that have fallen victim to present-day capitalist modernisation.

These movements involve millions of people and are inspired and led by prominent figures in science and culture, people enjoying national and international prestige.

Social democratic, socialist and labour parties and mass organisations similar to, or connected with, them continuously play an important role in the political processes in a number of countries, and the influence of some of them is increasing.

Thus, according to all economic, political and social indications everywhere in today's world, the thesis Lenin regarded as one of the most profound in Marxism is being vindicated: as the thoroughness of the historical action grows, the mass — whose action it is — will grow as well.

And this is always an unmistakable sign and the most powerful factor of social progress and, consequently, of peace.

Indeed, the grandeur and novelty of our time is determined by the peoples' increasingly obvious and open presence in the foreground of history. Their present position is such that they must be heeded immediately rather than in the long run.

The new truth thereby brought into sharp focus

is a constant need to make a choice is increasingly characteristic of historical advancement as we are about to enter the 21st Century. And the right choice depends on the extent to which the interests and aspirations of millions and hundreds of millions of people are heeded.

Hence the politicians' responsibility. For policy can only be effective if the novelty of the time is taken into account — today the human factor figures on the political plane not as a remote and more or less spontaneous side effect of the life, actively and intentions of the masses, it directly invades world affairs.

Notice the subtle way that because there are a lot of petty-bourgeois protes-

28. More than CPSU its summit capitalist lies about modern his-'partners' from crisis needed to save is collapse (Bulletin 424, 16/12/87)

A new 'theoretical' article in the CPSU cadre-building journal 'Kommunist' by Vodolazov provides a dismal background commentary to the naive faults in Gorbachev's otherwise brilliant 'peaceful coexistence' performance in Washington.

The value of Moscow's disarmament-talks initiatives, — taking advantage of paralysis & setbacks in the affairs of US imperialist aggression (Iran, Gulf, space disasters, fascist stooges to ppling everywhere, etc), — and putting the idea in Reaganite heads of cost-saving military redpositions which suit America's trade-war interests against its 'allied' imperialist rivals (Germany, Japan, France, etc) as well as offering some 'detente' diplomatic respite both for immediate propaganda use, and for more material liaisons should they be needed later, — was analysed in Bulletin 423.

In the immediate aftermath of that dramatic success of obliging the greatest anti-communist crusader yet to accept a disarmament deal from the 'evil empire' itself, however, — it is the revisionist illusions with which Gorbachev & Co surround these purely temporary truce negotiations that must again become the major concern for the world revolutionary socialist movement.

As the Bulletin has consistently explained (see ILWP Books vol 11) an Armageddon between the USA & the USSR has never been likely. Moscow's stress on 'peace' prospects (in that limited sense) possibly does more propaganda-good than propaganda-harm from the daft reasons they ascribe to blood-drenched US imperialism for this belated 'reasonableness' which has everything to do with Washington's

political & economic bankruptcy, and nothing at all to do with Reagan & his degenerate monopolists wanting to see any 'justice, good sense, & harmony' prevailing anywhere on the planet. These rapacious imperialist bourgeoisies want to see nothing of the sort. They want to see their old military-fascist aggressive world-diktat go on as before, — for as long as ever possible.)

The really damaging lightmindedness occurs when Moscow tries to spread its abysmally philistine 'theoretical' wings and 'explains' how this enforced embittered withdrawal from instant Armageddon plans by Washington can be regarded as a prospect of "peace, cooperation, & happiness for all mankind", — including the most wretched victims of current imperialist aggression.

This is both a monstrous callous insult to the thousands of millions suffering right this minute tragically from continuing imperialist domination without the slightest real possibility of it ending in the foreseeable future, — millions starving to death, or bludgeoned to death, from Palestine to the Philippines, from El Salvador to Indonesia, from South Korea to Chile, from Haiti to South Africa, etc, — many hundreds being routinely battered down at that very instant that Gorbachev was singing 'Moscow Nights' along with Van Kliburn & the Reagans.

But also, and even more importantly, this idiotic "peaceful solution to imperialism" delusion is the most treacherous & potentially catastrophic misleadership for the proletariat of the entire planet.

It is viciously disarming nonsense for Moscow to effectively tell the world social-

ters, the approving stamp of Lenin's name can be smuggle in here as well, — on the grounds that he too often mentioned large numbers of people. 'Profound' indeed! And what a rip-roaring finish: — the 'human factor' rides again! Bourgeois individualism has not been dying in vain. The philosophy of subjective-idealism is gaining ground in Moscow. The revolutionary-communist destiny of the proletariat as a class is on the back burner. Unless people are treated as human beings, then Gorbachev sees no future for any of us:

ist revolution to "forget about overthrowing imperialism", and that the problems of capitalist-colonial warmongering will be "solved" by more negotiated limits on nuclear rocket dispositions by the USA & USSR.

It is utterly moronic treachery to pretend to mankind, — as these Gorbachev revisionist illusions do, — that imperialist warmongering is now virtually a thing of the past, and, what's more, that the entire science of understanding the class-struggle-basis of history hitherto, and of arming the proletariat to finally break free from the crippling, self-inflicted chains of bourgeois ideology (subjective idealism), — namely Marxism-Leninism, — should now be thrown into the dustbin as irrelevant.

This pernicious drive is going to bare the throat of the international proletariat to the knives of the warmongering imperialist system (just as the infamous revisionist collapse of the Second International did in 1914), — the knives of inter-imperialist conflict which are now the sole real preoccupation of the capitalist powers who are bringing all their weapons of out-throat competitive rivalry to an advanced state of readiness as the insoluble contradictions of their market-economy crisis relentlessly deepen.

Gorbachev's speech on the 70th anniversary of 1917 spelled out this revisionist betrayal of Leninism in full (see Bulletins 422 & 420, and ILWP Books vol 13). Now Vodolazov confirms the bureaucratic ignorance and philistine opportunism in 'Kommunist'.

Listing what he calls 'new realities', he declares: "In earlier times, the revolutionary working-class movement counted on an imperialist war, should it break out, developing into a civil war. Today there is no longer any

Unless this is realised — in other words, unless the new thinking, one based on current realities and the peoples' will, is adopted — politics turn into an unpredictable improvisation posing a risk both to one's own country and to other nations. Such politics have no lasting support.

No SDP election humbug, — or Marxism Today article, — could have expressed its illusory 'humanism' with more hypocritical distinction. Rescuing humanity requires much more than good intentions, or greater local Soviet sensitivity. It needs Leninist revolutionary science.

evidence to support this argument."

Believe it or not, not one more word is said about this astonishing conclusion which at a stroke totally wipes out the entire class-conflict basis of history as it has correctly been understood hitherto by Marxism-Leninism.

What is substituted is the most outrageous verbal sleight-of-hand (typical of the Doctors of Philosophy, — which Vodolazov is, — that Marx & Lenin so used to love to attack), — in which the highly contentious notion, completely undiscussed by Vodolazov, that nuclear technology simply changes the whole basis for analysing the implications of war & capitalist conflict, — is taken as read, and is then used (once more without even a hint that debate is required) to not only ditch the idea of turning an inter-imperialist war into a civil war, but to get rid of the idea of class war altogether.

Here is how 'Kommunist' tries to get away with this disgusting conscious dishonesty & perverted methods.

First of all, he does not even bother to state one historical fact to support his claim of "never civil war again out of imperialist war" or its concealed premise which, contemptuously or slyly, Vodolazov does not even bother to reveal (although Gorbachev does in the 1917 anniversary speech), — namely that there will never even be inter-imperialist war again.

And the reason for not wanting to examine historical facts is not hard to understand. All the evidence, however little there is (since general inter-imperialist warmongering has not yet broken out again since 1945 but is still in the preparation (see below), — what few facts there are nevertheless confirm exactly the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science of imperialist war turning into civil war.

The current major inter-capitalist conflict in the Gulf has already gone on longer than World War I and also more intensively in parts, and is clearly a harbinger of World War III conflicts, — as is evidenced by the ghoulish determination of every major imperialist power to be in on the act with more than a dozen rival navies watching each other's movements like hawks, — and not only from either side of the obvious Cold War element in all that manoeuvring.

And Moscow's cowardly — defeatist fear of encouraging the revolutionary overthrow of both those degenerate capitalist regimes shackling Iran & Iraq to that merciless 7-year-long slaughter cannot at all be taken that no such civil-war stirrings exist. On the contrary, — there is a ferment of revolutionary opposition to their own state's involvement in that capitalist bloodshed on both sides. And it is a truly monstrous fulfilment of Moscow's backward wishful thinking about 'no civil war signs' that it is precisely the anti-Leninist treachery from the CPSU, — influencing the communist parties in both Iran & Iraq, — that is partly responsible for that revolutionary ferment being as undecided & inarticulate as it is (due to the non-Leninist revisionism (in line with Moscow) of the Iraqi & Iranian CPs, who still refuse to make a clear class call for civil war.)

The inter-imperialist conflict over the Malvinas Islands did not produce fully-fledged civil war in Argentina (following the junta's humiliation, directly repeating the Tzarist autocracy's pattern in 1905 & 1917) but it was the nearest thing to it. The longstanding military dictatorship had to go, and not just one particular group of generals & admirals. And once again, if it had

not been for the rotten misleadership (also long-standing) by the Moscow-duped Argentine CP in refusing to even suggest the revolutionary overthrow of the corrupt Argentine capitalist state, then this further piece of wish-fulfillment by Moscow might have been pushed even closer to exposure as bankrupt defeatist treachery.

Even more interesting than the huge civilian disturbances which brought down the Junta in Argentina was the startling proof found in William Casey's CIA memoirs (the Woodward book) of what the ILWP said at the time about the shakiness of the Thatcher regime. At that time the most unpopular government in Britain this century, it too would have been overthrown had just a few more British ships been sunk and the whole humiliated Task Force called back in ignominy. As Casey told Woodward, the USA risked its reactionary inter-American alliances to help Britain out of fear that the Tories would be brought down in the event of defeat in the Malvinas.

The experience of the Portuguese capitalist state at the close of its disastrous imperialist wars in 1974 is even starker proof that 'Kommunist' is spreading anti-revolutionary nonsense. There the civil-war revolt was in the very ranks of the conscript army itself, (-just as it had been in the Bolshevik revolution) How long that civil war lasted is not the point. The Bolsheviks took power relatively speedily & bloodlessly too, and the February overthrow of Tsarism was even more unexpected & quick. Rebel army units seized the key points of the Portuguese capitalist state, and the 50-year rule of the fascist dictatorship was overthrown. Dual power lasted over a year as workers occupation committees took control of all the major industries. Once again, only the self-fulfilling cowardly revisionism of the Portuguese CP, hopelessly influenced by backwardness in Moscow, deliberately sabotaged that dual-power civil-war situation from go-

ing all the way to the revolutionary advance of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And also once again, not just the NATO thoughts (in the dying words of CIA Casey) were proof of how close things were to fullscale revolutionary civil war, arising directly out of the failed rotten imperialist wars of the Portuguese capitalist state,---but the dramatic NATO actions of flying non-stop intimidatory sorties over Lisbon for months demonstrated how close was another 1917.

This Moscow reformist cretinism even deliberately overlooks the heroic achievements of the revolutionary communists in Vietnam, Laos, & Kampuchea in not only routing US imperialist war (& their predecessors after a titanic 35-year struggle),-but, more relevant to Vodolazov's bogus thesis, in so shattering US bourgeois morale that widespread civil disobedience & revolt was threatening to make Washington's continuation of the war impossible anyway,- a civil war in all but name.

France's defeat in Algeria a few years earlier produced not just one civil war situation, nor even two,-but three revolutionary crises. The first saw the French Army declare itself the power, independently of Paris. The second brought the downfall of the Fourth Republic and de Gaulle to power. The third overthrew de Gaulle in 1968,-still echoing the turmoil of that shattering defeat in imperialist war in Algeria. And once again, in miraculous self-fulfillment of Moscow's spineless line, inevitably severely followed by the ludicrous French CP leadership,---the opportunity was deliberately ignored of turning the dual-power, civil-war situation into a full-scale revolutionary thrust for proletarian dictatorship power.

Vodolazov continues his confirmation of counter-revolutionary treachery by ignoring every scrap of evidence he might have examined, by introducing not one iota of differring evidence of his own,-but leaping immediately from his imbecilic assertion of 'no

more civil wars' to the even more bizarre 'justification' for this incredible revision of Leninism.

"In the modern conditions, a world war would inevitably escalate into a nuclear holocaust" is all he says.

No debate on capitalist wars short of 'world war' (in the sense of war involving every country, including the socialist camp). No discussion about how bitter trade-war rivalry & crisis conflict between say, Iran & Iraq, Greece & Turkey, India & Pakistan, Britain & Argentina again, Britain & Spain, Spain & Morocco, Spain & France, even France & Germany again, etc, etc, could become the stalking horse for even wider inter-imperialist rivalries, as the Gulf War is now, and as the Spanish civil war was in 1936-39. No investigation about how any number of Gulf War-type conflicts could be got going in Africa, Latin America, or the Middle East or Asia in which the uncontrollable imperialist warmongering industries would have a large profitable stake, and where capitalist diplomatic manoeuvring would have a field day. No argument over whether the major rival imperialist powers could slither into a deadly serious warmongering conflict with each other over life-and-death market domination,---and leave the socialist camp virtually unscathed by the warmongering entirely.

Britain's skin-of-the-teeth victory in the Malvinas War just made unnecessary the answering of a relevant conundrum to Moscow's glib retreat from scientific class analysis: Would Britain have nuked Argentina had two or three more ships gone down and the Task Force Falklands War been forced to be called off??

The answer is irrelevant. The fact that the question can be asked without there being any obvious reply is proof enough that the existence of nuclear technology by itself in no way 'inevitably' imposes totally 'new realities' in the complete & mechanical way the 'Kommunist' article shamefully pretends.

But even more crimin-

al than the infantile impressionist 'logic' of Moscow's 'new thinking' is the crass slipshod way this 'analysis' then gallops on like a berserk case of dysentery and, unannounced, eliminates all class war as well,-on the strength of having 'eliminated' civil war,-in turn as a result of having 'eliminated' imperialist war.

Vodolazov drives on for a few more sentences, predictably, about how "the point at issue is to preserve the very foundations of human civilization and to ensure the survival of humanity", etc,-in the face obviously, of "nuclear holocaust", etc,-using this fear of the murderous destructiveness of imperialist warmongering to argue defeatistly for a new anti-revolutionary Popular Front approach,-"grouping a far wider spectrum of forces" etc, for a "kind of struggle of much wider dimensions than the struggle of the world's revolutionary forces against capitalism only", etc.

But he then uses this anti-Leninist moralising to wipe out any idea of class war altogether, in the following piece of treacherous class-collaborating deliberate deception,-capitulating the struggle completely to petty-bourgeois reformism. Leninism is no more. Leninism triumphed in vain.

"At the same time, working for peace is not becoming a kind of isolated objective, divorced from the social battles of our days. It is inseparable from the general movement for social progress. It means above all fighting against all political & social groups that have a stake in the arms race and in keeping up international tensions. Therefore it is a matter of paramount importance today to look for the right balance between the fight for peace and the struggle for social progress and revolutionizing social-class activities." (Note the deliberate fraud of these shallow 'left' phrases. So prepare for the really big sell-out to total reformist nonsense). "The fullest measure of such unity can be achieved, in the judg-

ement of many Communist parties, in the struggle against the militarization of the economy which is a source, on the one hand, of the growing military danger, and, on the other, of the worsening working and living conditions of the great mass of working people.

"IT IS THE VERY SUBSTANCE OF THE SOCIAL-CLASS STRUGGLE THAT IS UNDERGOING APPRECIABLE CHANGE NOW WITH NEW REALITIES PRESENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM WHICH, IN THE OPINION OF MANY COMMUNIST PARTIES, HAS ENTERED A QUALITATIVELY NEW PERIOD. A REAL BREAKTHROUGH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES IS ONE OF ITS MAJOR DISTINGUISHING FEATURES. IMPORTANT CHANGES ARE TAKING PLACE NOT ONLY IN THE JOB PATTERN, BUT IN PRODUCTION RELATIONS IN GENERAL. THERE HAS BEEN AN APPRECIABLE SWELLING OF THE CONTINGENT OF A NEW TYPE OF HIGH-SKILLED WORKERS BY BRAIN CONCERNED WITH OPERATING MODERN AUTOMATED COMPUTER EQUIPMENT.

"ESSENTIAL NEW ELEMENTS ARE ALSO THE GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF PRODUCTION BASED ON THE ADVANCING TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND THE INCREASING INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOUR AND THE PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS INTO THE DOMINANT FORM OF FUNCTIONING OF MONOPOLY CAPITAL (emphasis added).

"A number of Communist parties take these changes into account in their alternative programmes (!) and strategic guidelines. For example, the Communist parties of Finland & Austria see the transnational monopolies as the most viable components of the capitalist economies which incorporate an ever growing proportion of production, marketing and modern technology. This is an important realistic appreciation of capitalism's adaptive abilities as distinct from the sectarian view that all of its potentialities are used up."

The revisionist trap is neatly sprung. Frigten the children with awful warnings about fearful destruction from "those who know about war",-and then slip in some sly kidology that capitalism is

all different from what it used to be anyway. So forget all that old revolutionary rhetoric, and class-collaborate with your more pacifist bourgeois circles to restrain the wilder warmongering elements in the West, and give the Soviet bureaucracy a nice quiet 'peaceful time',-free from any worrying head-scratching about what to do if US imperialism steps up its armed subversion of socialist Nicaragua, or socialist Angola, or socialist Ethiopia, or socialist Kampuchea, or socialist Afghanistan, etc.,-or adds to its record of CIA blitzkrieg coups as against Grenada, Dominican Republic, Allende's Chile, Arbenz's Guatemala, Lumumba's Zaire, etc.

This nonsense about a "qualitatively new period for capitalism" could not be more asinine,- published just at the moment of the Great Crash. The only really "new potentialities" of "developing capitalism" is the surprising ability to make monkeys out of 'Kommunist' commentators in Moscow as well as of the revisionist CPs in the West which have long since gone over to class-collaboration.

The imperialist system has not essentially changed at all, even since Lenin's analysis in 1916. It remains a warmongering, crisis-ridden anarchy which on the one hand condemns thousands of millions all round the world to chronic unemployment, exploitation, starvation, and brutalisation by fascist-dictatorship,-while on the other it periodically pits the major imperialist protagonists in irreconcilable conflict with each other resulting in more generalised murderous conflagrations.

And it really should not need pointing out to any adults, let alone any leading 'Marxist theoreticians', that not only is surplus value exploited out of computer operators to feed monopoly capitalism's rate of profit just the same as with all other workers,-no different since capitalism began, let alone since imperialism, its highest stage,

was first reached, but watching video screens all day has brought its own new gross health hazards to wage labour. It is obscene to watch 'Kommunist' falling for capitalist 'computer-age' gimmickry in exactly the same obsequious way as the class-collaborating imbeciles from 'Marxism Today'.

The fact that the next catastrophic law-governed Crash & deep warmongering slump has been delayed since the last one (World War II) by insane credit-creation on a worldwide scale under the almighty (but in reality virtually worthless) dollar only means that the coming explosion of inter-capitalist chauvinist hatred, turmoil, and cut-throat trade war, leading inevitably to shooting war,- will be the most outrageous debacle in all civilised history, leading most certainly to capitalism's final revolutionary overthrow all over the world.

The fact that Moscow seems totally unaware of these developments, now so obvious, only proves how grotesque is their ignorance of revolutionary theory. And how Moscow fails to notice or account for the actual street-level rottenness into which the 'free world' is decaying before their eyes (crime, drugs, alcohol, crazed sects, religious lunacy, psychotic pursuits of all kinds, etc) can only be explained by the anti-Leninist bureaucracy's own social problems which they prefer to sweep under the carpet rather than analyse why their revisionist retreat from the perspectives of world socialist revolution have inevitably destroyed the entire philosophical soul of Soviet youth, and wider afield too. (See past Bulletins, and ILWP Books vol 13).

For even more wilful fake-'left' trickery, Vodolazov then sets up an Aunt Sally "that there have been some suggestions in certain quarters in recent times about giving up the struggle for Socialism, and concentrating on pressure for social problems to be resolved within the framework of capitalism. The argument in support of this plea

was that capitalism 'is discovering reserves for survival', and consequently, fighting for Socialism is the objective for a distant future. However, Communists do not go along with that line of reasoning. The largest Communist parties of the capitalist world,-the Italian and the French (who says they are?)-,have most unequivocally declared themselves committed to Socialism. Other parties stand by similar positions."

This reactionary garbage in support of the wretched Italian & French CP revisionists is led into by some phony 'bold' criticism of capitalism's 'continuing contradictions', but is then followed up by further outpourings of verbal diarrhea for Popular Front class-collaboration.

Using yet another trick of sophistry, a further nail is knocked into the coffin of Leninism by dismissing as "one-sided" the following "two trends. One is to see action for peace as an absolute value in its own right which has prompted the conclusion that the actual direct fight against capitalism has to be brought to a halt on the grounds that it isn't yet the time for it in the capitalist countries. The other is based on the argument that a Socialist revolution is the top priority nowadays, and the fight for peace consequently is to be geared to this overriding objective. So the international strategy of Communists is supposed to centre on proletarian international solidarity, while the fight for peace is qualified as being 'outside classes' and of secondary importance."

Once again, a phony Aunt Sally is knocked down in order to denigrate the real business of the proletariat & civilisation,- the revolutionary overthrow of warmongering imperialism. Note the lying distortions put into the mouth of 'revolutionaries' that the fight for peace is said to be 'outside classes'. Only morons would make such comments, not Leninist revolutionaries. Ditto the notion that the fight for peace is of 'secondary import-

ance'.

Only imbeciles could fail to grasp the primary importance for mankind of surviving warmongering imperialism's destructive menace to civilisation. The real question, however, is HOW is this disaster to be averted,- by class-collaboration and reasoned pleas to dying monopoly imperialism, or by using the only forces available in Marxist Leninist science and organise the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist degeneracy by proletarian dictatorship.

Abandoning Leninism, Moscow specifically calls for the tearing up of the idea of leadership by a workers party of revolutionary theory,-declaring it "imperative for the working class to avoid isolationism and opposition to other forces of progress & peace".

This burial of the Bolshevik struggle for polemical mastery over revisionism is justified by an outright defeatist LIE. "This is necessitated by the growing international solidarity of the upper echelons of the bourgeoisie...Capitalism's worldwide economic activity is well-protected politically too...The transnational corporations have at their service...the political mechanisms of the seven leading capitalist Powers which concert their policies at regular intervals" etc.

This is so completely the OPPOSITE of what is happening in reality in the imperialist world that it is certifiable.

The big seven cannot even meet to try to settle the catastrophic slump & trade-war threats to them all out of the Great Crash,- so divided & full of bitter chauvinistic hatred are they at the very real material damage they are now doing to each other in the cut-throat competition that will now dominate the capitalist cycle henceforth. Not only have Moscow's disgraceful anti-Leninist philistines torn up all the science of inter-imperialist warmongering-inevitability, but they have also had brainwashed out of them even the faintest inkling, it seems, of Marx's basic

understanding of capitalist economic crisis.

Such appalling ignorance in 'Kommunist', the CPSU' supposed 'theoretical' journal, must be used to reinforce the Leninist programme of the ILWP. Bulletin 423 has already explained the background splits in the Western camp to the Reaganite group's interest in temporary respite on the Soviet Cold War front as far as costly European rocket dispositions are concerned. Capitalist press reports subsequently confirmed, for example, how suspicious are French ruling circles as to what Washington is up to. And more details of how dramatically France seems to be splitting away from 'united Western stance' in the Gulf warmongering underlines the fundamental divisions growing out of the inter-imperialist crisis.

The real tragedy detracting from Gorbachev's smug 'showbiz' success in Washington is that while he 'skilfully' fields provocative insult after insult by US counter-revolution about the difficulties & destruction CIA is causing to socialist Afghanistan & its Soviet allies, - the real victims of 'foreign intervention & invasion' like the Palestinians are daily being crushed down by the Zionist stooges of US imperialism --but not one bitter word does Gorbachev fire back,-or none make the headlines, at least.

And while Gorbachev can make some good propaganda progress, it can never be envisaged that bad propaganda will ever diminish. The idea that the anti-communist lie machinery in the West is ever going to give up, or can ever be overcome just by a counter-propaganda offensive (no matter how well Gorbachev handles this),-is ridiculous nonsense. Imperialism will go all the way back to Goebbels-Hitler 'Big Lie' dictatorship techniques before it will abandon the field to 'reasonableness' or 'fair play', or whatever Gorbachev kids himself he can achieve.

Just to rub the point home, the Zionist fascist Shcharansky is being given unprecedented

prime BBC television time every night all this week at enormous length just in case any of the brief snippets of Gorbachev, which might have come over on hostile news coverage from Washington, -made any impact on people in Britain.

Obviously, imperialist propaganda cannot win in the end. Every fascist-military dictatorship has ultimately been toppled so far.

But while Haiti & the Philippines & South Korea are just the latest proof of this in a long line of overthrown tyrannies stretching back through the Shah, Somoza Smith, Batista, Diem, etc., -these current revolutionary struggles also confirm that without a firm Leninist party leadership for the dictatorship of the proletariat, then the spontaneous revolutionary overthrow of tyranny due to the intolerable material contradictions of capitalist crisis is still destined to produce only more chaos & confusion.

Defeating imperialist Cold War backwardness, or removing the more grotesque fascist-dictatorship stooges of US militarism, or even being 'for Socialism' in the ludicrously useless perspective of Vodolazov & Co., -is not enough. Marxism long ago explained that it is only of value to be consciously, specifically, & concretely for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Shamefully Gorbachev & 'Kommunist' have abandoned this one & only proletarian class position. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

29. Anti-Leninist Dubcek inspired by Gorbachev (Bulletin 426, 13/1/88)

It is not hard to work out which works of Marx, Engels, & Lenin are "no longer topical" and therefore do not form part of the reading list which the ousted Czech revisionist gave to the L'Unita interviewers.

It will be every book by the elaborators of scientific socialism which mentions the class struggle, - i.e. all of them.

Not once does Dubcek's new counter-revolution-

ary drive, which the anti-communist Guardian was delighted to devote an entire page to, - so much as mention class war on the planet, - its sole fundamental phenomenon.

In this aggressive self-justification by petty-bourgeois philosophical idealism, Dubcek can't wait to agree with the renegades calling themselves the Italian CP whose defeatism declares that "the problem of the relationship between democracy and socialism" is the great difficulty facing mankind.

This is 100% wrong. All the dangerous contradictions and potentially damaging setbacks in the further development of civilisation start & finish with the continued existence of the exploitative, crisis-ridden, class-divided, & internationally warmongering capitalist system. Only when the Western imperialist bourgeoisie is wiped out as a ruling class can mankind's problems even begin to be solved.

This is the Marxism-Leninism which Dubcek doesn't want to read because it is "No longer topical". Naturally he tells the Italian CP renegades that he prefers reading Gramsci instead, the defeatist hero of all the revisionists, -prized above all else because they think his meanderings about 'hegemony' are a way of burying the core of Leninism, -the dictatorship of the proletariat, -without it showing too badly.

In the entire page of the Guardian's essence of Dubcek/L'Unita, -the world-dominant question of imperialism, -neither for its role organising & financing counter-revolution in the socialist camp (very relevant to the catastrophe Dubcek nearly inflicted on Czechoslovakia) nor for its total subjugation of postwar Italian politics (see any history of the CIA), -just does not exist.

The one bit of Engels that Dubcek is keen to read again, of course, declares: "The victorious proletariat cannot impose happiness on any other nation if it does not want to undermine its own victory".

That, in other words,

is what Dubcek, L'Unita, and all other anti-communists want to present as the real problem facing mankind, - the non-existent alleged 'imperialism' of the Soviet Union.

In their petty-bourgeois defeatism, these revisionists in both West & East Europe capitulate to capitalism's greatest-ever crusade, - the Cold War propaganda effort to prove that 'democracy' is all that it seems, but that the socialist camp is nothing but armed Soviet colonialism.

Neither wormlike side in the interview expresses this idea quite so bluntly, but since the entire conversation is only about this theme of Soviet military intervention and the hinted-at (but not mentioned) 'problem' of the dictatorship of the proletariat (not spelled out to avoid the hazard of being seen to be blatantly revising Leninism), -and about their dreams that Gorbachevism-revisionism will now rehabilitate Dubcek and the Italian CP, -then little imagination is needed to get their general drift.

And that is certainly what the anti-communist Guardian captured immediately, and was so keen to reproduce.

The derision of Lenin's class-war proletarian-dictatorship advance to the final worldwide revolutionary overthrow of imperialism is achieved (by Gorbachev as well as by Dubcek/L'Unita, now - see past Bulletins & ILWP Books vol 13) by "asserting the pluralistic interests of the socialist, social, cultural and other organisations of the system, and in the need to express and implement the standards & practices of everyday social justice in accordance with the socio-economic interest of the individual", etc., - the key word being 'pluralism', or the reintroduction of (bourgeois) parliamentary democracy as the thin end of the wedge for the capitalist counter-revolution, - in other words anything other than the dictatorship of the proletariat, and anything other than class justice for the whole of humanity's masses as opposed to the

demagogic 'everyday' justice for some snottosed Czech intellectual with a fancy for Western travel.

This code-language for rule by petty-bourgeois 'public opinion', in no way led by a ruling party of proletarian dictatorship as Lenin championed (see Bulletin 425), -slimes on:

"Only that which is in accordance with the will of the decisive majority can be legitimate," i.e. that ruled by the power of the imperialist monopoly worldwide media intrigues -with the CIA at the heart of them and their black propaganda expertise.

In other words, the Bolsheviks should never have seized power, and should certainly never have survived the Constituent Assembly elections which voted them into an insignificant minority position. Lenin's correct & unforgettable answer was to close down that Assembly;

-Which revolutionary reality only leads Dubcek/L'Unita on to their next subjective petty-bourgeois whingeing illusion: - if only violence could be ruled out.

The only violence they see, of course, is the Soviet Army overthrowing the counter-revolutionary intrigues in Prague in 1968. They close their eyes to the entire postwar world of Western anti-communist and anti-colonial aggression (more than 200 separate campaigns of murderous military subversion & repression against the national-liberation movement & the socialist camp, ranging from the wars in Korea, Indo-China, Algeria, Malaya, Cyprus, Greece, Kenya etc, etc to the routine assassinations and CIA coups which ended the anti-imperialist regimes of Lumumba, Arbenz, Allende, the New Jewel Movement, Dominican Republic, Chad, Guyana, etc, and attempted as much in scores more cases, - from Madagascar to Afghanistan to Nicaragua to Mozambique & Angola, -killing Cabral, Mondlane, Machel, etc, in the process.)

But terrified that eventually the proletariat in the West will note the endless Cold War hostility by real

imperialism against the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist camp, and start to develop its own sympathies for what the Red Army stands for in defending the proletarian dictatorship gains of 1917 (and the subsequent revolutions which followed on from that - from China to Cuba), -Dubcek slyly pretends that the West backed Moscow in 1968, and were delighted at Dubcek's failure!

This disgraceful & ludicrous attempt to explain away why the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the West so loves Dubcek and his anti-Leninist renegacy, -and to pretend that US imperialism was in fact in collusion with Moscow to clean up the CIA's intrigues in Prague, -reads:

"I have no doubts that the West was in no way concerned that the Czechoslovak reform movement should succeed. In a way, August 21, 1968 suited them... There existed positions unfavourably inclined towards our developments among those circles in the West which helped to incite our allies and thus shortened the time we needed so badly to elaborate a constructive policy."

And it is thanks to Gorbachevism that this reactionary garbage is now spewing out of Czechoslovakia again, -to the delight of Fleet Street and the revisionist Western CPs who have long since abandoned all thought of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat themselves; and with it, all thought of socialism; and broken completely from Leninism, (although none of them dare say so openly).

In the pure spirit, language, and demagogic-empty style of Gorbachevism, Dubcek pours out the cliché-ridden dogmas with which revisionism has always avoided the actual class-war contradictions of the moment, (Ethiopia, Mozambique, South Africa, Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Nicaragua, Namibia, Palestine occupied by Zionists, Ireland occupied by British colonials, the Gulf war, El Salvador, etc, etc, etc, -) in order to lie that the West and the socia-

list bureaucrats' ideological backwardness (and anti-Leninist philistinism) can class-collaborate together like pigs in muck.

.....the space, nuclear and computer age literally compels us to develop the Marxist-Leninist heritage in every possible way. We must not hasten to see the enemy image in everything. It is necessary to react, to sum up the changes that have taken place in the world and in life for the sake of its security and progress. The era of industrialisation has fused people and nations to its image in its industrial melting pot.....

In brief, the period since 1968 as well as developments over the past 20 years in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries have clearly demonstrated that socialism can no longer live with stereotypes, clichés, rigidity, dogmatism, and sectarianism. It must revise and restructure itself in accordance with the new requirements....

Dubcek calls the defeat of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia and the world generally since WWII "the burden of the past" and declares:

Instead of looking for a positive way to overcome the burden of the past, these champions of the "iron fist" would prefer half of our population to forget what really happened in 1968, to lose its memory of history, and the other, the younger half, to be told nothing favourable about 1968, its events and people....

Dubcek's pathetic 'analysis' of the international balance of class forces surrounding the West's huge subversion-intrigue effort in Prague 1968 (matching its Contra role in Nicaragua now, its Mojahedin fascism in Afghanistan, its MNR Renamo destruction in Mozambique, its Arrow-Cross nazism in Hungary 1956, its Tigre starvation-creating separatism against Ethiopia, etc(see elsewhere this issue)),--reduces the whole historic revolutionary war-conflict to a question of nameless 'Czechoslovak people' donating some 'family souvenirs' to the revisionist cause of restoring bourgeois parliament and private capitalism. How could such noble gestures accord with 'counter-revolution' he postures melodramatically. The answer is simple. A capitalist-individualist-minded degenerate would sell his own mother to get the private property system back in power, -let alone give away his 'family souvenirs'. Why don't Dubcek, L'Un-

ita, and the Guardian answer the question: What were all the old bourgeois & landowning interests in Czechoslovakia doing in 1968? Cheering on the Soviet tanks, presumably, -along with the Western imperialists, if Dubcek's lying distortions are to be believed. Crap. They were the ones giving their life savings to Dubcek's wretched revisionist Fund of the Republic, -hoping through Dubcek's anti-Leninist philistine weaknesses to get back to the parliamentary capitalist system.

And it is their individualist, nationalist, communist-hating mentality which inspires the wretched emigre circles, turning their back on the difficulties of building up the proletarian state in Czechoslovakia (and the rest of the socialist camp) in the teeth of incessant international imperialist intervention, propaganda, bribery, and subversion, -and slither off to live as pensioned stooges of Western anti-communism.

Inevitably, it is with these opportunist turds and CIA agents that Dubcek sympathises most of all:

Let me add a few words about those of our fellow citizens who have left Czechoslovakia over the past years for various reasons. The number living away from their homeland has grown, and continues to rise, people continue to escape from their country, often risking their lives. Such an emigration would have been unthinkable in 1968 up to August of that year.

Even though I personally would not be capable of leaving my country of my own free will, I cannot condemn these fellow-countrymen of mine. On the contrary, I would be happy if they could find their way back home free from discrimination.

What a degenerate philistine oaf is this Dubcek. No wonder he is such a hero of the anti-Leninist swamp in the West, - from Kinnock to the Trots & Euros. And no wonder he is such a disastrous failure. Even the dismal orthodox bureaucrats of the socialist camp managed to get the better of Dubcek, -such is the overwhelming advantage of the international balance of class forces to the completion of the world socialist revolution, eventually, and the final defeat of im-

perialist counter-revolution. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

30. Nationalism rampant due to zero Leninist leadership by Gorbachev (Bulletin 433, 2/3/88)

Moscow's admission of race-riots between Azerbaijanis and Armenians may indeed be a feature of the 'new' glasnost, and a 'blow' for or against it, depending on how this trivial shallowness is viewed.

But what such scandals are for certain is a total indictment of the anti-Leninist bankruptcy of the entire modern leadership record of the CPSU.

Gorbachev, of course, did not cause the territorial dispute in the south, nor the lingering anti-Soviet outbreaks of reactionary nationalism in the Baltic republics & elsewhere.

Huge potential reserves of non-communist political backwardness have always lain dormant throughout the more than 100 distinct nationalities & cultures inhabiting the USSR, and they will remain a possible reactionary threat for as long as it takes the Soviet Union to complete the building of socialism, -inseparably connected with the completion of the world socialist revolution ultimately.

But these seeds of petty chauvinist envy, hatred, & greed remained inactive or barely noticeable for as long as the broader communist purpose of the USSR, -and its international revolutionary responsibilities & opportunities, -continued to shame and overshadow more narrow-minded considerations & opportunism.

Gorbachev may not be significantly worse or weaker propagandist for communism and developing the Soviet Union than any of his predecessors, (mostly equally deficient in the science of Leninism).

But his glasnost about 'past mistakes' and 'present inadequacies' creates more problems than it solves if not linked to a reassertion of revolutionary Leninism to provide the alternative revolutionary

inspiration & world socialist perspective (the only one possible) in place of the previous bureaucratic complacency & revisionism.

Gorbachev is, if anything, even more of a revisionist philistine retreating from Lenin's revolutionary philosophy than earlier regimes that Gorbachev so loves to be critical of.

Which means that all Gorbachev & Co are effectively saying (apart from the routine "pull your socks up" stuff) which is not at all new) is that the Party leadership has been politically bankrupt for a long time.

Again, this is not exactly new in a process which began with Krushchev (and there was no small amount of criticism & self-criticism by the Stalin regime); -but it is particularly inept because of Gorbachev's peculiar insistence on shouting so repeatedly & loudly: "It has all been wrong" but without anything really different to put in the place of small-minded consumerism and revisionist retreat from Lenin's world revolutionary philosophy (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 6)

If you keep shouting "The emperor has no clothes" and nothing else, reaction & individualism & philosophical idealism will eventually take massive advantage for a revival in the USSR.

None of the old reactionary bourgeois philosophical crap is dead finally anywhere until the imperialist system is dead worldwide.

Far from killing off imperialism, Gorbachev seems to be doing his best to promote every last rotten bourgeois philosophical influence in the Soviet Union that he possibly can, -ludicrously turning his welcome glasnost promises not in the direction they are needed to make open Leninist polemics inside the CPSU, and the world socialist movement possible again; -but in the direction of allowing all the old outdated bourgeois ideological crap (Orwell's Animal Farm, etc), -long since defeated by Leninist science, to revive again.

Study 'Animal Farm' by

all means. The ILWP has made great use of criticising Orwell's reactionary writings on the Spanish civil war to illustrate the counter-revolutionary backwardness of anti-Leninist philosophy.

But just to allow every last scrap of anti-revolutionary ideology in the arts & social sciences to flourish to do with building a proletarian socialist state on the way to a proletarian socialist world, -but everything to do with petty-bourgeois-minded philistine defeatism seeking to class-collaborate with the powerful world bourgeoisie and its rotten bankrupt culture.

Given such counter-revolutionary 'inspiration' from Moscow, no wonder that all the old crap is reviving everywhere throughout the Soviet Union, -such as nationalism, obscurantism, drug culture, consumerism, nihilism, and ego-centric individualism, -evident in the 'new wave' artistic garbage in music, films, paintings, poetry, and literature and popular song that is being encouraged, it seems, by Gorbachev's paralysed incapability to grasp Leninism and give a world revolutionary lead to mankind.

The real world is one of international class struggle, -nothing else. It dominates every aspect of human existence. It is the only scientific understanding of future human progress. Nothing can be understood about the human condition without an educated grasp of Leninist revolutionary science. Gorbachev has his feeble 'pull your socks up' revisionist speeches written by speechwriters, and understands nothing of what is really required for civilisation to overcome the disasters of colonial-imperialist domineering exploitation culture. He has made not one single scientific observation about the real anti-imperialist future & fate of the world. No wonder CIA subversion is having such an easy time of it turning people back towards sterile nationalist rivalry in the Soviet republics Build Leninism.

Working-class subjects of the Tsarist state. Loaders on a wharf at Nizhni Novgorod



Young Soviet workers in the mess hall of an auto plant



MOST VALUABLE IN PURSUING THE BOLSHEVISTS: (1919) A TROOP OF COSSACKS (Reports)



onal balance of class forces,—despite the many excellent revolutionary developments spontaneously growing here, there, and everywhere,—reveals a huge minus against the Gorbachev leadership of the world proletariat.

The people of South Africa and the Front Line states continue to be butchered and blitzed at will by the forces of apartheid fascist reaction, aided and abetted by Western imperialism. Tiny Cuba alone heroically comes directly to the aid of the African revolution—despite being far more vulnerable to US imperialist retaliation than is the USSR.

Under Brezhnev, the Soviet Union correctly went to the aid of the Afghan revolutionary regime when it was in danger of being overrun by CIA-armed, financed, and trained feudal and tribal reactionaries, busy wrecking every school, hospital, and scientific industrial advance the Afghan socialist revolution tried to make. Under Gorbachev, the Afghan revolutionaries are being left to fend for themselves against an unequal opponent,—the mightiest and wealthiest imperialist power in world history,—the American CIA counter-revolutionary forces.

The Palestinian people continue to be butchered genocidally and denied their homeland, usurped from them by stooges of Zionism, a largely Western imperialist creature. The Zionist colonisers are Western imperialism's number one recipient in arms-aid, finance, and support of every conceivable kind. The Palestinian people are forced to suffer non-stop humiliation and savage military beatings with only United Nations refugee tents and food hand-outs to rely on.

What is worse, Gorbachev's predecessors, whom he has not denounced on this count at all,—signed the infamous 1947 UN deal hand-

ing over the Palestinians country to the largely Western (at that time) Zionist colonising immigrants, and then even more outrageously actually armed the Zionist imperialists to help them withstand the first Arab fightback.

Far from denouncing this grotesque class-collaborating deal with Western imperialist reaction, Gorbachev is now busy cementing this Zionist colonising tyranny by allowing ever greater numbers of reactionary Zionist fanatics to leave their obligations to the Soviet Union, and to increase the warmongering colonising settlements on the West Bank, in Gaza, and in the rest of Palestinian and other Arab lands annexed by the fascist Zionist-imperialists.

In Central and South America, the nazi death squads are as rampantly at work as ever, butchering any remoter progressive activists and academics with impunity, and all still financed and armed by US imperialism, and their murderous secret police and killer special forces all specifically trained for their work at American-run bases.

This US tutelage of indigenous fascism in Central & South America exactly follows the pattern of nazi tyranny set by the USA's own blitzkrieg invasion and annihilation of the four heroic years of socialist achievement on Grenada, and Washington's earlier similar interventions since World War II to topple progressive regimes in Guatemala, Guyana, Dominican Republic, etc, and particularly cynically and savagely in Chile, unleashing the CIA-trained and installed fascist nightmare under Pinochet, plus similar attempts on Cuba and Nicaragua.

It might be argued that the Soviet Union could not have realistically militarily in-

tervened in scarcely any of these situations so far from Europe and so close to US imperialism's back yard.

But the ludicrous philistinism of the Moscow leadership, all vintages, is in allowing Western imperialism to chide the USSR for its correct and self-sacrificing contribution to Afghanistan's defence against international imperialist subversion, but for the West to have none of its own very real murderous tyranny thrust back down its own rotten throat.

The way these measurements of the current international balance of class forces should be tested is in Leninist polemical debate, the very life-blood of the building of the Bolshevik Party in the first place (which led to the first crucial explosion of the proletarian revolutionary epoch, crowning the lifetime's scientific genius of Marx and Engels.)

The correct scientific analysis of the international class & national forces in the Palestine crisis, for example, and what realistic perspectives can resolve the contradictions,—must be matters for polemical argument and the test of experience. (See ILWP Books vol 14).

It might be thought that Gorbachev had at least restored that feature of correct leadership in his glasnost and perestroika performance.

But in fact openness on the relevance of Leninism to all of the world's problems is further away than ever with all these childish "pull your socks up" histrionics from Moscow. It is precisely this demented "no more than 10 years in charge" rule which sums up the absolute hopelessness of having inadequate leaders playing around with the forms of political change, however animatedly, while remaining embarrassingly ignorant

31. Restricting Marx, Engels, and Lenin to two 5-year terms of leadership each would have been a devastating blow to human progress. But only 10 years of Stalinist revisionist defeatism after 1924 would already

have been more than enough to kill off Leninist revolutionary internationalism. The moment when the anti-Marxist philistine Gorbachev is replaced by a Leninist cannot come soon enough (Bulletin 446, 1/6/88)

The complex problems of the international balance of class forces cannot be resolved by some infantile Buggins-turn games over periods of office.

Correct scientific leadership must & will be given to the international class struggle whatever markings some bureaucratic decisions somewhere have artificially placed on the calendars.

The time for leaders to go is when they get things wrong. The time for them to stay is when they get things right, however long they go on for.

The scientific genius of Marx, Engels, and Lenin in triumphantly creating the world revolutionary movement best flourished in each case long after their first ten years leadership had been used up. The same could be pointed out of the colossal revolutionary triumphs of Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and many others.

The one thing the international class struggle is now desperately in need of above all else is Leninist scientific leadership of that same

world-transforming quality.

And as soon as the world proletarian movement gets it, it wants to hang onto it for as long as it can, for as long as that leadership gets things right. Anyone trying to remove such successful revolutionary leadership after ten years will need suppressing, just as the counter-revolutionary forces of imperialism will need suppressing who will also be trying to destroy such triumphant international communist leadership.

The test of success is not whether some leader has completed 10 years in office or not but in whether the forces of international imperialist reaction have continued to be routed or not on a worldwide scale.

The measurement of success is the extent to which the progressive forces of proletarian revolution and national liberation are being savaged with impunity by international imperialist reaction.

The current measurement of the internati-

about the revolutionary scientific content of necessary change.

It is not openness to go round suggesting that the genius of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science is always exhausted after 10 years leadership operation (or the even sillier implied corollary that adequate Leninist ability is likely to be present up to a 10 year reign). It is sheer stupidity, the very opposite of openness.

It is certainly true that the necessary dictatorship of the proletariat, without which imperialism can never be finally overthrown or socialism built, is eventually replaced by the ever-wider involvement of more & more millions of the masses in their own self-management, or the spread of 'democratisation' as Gorbachev foolishly expresses it, - playing into the hands of Western parliamentary-bourgeois reactionary prejudice and counter-revolutionary intrigue which pretends that the socialist revolution is the denial of democracy when in reality it is the only path forward towards true democracy (communism) as Leninism fully explained.)

But Gorbachev & Co resolutely turn their backs on the Leninist method of wider mass involvement which was through the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship against all the enemies of communism, - thus making possible the ever-wider flowering of revolutionary consciousness through involving more & more people in the routing of reaction.

These pathetic and naive Moscow philistines are allowing Sakharov & Co, with his soggy social-democratic illusions in class-collaboration (which once screeched for US imperialism to keep its nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, and to use it if all else fails to halt the spread of communism) - to run rings round the Soviet government.

As for reconstruction, there will be little or none until the Soviet masses can be inspired once again by

the totally transforming perspectives of the international revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist-capitalist world order with all its insoluble arms-race warmongering problems, degeneracy, and devastation for mankind, - past, present, and future.

Embracing in Moscow the current moronic US imperialist gangsters in charge of the White House (and responsible for the monstrous disasters for humanity taking place daily all round the globe) will fill any self-respecting Soviet worker with nothing but contempt for Gorbachev's cowardly, class-collaborating gullibility.

As a tactic, peaceful coexistence should proceed, and it is working well, undermining Reagan's "evil empire" garbage.

But the filthy hypocrisy about "freedom" which Moscow students had to swallow (in return for Reagan's humble-pie trip to the USSR) from a regime which is virtually trying to mass-murder the whole of progressive Latin America via its degenerate fascist stooges (in El Salvador, Guatemala, Paraguay, Chile, Colombia, etc) is the indication of Western imperialism's non-stop counter-revolutionary sabotage of human advancement, and the measure of Gorbachev's criminal revisionist defeatism in presenting these distasteful diplomatic necessities as being a serious perspective for a "permanent peaceful solution" to all mankind's problems.

Washington is certainly in paralysed chaos at the moment, - its counter-revolutionary destabilisation plans in disarray against Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Angola, El Salvador, Panama, etc.

But only an imbecile could sincerely believe that this is anything like the end of Western imperialist warmongering, of the US counter-revolutionary arms-race.

Washington & the West are obviously stumbling over the difficulties of defeating the world socialist revolution, in particular in the midst of capitalism's own rene-

wed economic crisis.

But the inescapable historical record, as confirmed by all of Leninism, only proves that such an incurable political & economic catastrophe only drives the capitalist system one way, - back into all-out inter-imperialist war and unrestrained counter-revolutionary destruction. (See ILWP Books vol 11).

The coming trade-war will inevitably breed outright chauvinist-fascist regimes in more than a few capitalist countries. The Rambo warmongering of the Reagan-degenerates has come to grief in one or two places, but it is utter nonsense to imagine that this is the end of the road for the powerful US imperialist bourgeoisie. Their unparalleled power of military aggression and vicious reactionary international record will unavoidably remain the overwhelming threat to civilisation until it is overthrown, with vast potential for continued reactionary destruction for a long time to come.

Direct US counter-revolutionary intervention remains the immediate likely danger, - anywhere from the Philippines, South Korea, or Thailand, to the Gulf, Lebanon, and the Middle East, and then to Nicaragua, Panama, El Salvador, and the rest of Latin America, - all round the planet potentially in support of capitalism's fading fascist stooges in one area after another.

It is Moscow's naive ignorance feigned about this reactionary perspective (to which the only, - but sufficient, - answer is to further encourage the international revolutionary forces which are driving back the Western imperialist stooges in every region), - which makes Yeltsin's indisciplined bleat to Western television about his dislike for Politburo leader Ligachev such a disgraceful lapse.

There is almost certainly a good case to be made against the defects of most of the Politburo leaders. And more open discussion of Moscow's political incorrect analysis wo-

uld be welcomed.

But running to Western television to make a pathetic whinge just about the alleged heavy bureaucratic personality of Ligachev is infantile crassness.

What a miserable picture of the impoverished levels of Soviet Party political leadership does this incoherent, non-Leninist self-serving outburst by Yeltsin reveal. Not a single perceptive phrase of Marxist analysis of the crucial theoretical weaknesses behind Moscow revisionism and bureaucratism did Yeltsin's choleric bellow manage to come out with.

If Gorbachev's acceptance of the manipulative way Yeltsin was originally kicked out of high office was an anti-glasnost farce, - the fact that Yeltsin was a 'gorbachevite high flyer' but turns out to be almost tongue-tied (when interviewed) speaks just as badly of the philistine shallowness of the whole Gorbachev movement, - as does Yeltsin's naive grasp of world political realities in rattling to the most dedicatedly counter-revolutionary television service in the world (the BBC) about his gripes.

Once again, more openness divorced from a Leninist grasp of what is needed to win the international class war against imperialist arms-race reaction and counter-revolution - is, or can be, worse than useless.

But overall it must be stressed that the circus in Moscow ranks low in the order of developments really influencing the outcome of the world balance of class forces.

The tactical diplomatic routing of Reagan's "evil empire" posture is not without its advantages, even if these are partly negated by the dispiriting effect on the international Leninist movement that the anti-Marxist clowning of Moscow's "permanent peaceful coexistence" illusion inevitably has, plus no little confusion it sows in the revisionist swamp in the West reinforcing anti-Leninist opportunism there.)

But that vain "coll-

ective security" posture has been on show from Moscow before in place of Lenin's revolutionary internationalist perspectives, - in the 1930s, hopelessly trying to prevent the inevitable outbreak of inter-imperialist holocaust (plus a vicious sideswipe against the Soviet Union - so brilliantly deferred by Stalin's non-aggression pact with Hitler to split the Western imperialist warmongering into two rival camps in 1939, giving the USSR a much needed breathing space as well as only one branch of warmongering imperialism to fight at a time). It was a revisionist defeatist farce then. It is a revisionist defeatist farce now.

What really counts, first & foremost, is the development of the genuine revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism, - currently in the Philippines, El Salvador, Guatemala, South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, Western Sahara, Chile, occupied north of Ireland, etc. That invincible revolutionary national-liberation struggle to begin further extending the toppling of all the vestiges of Western imperialist-colonialism and its stooges from every last corner of the planet, - is the real spontaneous heart of the hopes for the ultimate triumph of Leninist science all over the world. Building on those movements towards the reestablishment of Leninist scientific revolutionary consciousness internationally is the greatest prize before mankind.

Second in importance for assessing the development of the international balance of class forces is the degree of degeneracy and the depths of the paralysed splits inside the imperialist camp, and in particular inside Washington itself. The more each imperialist regime is reduced to confused inactive squabbling over what to do next about impossibly difficult crises and problems, the more dramatic are the prospects for further revolutionary advance around the globe. As Bulletin 443

explained, the decline into a reliance on horoscopes for working out the West's international policies is a reassuring sign of the chaos (that will eventually have to become total) to prepare the ground for the completion of the world socialist revolution.

The obscene displays of dissident reactionaries in Moscow around the joke President's theatrical gibberings ranks a poor third in importance to these two far more serious influences on the international balance of class forces.

This can be demonstrated mathematically. Imagine Reagan making a new melodramatic stumble around Moscow every week for the next ten weeks, finding nothing to be coherent about (when not reading from his cue-prompter) and few new ugly dissidents & opportunists to embrace, and with insecure Washington being just as incapable of responding to further Soviet peace & disarmament initiatives as the US imperialists were this week. It would quickly degenerate from being an odd televisual farce into being a very very boring predictable farce.

But imagine the Angolan-piloted MiGs beating up South Africa's Mysteres and all its other Western supplied & trained aircraft every week for the next ten weeks just as they did recently in Angola's great victory in the battle for Cuito Cuanavale which so shattered the fascist apartheid regime's self-confidence and with it the Western imperialist complacency over capitalism's counter-revolutionary intriguing in south West Africa.

Or imagine another major resignation from the Reagan cabinet every week for the next ten weeks, with all the accompanying revelations of wrongdoing which have marked previous such resignations.

By comparison, it can then be seen where the real battles & movements affecting the future of the world are to be found, - in the disgusting parade of reactionary hypocrisy by Reagan in Moscow, and in Gorbachev's

unbalanced, welcome for this freak diplomacy, - or in the further revolutionary triumphs of the Angolan, Cuban, and Namibian SWAPO forces against South Africa for example, plus in the further signs of terminal decay that these incurable setbacks for imperialism are causing to every capitalist bourgeois regime on the planet?

The answer is clear. Build Leninist revolutionary consciousness.

32. Gorbachev's monstrous falsification of history more criminal than Stalin ever dreamed of. He will fail. (Bulletin 448, 15/6/88)

In the Moscow bureaucracy's philistine efforts to overcome Stalinist corruption & revisionism but without returning to Leninism, - nothing more disgraceful or reactionary has emerged than the CPSU's 'foreign policy theses' for the coming Party conference.

These characterise the Cold War period after 1945 as the Soviet Union's fault, for "allowing ourselves to be lured into an arms race, which could not but affect this country's social and economic progress and its standing on the international scene" and for "failing to use opportunities available to attain security for our nation by political means".

This incredible capitulation to imperialist warmongering and anti-communist crusading then proclaims a "new mode of thinking on foreign policy.... free from historically hackneyed stereotypes, ...reflecting the realities of the modern world that questions the very survival of humanity and contains a formidable potential for coexistence, cooperation... comprehensive security, freedom of choice, a balance of interests, a non-offensive doctrine, international economic security", etc.

The theses claim that the USSR will not drop its guard against the "lurking" militarist danger in imperialism, but then completely disarm the international proletariat once more by immediately trumpeting: "The realities of the contemporary world and permutations for objective factors born of war lead us to think that the security of states will more and more be removed from

the sphere of politics with pre-eminence for law, human morality, and fulfilment of international obligations.... Will we send back the threat of war? Yes, certainly.... The burden of military expenditure will decline.... An opportunity to have global problems resolved in joint efforts by the world community."

Class collaboration rules!

And so does pitiful anti-marxist ignorance in Moscow.

This cowardly and servile self-humiliation by the defeatist and narrow-minded bureaucracy over imperialism's Cold War offensive (against the international socialist revolution after the end of imperialism's degenerate Second World War) is not even presented as the main factor governing the perestroika theses, - such is the abysmal anti-Leninist confusion of the CPSU.

Leninist science can only commence from an assessment of the international balance of class forces.

This astonishing Gorbachev re-write of Marxism, - eliminating the class-war basis of human history at the stroke of a secretary's typewriter, - a truly 'revolutionising' factor for 'new thinking' if it were remotely related to reality, - only creeps in right at the end of the new CPSU theses, however, as if almost an afterthought (after all the perestroika hot air about how the bureaucrats intend to pull everyone's socks up for them by the sheer power of exhortation, - thereby confirming how distant from marxist materialism is Gorbachev's subjective idealism.)

Gorbachev wants success as a leader but remains profoundly ignorant of the obvious Leninist (and only) route back towards greater creative inspiration throughout Soviet society via the resumption of the struggle to complete the world socialist revolution and the overthrow of imperialist arms-race warmongering, - the only way this can ever be achieved.

Totally unequipped to rise up to this challenge of revolutionary leadership by his own and his predecessors decades of revisionist defeatism and bureaucratic corruption, Gorbachev tries to meet the requirements by the most blatant trick of every small-minded philistine

in history: - he simply substitutes his ideas of what he would like to see happening for reality. Pure idealism - the deadliest enemy of Marxism.

It is a painful embarrassment that it should have to be pointed out to Moscow that the notion of any Soviet responsibility at all for the Cold War, and for the incurable arms-race warmongering character of the imperialist system, - is sick degenerate idiocy - factually a foul lying distortion, theoretically an imbecilic revision of Leninism, and politically a craven submission to bullying imperialist propaganda. Only individuals with less spunk than a louse could be associated with such gibberish.

This hideous filth is produced by the idealist processes of extrapolation and rationalisation.

The essence of Leninist leadership is the party's ability to provide a scientifically correct analysis and perspective of how the international class struggle must develop in all possible circumstances.

Since Lenin's death and subsequent defeatist confusion about the failure of the socialist revolution to spread immediately, and about the growing threat of fascist-imperialist reaction, - Moscow bureaucracy has retreated further and further from Marxism.

Gorbachev has been seeking to cement his position as authoritative leader after a period of dramatic imperialist crisis (but comatose Soviet response) in the course of a prolonged embarrassing geriatric leadership succession.

Gorbachev has met the twin challenge of imperialist threat and Soviet muddle in the only way that a philosophy-less routinist bureaucrat can, - with a virtuoso performance of pure bullshit.

"Work harder because it is a good idea to work harder" is the only real (and hopelessly shallow) message.

The promised review of past Soviet revisionist muddles, mistakes, and disasters has so far only produced even more ludicrous confusion to pile on top of previous retreats from Leninism, - especially in Gorbachev's own contributions (see past Bulletins and ILWP Books vol 13).

Gorbachev's new "theses" merely extend that old nonsense by adding a bit more bur-

eaucrat spice to it, - just widening the scope a little of his usual obscene trick of blaming his predecessor bureaucrats (and patrons) for being less successful bullshitters than Gorbachev now clearly considers himself to be.

Previously he felt safe in lambasting his immediate geriatric predecessors for being less energetic and imaginative than Gorbachev presents himself as being. More cocky now, he feels safer in widening his net of disparagement.

But Gorbachevism remains utterly void of any revolutionary-scientific content. It is so laughably anti-Leninist as to be a sick joke.

Firstly, there is nothing new at all in the bureaucracy vainly offering a class-collaborating cuddle-up to decaying warmongering imperialism. It is as ancient as Stalin's notorious 'Collective security/Popular front' defeatism of the 1930s which pathetically failed to prevent the onslaught of imperialism's World War II holocaust, inevitably so, - by retreating from the international revolutionary mobilisation of the proletariat which was (and remains) the only force capable of halting imperialism's relentless drift to war (by overthrowing it).

And endless urgings to pull socks up, - throwing in a bit of bureaucrat-sacking and 'We are partly to blame' admissions, - is even older, - Stalin's best long-serving trick by far, - all in the name of smoke-screening over any serious analysis of why (in terms of revolutionary-scientific assessment of the international balance of class forces and the advance of proletarian dictatorship worldwide) any sliding back has taken place in the Soviet Union in the first place.

Therefore being not new, Gorbachev's 'pull your socks up' advertising hype is as irrelevant to the decline of revolutionary labour inspiration in the Soviet Union as a Martini commercial.

Secondly of course, glasnost and perestroika are such small-scale partial aspects of international revolutionary problems as to clearly be mere symptom-chasing rather than any scientific analysis for the cause (and the cure) for the difficulties in the international balance

of class forces. They are both anti-Leninist and a bombastic cover-up to prevent any return to Leninism.

So Gorbachev has to disparage his former close comrades in this contentless, posturing, opportunist manner because he has no serious scientific Leninist revolutionary insights to put in place of the routinist bureaucratic defeatism.

Even the one bit of perestroika which on the surface is not pure bullshit, - the 'democratisation', - is hopelessly misunderstood by Gorbachev as far as Lenin's perspectives for the further development of the soviet state and the international revolutionary struggle are concerned, as the Bulletin has explained. Lenin understood proletarian dictatorship as the only route and mechanism of emancipating the masses, - as the only and greatest guarantee in all history of true democracy. And obviously only through the relentless strengthening of the grip of proletarian dictatorship on the planet (at the direct expense of imperialist rule) could the flowering of communist society (and the withering away of the state) eventually progressively flourish via the steady involvement of wider and wider swathes of the masses in the communist leadership and self-management (and self-discipline) of society.

The philosophically illiterate pygmies in Moscow can rise no higher than the dullest petty-bourgeois Western criticism (and fear) of proletarian dictatorship by presenting 'democratisation' measures as a 'relief from' or a 'counter to' proletarian dictatorship, - thereby disastrously playing into the hands of imperialism's worldwide anti-communist propaganda blitzkriegs and subversion.

And while the re-emphasis on self-management economic monetary incentives (again nothing new) could be useful reforms, they will still be totally irrelevant to the ailing political-philosophical soul of

the USSR as a revolutionary society. And glasnost, far from restoring Leninism to its proper place in society as the only philosophical and historical science which must be studied by everyone, - pretends that it is reinstating 'real dialogue' by letting every god-fearing moron and anti-communist individualist spout their idealist rubbish without any social or political accounting. This is not Lenin's proletarian dictatorship leading to communist society, but degenerate anarchy leading nowhere.

In its futile emptiness, Gorbachevism therefore can only put even more venom into denouncing his predecessors (and former close colleagues and mentors), and throw some extra mindless sparkle into revisionism's class-collaborating internationalist defeatism as well. Hence the loathsome philistinism and grotesque vacuity of the repeated Gorbachev-Reagan summits which are such a cruel and calculated insult to the millions suffering around the world under the heel of fascist-imperialist terror who are not merely getting no redress from these bad-taste jamborees in Moscow, Reykjavik, Washington, etc, but are actually harmed by the prop and cover to US warmongering aggression that these summits have given Reagan (due to Moscow's one-sided use of Lenin's peaceful coexistence tactic - see LLWP Books vols 4, 5, 6, & 13)

Now Gorbachev is extending his shallow class-collaborating repertoire with this infamous heaping of the blame for the post-1945 Cold War onto his bureaucratic predecessors, thus throwing a further arm of embrace around Reaganism (imperialist warmongering).

Paradoxically, the one saving grace of the Stalin era's disastrous mismanagement of the USSR's international revolutionary responsibilities was its achievement in never failing to face up eventually to the unending threat of imperialist warmongering dominance, at every stage

from 1917 onwards to the present day.

From Gorbachev's native anti-Marxist muddleheadedness in arbitrarily declaring, out of his head, that the built-in warmongering character of imperialism is now at an end, - it might seem that even this sensible Soviet state precaution of always trying to match the continuous Western military threat and counter-revolutionary intriguing may now be abandoned.

Reality is likely to turn out somewhat differently however. Mispaced trust in imperialism's non-existent good faith is not a new trick for the defeatist Moscow bureaucracy. The Stalin leadership tried desperately hard to believe in the reliability of German imperialism's 1939 non-aggression treaty with the USSR, for instance. From that and a variety of other arbitrary Stalinist illusions, Soviet defence forces suffered badly when the war finally inevitably arrived. But it was nothing unrecoverable from.

Subsequently, the international revolutionary struggle was forced to bear huge unnecessary sacrifices from Moscow's delusion that Western imperialism would help the Soviet Union establish a 'new democratic world order' post-1945 when in fact relentless and vicious counter-revolution was all that the West was preparing, - including the monstrous Cold War propaganda racket, - deliberately cunningly set up with a million detailed pre-planned CIA subversions, stunts and intrigues. But the world revolutionary movement surged ahead regardless of Moscow's defeatist anti-Marxist revisionism seeking class-collaboration with imperialism. And the Soviet state had to back the cause of the new workers states out of protective self interest, despite Moscow's philosophical confusion.

Unless it can mount a fullscale physical counter-revolution, - an armed seizure of power, - the Soviet bureaucracy remains always tied to some

extent to the material interests of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship, its only power base. And while leadership is crucial, and the absence of correct leadership could be fatal to any socialist revolution, - the anti-imperialist material interests of the socialist international system are well enough established now to make it unlikely for any Moscow bosses to get away for long with too blatant a betrayal of the Soviet camp's anti-capitalist wellbeing, (regardless of any amount of such one-sided favour-currying interference as in earlier US opportunism towards China, e.g., - a policy gesture which crisis-ridden imperialism could not hope to keep up for long.)

In addition, the adaptive tail-ending non-philosophy of the socialist bureaucracy itself can also flounder in both directions, and not only along the line of more class-collaboration with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Gorbachev's Afghanistan deal could prove to be an interesting case. If Moscow's undoubted material and political interests in the area get pushed too far towards disaster by breaches of the "no more arms to the tribal reactionaries and no more arms across the Pakistan border" by the Zia fascist dictatorship, it would not be impossible for Gorbachev to respond with a furious ultra-left zig-zag to such a humiliation of his position before the rest of the Soviet leadership. That could even take Soviet troops into Pakistan itself, - to the enormous damage of Western imperialism through the toppling of yet another nazi military stooge, and in a crucial regional and political area.

The arbitrary violent zig-zags in policy of the Stalin era are not a repeatable pattern, but the basic limitations on the bureaucracy's behaviour in any direction are broadly hinted at. For all the unpredictable confusion of the anti-philosophical subjective illusions of the

temporary phenomenon of socialist bureaucracy, the general stance of the anti-imperialist camp since 1917 has been easily identifiable even if frequently deplorable.

The unshakable constant has been the anti-capitalist workers states, - not necessarily the anti-Leninist defeatism of the more limited bureaucrats.

Afghanistan's anti-imperialist development is by no means secure so far, but neither is it certain that "the Soviet withdrawal can only lead to the murder of the Afghan revolution, the butchering of the PDP, and the drowning in blood of all forces for progress in that country" as the anti-communist hysterics claim who run the fake 'Leninist' faction inside the hopelessly middle-class and counter-revolutionary British Communist Party (CPGB). Quoting endless rightwing sources like Newsweek and Economist that "a victory for the Mujahedin rebels is inevitable" does not make it so.

Such ultra-left posturing by the petty-bourgeois swamp continues the 'Leninist' group's real fear of unconditionally identifying with proletarian dictatorship, warts and all, which they showed in their cowardly opportunist refusal to unconditionally support the Polish workers state (while remaining critical of its anti-Leninist weaknesses) in the teeth of the neo-fascist propaganda blitzkrieg in the West in favour of Walesa's and the CIA's Solidarnosc gangsters (funded by the Vatican's Banco Ambrosiano racket). (See LLWP Books vol 3).

For these academic ivory-tower 'revolutionaries', - unless a revolution can be defended as what they consider to be 'copybook Marxism', - they will not get out of their armchairs to rout the counter-revolutionary clique, - abandoning the Polish workers state (and the entire international balance of class forces in the conflict with imperialism, of course) to whatever subversive vil-

A critical analysis of the past has been made, to show that our foreign policy, too, did not escape dogmatic and subjective attitudes. It trailed behind fundamental changes that occurred in the world and missed chances to reduce tensions and enhance understanding among nations.

In our bid for military-strategic parity we occasionally failed to use opportunities available to attain security for our nation by political means and, as a result, allowed ourselves to be lured into an arms race, which could not but affect this country's social and economic progress and its standing on the international scene.

The foreign policy relies on a new mode of thinking, one that is consistent and based on research and free from historically hackneyed stereotypes. The new mode of thinking reflects the realities of the modern

world, versatile and controversial as it is, a world that questions the very survival of humanity and yet contains a formidable potential for coexistence, co-operation and a quest for political solutions to urgent issues.

The new political thinking has made it possible to advance a number of major ideas that have captivated an alarmed world. The main ones are a programme for stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, a system of comprehensive security, freedom of choice, a balance of interests, a "common European home", a programme to overhaul relations in Asia and the Pacific, defence sufficiency and a non-offensive doctrine, international economic security....

The realities of the contemporary world and permutations for objective factors born of war lead us to think that the security of

states will more and more be removed from military correlations to the sphere of politics with pre-eminence for law, human morality and fulfilment of international obligations...

The direct threat of a war involving the major powers has diminished. The international position of the Soviet Union has markedly improved, and through heightened trust in our country rather than an increase in might. The world situation has acquired more stability and predictability.

More real is the prospect of bridling the arms race with all its consequences. The burden of military expenditure will decline.

An opportunity has opened to offset the threat to peace on a broader social and political basis than ever, a chance to lay the ground and have global problems resolved in joint efforts by the world community. 9

lainy and disruptive lies the Western agencies combatting proletarian dictatorship care to get away with.

Now these defeatist fairweather socialists are washing their hands in advance of Afghanistan's revolutionary struggle, anticipating more difficulties and disasters which these fake 'Leninists' don't wish to be seen to be part of, slyly putting ultra-left blame on Moscow for causing their defection.

Moscow's deal with reaction over Afghanistan is certainly no kind of clearcut triumph, but it is much more complicated than a simple sell-out as the 'Leninist' and other ultra-left petty-bourgeois swampites are claiming.

Signing disengagement agreements as such with imperialism, having fought its counter-revolutionary subversion to a standstill in the past eight years, is not necessarily a political abandonment by Moscow. Soviet troops would not obviously be needed for ever even if CIA interference never ceased. At some stage the appeal of socialist revolution was bound to tip the balance of class forces among Afghans in favour of the Kabul regime being able independently to defend its own interests successfully. On that score, there may be a question mark against Moscow's timing of its withdrawal, but not inevitably against its rationalisation for doing so.

Equally, there is no necessary betrayal in the diplomatic tactic itself of putting US imperialism's intent-

ions to a peaceful coexistence test in one specific treaty area where Washington might have some interest in a disengagement or climb-down anyway (due to the critical difficulties the Zia military dictatorship is in from the costly unpopularity of hosting the CIA's anti-Soviet war across the Afghan border and pampering the reactionary and grasping Mujahedin 'rebel' stooges of Western imperialism). As long as the USSR acts with aggressive military decisiveness again (as before) once it is obvious that counter-revolutionary subversion of the Afghan socialist revolution is becoming an unequal imperialist-dominated contest, - then Leninist understanding of the peaceful coexistence tactic, for either getting disengagement, or proving Western imperialism's intransigence in arms-race warmongering and fascist intervention, could even offer some limited gains for the world socialist revolution.

It is precisely over Moscow's deplorable distortions of Lenin's tactical diplomacy, - pretending it is a complete solution to the problem of imperialist subversion and warmongering, - that doubts arise over the influence and effects of Moscow's deal with Washington (and its Pakistani stooges) over Afghanistan.

Gorbachev's loose and simple-minded rhetoric about the joys of settling all regional problems through more talks with his 'friend', - the president of murderous US imperialism, - raises

the suspicion that any kind of token agreement with Reagan at all was Moscow's primary concern, - not the wellbeing of the Afghan socialist revolution or the USSR's obligations to the world proletariat in the international class war, which clearly should be the priority.

To that very serious but so far only limited extent, the Afghans are to some degree being left to fend for themselves, - wrongly so.

And while it is by no means ruled out that Afghanistan's socialist revolution may become a casualty of Gorbachev's moronic illusions (in peaceful coexistence gestures as a solution to imperialist counter-revolution as opposed to a mere tactic for exposing Western warmongering arms-race intransigence), - it must still be pointed out that however tragic, appalling, and dangerous that would be, - it still does not add up to a complete writing off of the Soviet Union's importance and role (potentially crucial, as it proved in 1941-1945) in the anti-imperialist struggle altogether.

As stated, the USSR could easily come back into the struggle inside Afghanistan itself, - and possibly even more determinedly than ever before, - if the pressures and difficulties on the Gorbachev group turn out badly.

And it is absolutely certain that the general drift of imperialism back into inter-capitalist warmongering (World War III) plus its inevitably heightened aggression too against any lesser victims imperialism fee-

ls it can get away with bullying and showing the flag against (colonies, ex-colonies, key markets, more obscure national-liberation movements, or even smaller socialist states, etc), - that this inevitable final outcome of the incurable capitalist arms-race and trade-war economic crisis will unavoidably mobilise the entire might of the Soviet Union ready for anything against the warring degeneracy of imperialism, eventually.

The present confused mixed pattern of socialist state response to imperialist aggression both confirms the chronic philosophical bankruptcy emanating from Moscow on these crucial questions of the future perspectives of the international class war, but also the close material links between the socialist camp and the anti-imperialist and national-liberation struggles.

The chequered record of the socialist camp proves only that while consistent Leninist revolutionary understanding remains philosophically as far off as ever or becomes even more dormant, the workers states in practice have frequently fought a good fight against imperialist counter-revolution, - with the very same socialist bureaucracies first going one way and then the other, - without any change of leadership. Thus the Greek communists were abandoned in 1947 but not the North Korean communists in 1949. CIA-inspired counter-revolutionary intervention was ignored in Iran and Guatemala in 1953 & 1954 but not in

Suez or Hungary in 1956. Western imperialism eventually succeeded, through intervention, in winning Zaire (Belgian Congo) for reaction after armed invasions and the murder of socialist leader Patrice Lumumba; but in the long and costly struggle in Vietnam and Indo-China, the communist forces were ultimately, in fits & starts, backed all the way by the socialist camp to the greatest anti-imperialist triumph of the entire history of national-liberation struggle. Grenada was infamously abandoned (see ILWP Books vol 12), and Ethiopia has been viciously savaged. But during exactly the same period, major socialist state commitments have gone to the aid of Angola and Afghanistan, and Vietnam took on a huge commitment to rescue Kampuchea from anarchical tyranny of Pol Pot individualist extremism in the teeth of painful Western opposition. And while Austria and West Berlin were foolishly handed back to 'democratic' bourgeois reaction after 1945, Poland and Czechoslovakia have never been, in spite of repeated CIA and Vatican subversion attempts.

In spite of Gorbachev's inanities, the anti-imperialist struggle and the international balance of class forces grows ever more steadily and powerfully in favour of the revolutionary proletariat. This real material force of incurable revolt against capitalist decay and tyranny is the decisive arbiter, - not the class-collaborating foolishness uttered by tempo- 81

rary groupings of bureaucrats in Moscow or Peking.

The weird scenes of the confused and demoralised Reagan regime trying to take advantage of a 'friendship' prop from Moscow can only be a short-lived phenomenon as far as the arms-race warmongering reactionary interests of the monopoly-imperialist circles of the US big bourgeoisie are concerned. The mightiest and most fascist-aggressive counter-revolutionary and military-subversion machine in all history is not about to retire hurt, or demobilise itself because of momentary embarrassment and chaos. The CIA's murderous reactionary intervention is going on all the time all over the world, and another sharp jolt to the socialist camp's material interests will at some time in the future re-raise the workers states' anti-imperialist essence to pre-eminence at the expense of their class-collaborating foolishness.

Gorbachev's capitulatory delusions could be in for an even ruder shock on the domestic front.

From the beginning, the Bulletin has repeatedly pointed out that just by economic incentives or empty exhortations to do better for its own sake, Gorbachev's perestroika could not hope to get anywhere near whatever economic transformation he is seeking.

As the first truly democratic society, proletarian dictatorship must increasingly work above all else along conscious lines.

What consciousness in the modern world can possibly alone appeal to a socialist society? Surely only one which envisages collective effort in order to eliminate injustice, backwardness, and tyranny from the face of the earth. And that means one thing alone: - the overthrow of imperialism.

So either Soviet society is going to be galvanised and inspired into mighty new efforts along the revolutionising paths of

completing the world socialist revolution, or it is not going to be inspired very much at all, - shaking itself only if and when imperialism does next attack the Soviet Union once again.

But for the complete ideological nonsense of a pretended "solution to all mankind's problems via agreements with those nice intelligent US imperialists led by Reagan", - most Soviet workers will hardly even bother to have a good spit.

And as for working harder to defend Gorbachev's woolly-headed posturing position against the supposed 'old guard', many Soviet workers will properly prefer the 'old guard' if the alternative means putting up with the state-sponsored backward insulting garbage from the likes of the anti-Communist renegade Sakharov, who has still yet to publicly renounce his former position of demanding that US imperialism maintain nuclear weapons superiority over the Soviet Union, and to use it if necessary to "stop the spread of communism"; or putting up with the artistic mindlessness now being permitted to hordes of anti-Marxist individualists and exhibitionists now cramming the 'creative' scene to give vent to their hatred of communist revolutionary struggle, or to earn themselves a Western bob or two by airing their wretched anti-Soviet opinions and tittle-tattle.

Gorbachev's glasnost in this respect completely misses the point of Leninist leadership which is by all means to encourage the highest possible level of doubt and disagreement with the revolution's communist perspectives, - but then to take on the opportunist individualist dross and idealist compromising in order to defeat it in relentless ideological combat and polemical struggle.

Backward, unchallenged anti-Leninist drive is now pouring forth in a destabilising flood from every last artistic crank, writer, religious loony, and academic in a humiliating and damaging aff-

ront to everything the Soviet workers state has fought for (against bourgeois degeneracy and anti-Marxist mindlessness) this century.

It is hardly surprising that if every filthy little subjective grievance can be aired to the Western media to damage the Soviet workers state with Moscow's full approval, that idiotic large-scale damage of the depraved nationalist kind between Armenians and Azerbaijanis feels encouraged to come spewing out.

There is no communist leadership at all being provided by Gorbachev at the moment. If he himself is denigrating the historical record of the Soviet workers state (fighting imperialist Cold War) precisely where it ought not to be denigrated; and if every crackpot individualist throughout the USSR is being encouraged to tip his own particular bucket of shit over the Bolshevik Revolution's head, then why would not the entire population (it seems) of Armenia and Azerbaijan break out in a riot of mindless nationalism. If communist leadership is not anywhere on the agenda, then it must be full tilt back to "all the old crap" as Marx and Lenin frequently warned if the dictatorship of the proletariat was not relentlessly and mightily built up as the only way out of the swamp of worldwide bourgeois impressionism, subjectivism, and opportunism, self-seeking, anarchy and arbitrariness.

The cure for Stalinist defeatism is Leninist revolutionary leadership, not even-worse bureaucratic retreats into philistinism, class-collaboration, and noisy humbug which Gorbachev is contributing.

Once again, the cure for hurt nationalist feelings in Armenia, Azerbaijan, or anywhere else, cannot possibly lie in petty-minded national exclusivity in such a patchwork quilt of more than 160 intermingled nations and languages as the Soviet Union represents. It can only lie in turning the spirits

and aspirations of these disturbed nationalist masses outwards to the great multinational world task of completing the international socialist revolution for the overthrow of imperialism and the final destruction of all aspects of narrow-minded subjective-idealist opportunism through the world proletarian dictatorship, - a vigorous scientific leadership for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over all philistine backwardness of every kind for all time.

Marx explained communism as the final coming to scientific consciousness for all of mankind. The hideous and idiotic unleashing of recidivist mindlessness in the USSR, - promoting fashion-consciousness, beauty contests, mysticism, and cultural anarchy of every kind, - apeing the hymn to individual selfishness which Western 'freedom' represents so degenerately, - is slumping rapidly in the opposite direction.

And Gorbachev's own scandalous profound ignorance of Marxist-Leninist basic science is not the best basis on which to be trying to turn round this humiliating 'new thinking' inflicted on the Soviet workers state as a substitute for sterile Stalinist revisionism.

And Gorbachev will run into big problems trying to get his glacial shallowness accepted further afield. If Soviet state history can be revised by Moscow in such a cavalier fashion, then why will not the Arab masses, for example, eventually insist on a serious Leninist correction to the outrageous 1947 USSR bureaucracy decision to vote at the United Nations for the Palestinian people; homeland to be handed over to Western Zionist-imperialist colonisers with all the misery and incurable suffering that henceforth was bound to entail; and insist as well that the Gorbachevites stop supplying ever more fanatical Zionist-fascist emigres from the USSR to swell the numbers of imperialist colonisers of their

homeland; and insist into the bargain that any future Moscow-Washington summits arranged for peaceful-coexistence diplomatic purposes should at least devote some time to the explosive criminal tyranny being daily inflicted on the Palestinian nation (by Western-backed and financed Zionist reaction), instead of Reagan not being publicly challenged with these human rights atrocities at all?

Nor will all the lightweight cavalier talk (confusing capitalism and socialism, now heard) go down at all well in Cuba, for example, where they have been forced to suffer a 30-year perilous state of armed siege (from their giant US imperialist neighbour just 90 miles to the north) precisely just for refusing to accept that the old multinational US capitalist influence (now regarded in some 'socialist' circles as the last word in 'efficiency' and 'cost-effectiveness', and 'market sensitivity', etc) was really 'just as good' for Cuba as the Castro revolution's new planned economic and social transformation (which in reality has truly revolutionised all subsequent developments in Latin America, - to Washington's obvious perpetual hatred, and crazed vengefulness).

Moreover, Moscow and Peking's bureaucratic decrepitude, - whatever shameful damage its class-collaborating with Washington causes on a temporary basis in isolated localities, - will also be a continually declining phenomenon in adversely influencing the state of Leninist consciousness in the international balance of class forces as bigger, better, newer centres of revolutionary advance come onto the scene as imperialism's collapsing crisis deepens. A completely revolutionary socialist southern Africa will be a colossal force for communist progress for mankind, as would a newly revolutionary socialist Brazil, or India, etc. Leninism must triumph. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

foreign intervention (1918-20) sought to smash the fledgling Soviet state and barbarous atrocities were carried out against the people



(left: railwaymen changed by French forces in Odessa, 1919)...



POSTSCRIPT. Gorbachev's conference abandons the fight against the imperialist counter-revolution. (Bulletin 450, 29/6/88)

Anyone who can make an allegedly 'Marxist' four-hour speech to a conference on the USSR's future without even mentioning imperialist counter-revolution, nor giving a detailed analysis of capitalism's international warmongering crisis which will dominate mankind's affairs for the rest of this century, - should be in charge of the Boy Scouts, not Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

Gorbachev's 'performance' was another disgraceful example of formalism run riot, - a bureaucratic tinkering with structures without remotely understanding what the core of Stalinist revisionism's counter-revolutionary defeatism, - and subsequent arbitrary lawlessness, - was all about.

Any number of new elected parliaments or presidencies will do nothing to alter the overwhelming influence on the planet (including on Soviet life) of capitalism's insoluble trade-war, neo-colonialist arms race, and fascist degeneration into inter-imperialist warmongering for the third time this century, - without a rebirth of Lenin's scientific understanding of the inevitable international revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist system by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The whole inspiration for the explosion in 1917 of the Soviet workers state rests in this perspective. Without it, the working class is artificially divorced from its huge task, - the greatest role for any class in all history, - of confidently and enthusiastically leading the transition from building powerful workers states (to combat imperialist counter-revolution), - to the construction of communist society (and the wither-

ing away of all states) which can only be achieved by the international proletariat as the one ruling class on earth.

By continuing to pretend that the current most powerful ruling class in world history, the US imperialist monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisie, - simply doesn't exist, and that its fascist-warmongering tyranny over the planet does not have to be fought, and that the world's vast masses exploited and starved by that capitalist tyranny do not have to be emancipated, - from South Africa to the Philippines, from Chile to Pakistan, etc, - Gorbachev despite all the talk is just ludicrously keeping his head in the sand.

The gigantic publicity build-up for this week's special CPSU conference symbolises the effect of Gorbachevism as a whole, - all hot air which will irritate rather than even approach solving the Communist Party's problems.

The lengthy but hollow 'Theses' document continued the striking of dramatic poses about 'new revolution' perestroika without remotely coming close to any Marxist materialist explanation of what it is and why it is occurring (in terms of the international balance of class forces and the historic conflict between the world's masses and the Western imperialist bourgeoisie.)

Only the already analysed section 10 (see Bulletin 448) on foreign relations obliquely gave the game away that the entire Gorbachev operation is pure "pull your socks up" bullshit based on the most treacherous counter-revolutionary class-collaboration with the international forces of idealist anti-communist reaction.

The horrifying philistine outpourings of anti-Leninism now swamping the Soviet Union (see ILWP Books vol 13) are no part of the Bolshevik 'revolution' at all but its exact opposite, - the re-enthronement of leaderless petty-bourgeois chaos which will fall easily manipulable to Western imperialism's ceaseless relentless crusade of anti-communist disinformation, black propaganda, dirty tricks, and outright subversion if Gorbachevism continues unchecked.

Although still badly handicapped prior to Gorbachev by Stalinist revisionism much as it had been since the mid-1920s, the Soviet socialist revolution was monolithic stability itself, and in no kind of crisis.

But just as the anti-Leninist oaf Dubcek succeeded in Prague in 1968 (assisted by enormous Western intervention), Gorbachev could quickly create dangerously unstable rudderless confusion if he is not stopped.

The massive financial power and subversive organisation of the CIA which has toppled countless regimes since 1945 (deemed to be "hostile to American interests", - from Mossadeq's Iran to Allende's Chile, from Lumumba's Belgian Congo (Zaire) to Arbenz's Guatemala, from Jagan's Guyana to Sankara's Burkina Faso, from the NJM's Grenada to Obote's Uganda, from Bosch's Dominican Republic to Diem's Vietnam etc, etc, plus scores more failed attempts in Poland, Hungary, Seychelles, Libya, Cuba, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, etc (see the entire library of memoirs of ex-CIA agents now available)), - is a history lesson obviously totally wasted on the anti-Marxist philistine Gorbachev.

And he is undoubtedly equally ignorant of the vast and impressive Lenin literature on the inevitability of "all

the old crap reviving" if there is any weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat's class rule during the long inter-regnum between the wholly imperialist-dominated epoch of the world (prior to 1917) and the eventual winning of a planned organised world of communist abundance built on the graveyards of inter-imperialist warmongering (by degenerate tyrannical monopoly capitalism) (See Perspectives PP5-8).

By capitulating the Soviet workers state to now being waylaid and held up by every last manifestation of petty-bourgeois idealist bolts that has ever been spawned by Western anti-communist philosophy and intrigue, Gorbachevism has now opened the door towards the total paralysis that Dubcek achieved before he was removed, in Czechoslovakia.

The contemptible demonstrations suggesting the closure of the Soviet state security services (the KGB) are one particularly degenerate example of the conceited small-mindedness of apolitical sceptics and individualists whose dislike of the international class struggle is only exceeded by their despicable ignorance of unignorable imperatives for freeing the world's proletarian masses from imperialist warmongering crisis.

The incorrect policies and tactics of the KGB (and its predecessor organisations) are the political errors of the party leadership, - nothing else. It is another instance of philistine hatred of Leninism causing childish irresponsibility of demands that the baby be thrown down the pan because the bathwater has become a bit mucky.

Lenin built up powerful state security as one of his first priorities against counter-revolution. It is an outrage that the party under Gorbachev sees no need to immediately attack such confusing and

destabilising drivel as 'Close down the KGB' as soon as it received worldwide publicity from Western TV broadcasts from Moscow.

And there are many other examples of similar politically ignorant complacency.

The nationalism unleashed in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, etc, is no joke, e.g.

And Gorbachev is already in grave danger of being too late now to halt the nonsense of small-minded national exclusivity by merely urging these rebellious republics to "Stop being silly" (which is about all Gorbachev is capable of.)

In the modern world, the track record of telling people to "Stop feeling so Armenian" or to "Stop this Azerbaijani conceit", etc, is a very poor one, - understandably, and to a limited extent, justifiably so. Imperialist exploitation has always either had to crush dissident nationalism (95% of the time), or else buy it off by granting some privileged colonial policing position or other (Ghurkas, etc).

The Soviet workers state can pursue neither of these paths.

The USSR has held together hitherto because there has always been sufficient momentum in the socialist revolution to easily win the allegiance of the mass of the proletariat in the more than 160 nations making up the Soviet Union, including all the 15 major republics.

That would also easily still be the case if the class-proletarian instincts of the masses were what was being appealed to, - against, say, manifestations of counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalism of a separatist, individualist (anti-communist but not necessarily anti-capitalist) kind, - whether disguised or not (as will inevitably happen) as "multi-party democracy" or "parliamentary system" or "greater autonomy" or "le-

ss Russian influence", etc.

But at that point Gorbachev really would need a genuine "new revolution" with scientific communist appeal to rally all the Soviet masses on a proletarian internationalist basis for such a delicate and difficult struggle against local petty-bourgeois nationalist exclusiveness (in the aftermath of all the demoralising demobilising idiocies that Stalinist defeatist-revisionism has paralysed the Soviet people with (in parts and from time to time) since the abandonment of Lenin's perspectives in the 1920s).

In response to the aimless "pull your socks up" vacuity of Gorbachevism which is in reality just a thin veneer covering rampant international class-collaboration, the Soviet masses may well not feel at all sufficiently proletarian-internationalist to take on Armenian or Estonian separatism, etc, when it begins to fall completely under the influence of worldwide bourgeois-imperialist reaction, and CIA subversion.

If it is class-collaboration right at the top in the heads of the leading Moscow bureaucracy in their pathetic grovelling to the anti-Soviet insults of Western imperialist hypocrisy and arrogance, then let it be class-collaboration all the way down the line to regional bourgeois nationalist extremism in the peripheries of the USSR. Let Gorbachev do his own fighting if he doesn't like what he has unleashed, will be a likely response from Soviet workers.

And direct appeals to proletarians inside each turbulent republic to "halt the bourgeois nationalist excesses" are even less likely to draw any response if the pitch is still restricted to the "pull your socks up" emptiness.

The only approach which will be guaranteed to work in restoring Soviet revolutionary unity would be something really new, - a completely new emphasis on the original Leninist basis of the Soviet revolution, - the

first great triumph in the long struggle not to class-collaborate with international imperialism but to overthrow it, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world in order to build a truly socialist and then a fully communist society.

Leninist proletarian enthusiasm and its immediate aftermath built up the Soviet socialist state brilliantly, - routing imperialist counter-revolution's first war of intervention, and then its second German-imperialist-led invasion (1941-45), and triumphantly withstanding the postwar nuclear encirclement and threats of extinction led by US and British imperialism.

Far too little was made of the tremendous opportunities to expand the world socialist revolution during those historic decades of anti-imperialist achievement despite the great inspiring triumphs of the revolutions in China, Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, etc, and the heroic national-liberation struggle successes all round the world. Although the communists in Korea and East Europe were helped to resist imperialist aggression, for example, the communists in Malaya and Greece, for example, were to some extent abandoned.

But now that Stalinist revisionist defeatism has plunged into total retreat in the hands of Gorbachev, nothing is being made of the idea of world socialist revolution at all. Just the opposite. Gorbachev's so-called "economic new thinking", accompanying his "friendship with US Rambo-fascism" line, sound about as convincing a defence of socialism as the cowardly Labour Party policy in Britain (which is terrified of challenging the monopoly-imperialist ruling class for real state and economic power.)

Whether or not the Afghanistan communists, etc, are to be totally abandoned (which remains to be seen), Gorbachevism is inflicting permanent massive ideological damage on the entire international prol-

etariat (and inevitably on Soviet workers' enthusiasm and clarity for the further building of the socialist revolution) - by his philistine mental diarrhea on the all-important problem of imperialism.

Peaceful coexistence was a mere Leninist diplomatic tactic for causing splits in the warmongering imperialist camp and keeping the Soviet Union out of direct unequal confrontation for as long as possible, - nothing else.

The idea that it is a possible permanent condition between the socialist states and imperialism, or that it offers any kind of solution to the inherent catastrophe of incurable imperialist warmongering, - - is certifiable.

It is also a disarm- ing ideological strait-jacket to handicap the proletariat with in its historic class-war to the finish with the capitalist bourgeoisie.

If the mortal conflict with imperialism has suddenly been gлас- nosted out of existence by the third rate muddleheadedness of Comrade Gorbachev, then what possible conviction can all the hysterical "pull your socks up" urgings from fat bureaucrats in Moscow carry?

Gorbachev will be in a similar mess when it comes to trying to rally public support to counter any of the other destabilising threats to Soviet order (which his small-minded ignorance of Leninism and bureaucratic-ideal- ist hostility to the dialectical rigours of proletarian dictatorship (as the greatest guarantee of real democracy in history) have unleashed), - such as the eruption of individual- ist artistic mysticism, petty-bourgeois national- ism, and fascistic religiosity, - all biliously and vengefully hostile to the dialectical independent-mindedness of proletarian communist leadership epitomised by Leninism.

He will be even more vulnerable on difficult questions of CPSU history in a party growing increasingly remote from the rigorous discipline of Marxist-Leninist polemics on the international revolution-

ary struggle, - a party of creeping opportunist philistinism. One false move on the tightrope, and Gorbachev will be swallowed up without trace, just like so many of his predecessors, - or their reputations.

In fact there is very little stability in view for Gorbachevism in any direction. The planned socialist economy is likely to remain sturdy enough for Gorbachev to fiddle some industrial perestroika 'success' or other, but that will hardly fool the Soviet people any more. Most unlikely to be achieved in the wr- etched revisionist sw- amp atmosphere endemic to the retreat from Leninism is any renewal of wild production en- thusiasm anywhere, (and almost as hard to fake).

The 'disarmament' mi- rage with imperialism has only one direction to go, - to complete fade out. All the naive illusions of summit hot air will neither end the capitalist arms-race, reduce the threat of imperialist counter- revolution to the soci- alist camp, or cut the Soviet arms burden.

And although the pe- aceful-coexistence dip- lomatic tactic will re- main a useful propagan- da weapon for exposing Western intransigence, and trying to keep the most rabid imperialist warmongering circles divided against each other rather than all united for an onslaught against the Soviet Union, - eventual aggression by the monopoly bo- urgeoisie is bound to spill over in a Soviet direction at some stage or other.

At which point, of course, the only reliable firmness of the Soviet proletariat under a Gorbachev regime would im- mediately emerge to cr- ushingly deal with any renewed direct imperia- list threat to the USSR or to unrelinquishable socialist-camp interests.

But that does not end Gorbachev's problems at all on that score because a long way short of any direct onslaught on Soviet territory or im- mediate and indisputable interests, - which would have the nation rallying round in no time with few more questions asked about whose fault, etc, - could

come any number of app- alling affronts (to Gorbachev's trusting innocence) from contemptuous and insulting imperial- ist treachery, - humili- ating the USSR's inter- national political stand- ing as a direct re- sult of Gorbachev's cap- itulating weakness to imperialist propaganda and threats at the sum- mits in the first place.

Telling the Soviet people that US imperia- lism now represents ev- erything that is 'frien- dly reasonableness' tow- ards the USSR's inter- ests around the world is giving hostages to for- tune in a spectacularly big way. At any moment, the next piece of dirty filthy CIA subversion which might tread di- rectly on Soviet toes could make Gorbachev look the biggest fool on earth.

And since it is com- ing anyway, - then the sooner the better. The longer Gorbachev's naive stupidity rules, the greater the damage to the socialist camp and to the Soviet revoluti- onary workers state.

Does it mean that the old sclerotic conserva- tive bureaucracy, - half stifling the Soviet Union, was better, - and that no glasnost shake- up at all would have been preferable? It is an academic question. Leninists would have to agitate for Leninism, not Gorbachevism, which is totally opposed to Leninism. And the price that Gorbachevism is now asking the Soviet workers state to pay in terms of increased chaos and confusion from the idealist swamp being unleashed, - would have to be declared un- acceptable, and fought against, under any cir- cumstances.

This ideological paral- ysis could prove fatal, - and it is getting steadily worse, not bet- ter.

The latest outbursts from Vyshinsky, Gorbach- ev's deputy justice mi- nister and reform advi- ser, has taken content- less formalism to even more exalted heights of stupidity than the 10- year-tenure rule exam- ined earlier (Bulletin 446).

"We have to find the legal ex- pression of the freedom of be- haviour of an individual, of his choice to act at his own discre- tion," Mr Vyshinsky said. "Then the code of Soviet laws will be turned from a code of

bans into a code of peoples' freedoms." It is necessary to divide by strict and enforceable laws the functions of the party, from those of the state and of the elected Soviets in the management of our society," he added.

A qualified lawyer, Mr Gorbachev has characterised the previous system as "lawless and arbitrary," seeing legal reforms and the emergence of an independent judiciary as essential to the success of perestroika.

Rather than interpret the various national disputes as a danger to the country's unity and superpower status, he is counting on the support of the radical delegates from the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Mass meetings with the delegates in all three republics have focused on popular demands for virtual economic and cultural autonomy, and the transformation of the USSR into a federation of sovereign republics.

The key to the Gorbachev reform will be the emergence of the professional Soviet politician, who need not be a party member, but who will make being an elected deputy into a full-time job, with the right to raise and spend and be answerable for locally-raised public money without having to depend on funds from central planners in Moscow.

Hitherto, party officials have held these reins of executive authority, but Mr Gorbachev will also propose that the economic departments within regional party buildings be closed down to end the party machine's traditional interference in the running of farms and factories.

Laws will not resolve the failure of leadership. Such an approach can only make things much worse and even more chaotic by presenting the difficulties of Soviet (and world socialist) development as though the phenomenon of 'leading' in itself were the problem, when in the Leninist real world it is the question of leading badly which in fact needs sorting out.

Yet again the crass philistine emptiness of mere symptoms (e.g. people feeling 'unfree' because badly led) quite uselessly getting all the treatment will leave the disease itself, - the failure to develop a comprehensive Leninist perspective as the only way back from Stalinist bureaucratic defeatism and paralysis (and the only future for the whole of mankind), - as painfully evident and debilitating as ever.

The contentless undialectical formalism is blatant in everything Gorbachev does, - revealing a profound ignorance of Marxist-Leninist science. Another

crass example of shouting the pianist because someone didn't like the song, or of throwing the baby out with the bathwater, was the farcical anti-alcohol campaign, - virtually closing down the entire industry or pricing it out of existence just because some people didn't know, or didn't care, when they had had too much to drink. Naturally a far greater number of people who like occasionally to handle a beer or two, or a bottle of wine, or a drop of vodka, without any wish to permanently injure themselves with the stuff, immediately started brewing their own, with obvious damage to the state's drinks-industry monopoly revenues, with a predictable fear of sugar shortages in the shops, and with probably slightly more drunkenness than usual as a result of all this manic behaviour.

Strong drinking is an ancient Russian - and now Soviet - tradition. It is a problem, of course. But the prat who dreamed up closing the breweries and distilleries, and putting the price up, as a way of dealing with the cultural, social, psychological, and political reasons why the ideals of Leninist objective science still exercise too weak an attraction or influence on too many Soviet citizens, - is as much in need of deeper education as they are.

The Soviet Union is a very modern-minded, technologically-capable and learning-oriented society, as well as already being very mature and enlightened. It is crying out for even better education, and above all for far more advanced revolutionary and political inspiration. In a word, it needs much, much, much, much more Leninism. From Gorbachev & Co, it is getting fatal, anti-Marxist idiocy, dictated by Gorbachev's petty-bourgeois philistine hatred of Lenin's international revolutionary perspective for the worldwide dictatorship of the proletariat as the only possible opening to the first fully international civilisation, - communism.

Tragically, this influence of Gorbachevism

is now chiming-in disastrously with the nationalist rightwing revisionist nonsense which gripped Peking in the aftermath of Mao's bitter over-reaction to the Stalinist stupidities and insults from Moscow earlier. These latest quotes on capitalism sum up much of the revisionist 'new thinking' from many revisionist groups in the socialist camp.

They make insane reading in the depths of the Western world's most cataclysmic financial and trade crisis in its entire rotten imperialist-monopoly history, - the certain prelude to yet another catastrophic collapse into war and fascism at the end of the coming re-run of the 1930s decade of Depression, trade-war, and inter-imperialist warmongering arms-race:

Some people fear capitalism because "they don't realise the modern capitalism system is a great creation of human civilisation," says Xu Jia-tun, China's representative in Hong Kong.

The great marxist teachers had failed to envisage that workers' salaries would increase, social welfare improve or a capitalist shareholding system emerge, he argued. "The trend of people's capitalism has emerged and the difference between the classes has narrowed," Mr Shao said.

"Most of our understanding of capitalism is from the works of Marx and Lenin, who had little understanding of modern capitalism," the anonymous Guangming Daily writer said.

Marx and Engels erred in their assessment of the historical reality of 1848 (when the Communist Manifesto was written), theoretician Hong Zhao-long wrote in another article. "In 1848, capitalism was still powerful enough to expand itself," he said.

Lenin was equally mistaken in concluding that "as capitalism reached the stage of monopoly, it would vanish very soon," Mr Hong wrote.

"Capitalism still has its vigour and it will develop more in the future," predicted social scientist Shao Li-ang in the World Economic Herald - the Shanghai publication which speaks for the economic reformers.

They are also grotesquely insensitive and criminally misleading comments to the world's proletarian masses who are daily suffering the most abysmal extremes of murderous sweatshop exploitation still involving much child-labour and virtual slavery all round the capitalist 'free market' world; - plus, even worse, the dictatorial tyranny of fascist terror under endless stooge military

regimes propped up by US imperialism; - not to mention the wholesale starvation and poverty which massacres 40 million people every year prematurely around this "modern capitalist system".

It took the socialist revolution to end perpetual mass famines in China created by capitalism. A few more Leninist revolutions are now going to be needed on the planet to restore an international objective scientific atmosphere which will see off the pea-brained revisionist oafs who have temporarily captured bureaucratic office in Moscow and Peking.

This total ignorance of Leninist revolutionary philosophy leaves the posturing Moscow opportunists incapable of grasping that the difficulties of powerful leadership positions in an imperfect world with very imperfect individuals - are precisely resolvable only by an even deeper understanding of Leninism itself and its crucial science of a strong leading class role for communists.

It was precisely when the Stalin group lost its confidence in leading and teaching a Leninist revolutionary perspective to the world proletariat that all the old crap of deliberate falsifications and 'letting people know only what we want them to know', etc, began to revive.

Not strong enough to explain their own appalling mistakes in the conduct of the Marxist-Leninist world revolution, the Stalin group simply retreated from the only reality (the dialectical materialist explanation of the necessity for world revolution) into the make-believe fantasies of defensive Soviet nationalism, bureaucratic vanity, routinism, and instructionalism, - degenerating later into all manner of arbitrary stupidity and viciousness, --- anything rather than the leadership role of constant expansion of Leninist consciousness for the Soviet and international proletariat.

Where this kind of Leninist leadership applies, - willing the masses to ever higher

levels of achievement in independently grasping (and acting upon, and innovating over) the demands for communist responsibility in society (in the USSR and in the world at large), - then there can hardly be a problem of leadership appearing to limit people's activities - (other than the dying counter-revolutionary relics of middle-class anti-communism, - in all its forms (religion, nationalism, profiteering, opportunism, etc).)

Lenin's world revolutionary philosophy is precisely an invitation to every individual on earth to 'develop their freedoms' as far and mightily as possible, - the freedom from ignorance, from fear of bourgeois-idealist bullshit, from diffidence about demanding, - and giving, - a revolutionary communist lead to anyone in any part of the planet.

The idea for all this was still intact when the last Soviet volunteer force went to fight in Spain in 1936 against the imperialist axis-led fascists, but by that time, of course, Stalinist defeatism had already stifled the Leninist content out of the Soviet form, and the heroic efforts and sacrifices were all in vain because of the hopelessly doomed political perspectives of fighting only in support of the bourgeois republican government, (instead of fighting merely against Francoism, and with full opportunities and expectations preserved that a Spanish communist revolution would take over the leadership of anti-fascist Spain as soon as it was strong enough to hold onto power). This 'Popular Front' nonsense meant only the certain death both of the Republic, and of the independent communist movement.

This was one feature in a steady degeneration from Leninism from the late 1920s onwards. The philosophical inspiration of the Soviet Union and its people has been relentlessly deteriorating commensurately.

At this stage, the Soviet Union should be bursting with millions of young Bolsheviks th-

irsting to storm the world (bringing health, agricultural organisation, education, industrial science, etc., to the exploited and alienated and backward billions in the majority of the planet suffering from ex-colonialism and neo-colonialism), and in particular burning with indignation at the Western-backed fascist tyrannies (still slaughtering the proletarian masses from South Africa to Zionist-occupied Palestine, from the Philippines to Chile, from Guatemala to Pakistan, etc), and ready to help fight nazi reaction.

But the Soviet bureaucracy's retreat from Leninism has now degenerated so far that not even the formal idea of volunteering to combat fascist intervention against Spain now has any echoes.

And Gorbachevism's blatant encouragement of Soviet people to retreat even further into their own petty national exclusiveness ('Estonianness', 'Armenianness etc.), or into egocentric preciousness ('the individual's choice to act at his own discretion', etc)-which were challenging sentiments only at the dawn of the capitalist era's supremacy in each nation's history (see Shakespeare, Goethe, Pushkin, etc)--cements the bureaucracy's total ideological retreat into class-collaborating middle-class complacency and solipsistic pointlessness.

It is only for a very very tiny, and very very closed mind that an arm of embrace around the shoulders from Reagan on Red Square could mean anything other than utter disgust and horror over all the ignored millions being tyrannised, massacred, or starved to death at this very instant at the direct or indirect behest of US imperialism and the monopoly-capitalist stooge dictatorships its arms and finances prop up all round the planet.

And one can only expect that it is with Gorbachev's encouragement that utterly spurious reformist mini-passions are being souped up around such dress as 'a monument for the victims of the terror' or for 'multi-

party democracy to allow us to become social-democrats Scandinavian style' to act as a deliberate diversion from any possible real campaigns for a return to Leninism.

If a sick industry in pity, nostalgia, and bathos is suddenly thought (Polish Catholic-style) to be the best thing to do with the Soviet state of mind, then why are the prior claims of the vastly greater number of millions of victims of pre-1917 class conflict in Russia's bitter history being ignored? There is no especially-famous monument yet in the USSR to the victims of Tsarist terror.

And better still, why not combine two of the greatest current 'reforming' passions, and demand that the monument be to the victims of precisely the 'multi-party' period of Russian history when the capitalist-state terror continued unabated throughout the empty posturings of Liberals, Constitutional Democrats, Monarchists, and every variety possible of Social Democrat, who all went along with the slaughter of nearly 15 million Russian subjects in the 'Great War', -the nationalist-imperialist holocaust of 1914-1918 which was only kept going by Russia's Social-Democratic parties in its final depraved year (until the Bolshevik revolutionaries put the entire sordid bourgeois and petty-bourgeois 'multi-party' mess to the sword, -the only way it could be ended then, and the only way that imperialist warmongering has ever been ended since.)

The Leninist answer to these 'monument' and 'multi-party' ghouls is stifled by the stench of Gorbachev's opportunistic class-collaborationism.

The wretchedness of Stalinist degeneracy needs answering in the Soviet Union, but a barmy monument (feeding on sentimentality which is directly out of the very same idealist muddleheadedness, -distorting the real essence, importance, and perspective on events, -which Stalin ousted Leninism with in the first place), -is absolutely the most counter-revolutionary

way of going about it.

Once again, it concentrates all the attention on personal tragedies symptomatic of what was going wrong, but away from the profound political causes in the international class war which were making things go wrong.

To return to the monument theme, if some eruption or other of sentimental impressionism cannot be avoided, then the best way of recalling the disasters of the revisionist Stalin era's defeatist retreat from world revolution might be to commemorate all the millions forced to continue to languish under imperialism because the 'peaceful road to socialism', the 'Popular Front', and other idiocies from Chile to Spain and Germany failed to organise a correct Leninist revolutionary answer to fascist reaction; or because class-collaborating illusions imposed Zionist colonialism on 5 million Palestinian people through a Soviet UN vote (and subsequent arms aid to the Zionists) in 1948; etc.

Commemorate the retreat from Leninism by commemorating the disasters which befell the international proletariat because of Stalinist bureaucracy's abandonment of Lenin's world socialist revolutionary perspectives.

And tack Gorbachev's stint onto this lamentable record of defeatist revisionist disasters.

Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

CONCLUSIONS. Bulletin 451, 6/7/88). Gorbachev's conference confirms both the good and bad limitations of mere management of the Soviet workers state.

The mixture of positive and negative signs from the much-publicised special assembly of CPSU delegates on perestroika and glasnost has inevitably refocused attention on the longstanding universal hope that one day, the party and state leadership in the USSR will re-embrace Leninism, or will be forced to by the incurable warmongering aggression and economic fall-out of the imperialist 'free-

market' system in deep and unresolvable crisis.

While natural enough, such dreams are illusory and a grave trap for workers fighting capitalist domination.

But although the truth about the irrevocable loss of revolutionary Leninist inspiration from management of the Soviet workers state (until the world socialist revolution has overthrown imperialism in its entirety) is dispiriting, the most important thing is for the struggle for Leninist camp to know exactly what the real international balance of class forces adds up to, -to know its precise strengths and weaknesses, and its future perspectives.

Such clear understanding as this is ultimately a source of priceless strength to the world revolutionary movement.

History has already frequently shown, -including inside the communist movement, -that there is nothing more debilitating than an endless saga of 'waiting for the left to triumph' inside existing organisations which are in fact already off the revolutionary high road (see later).

The leadership of the Soviet State and the CPSU is now basically just a management system. It must still know and do enough about imperialism not to get toppled by it. But the CIA and NATO counter-revolutionary intrigues now have their hands so full of 'communist' problems to solve, -and Soviet strength and development is now so massive, -that the USSR itself is not really a serious immediate target any more for imperialist direct intervention.

The last time that Western inter-imperialist warmongering crisis came the USSR's way, -when German imperialism was encouraged by the rest of the West to seek its cure for its 'lebensraum' complaints (against the remainder of the capitalist-colonialist system) in the vastnesses of East Europe and Soviet Russia, -the world's first workers state demonstrated a greatness of proletarian

organisation and revolutionary purpose on a par with the history-shattering 1917 triumph itself.

But although there was some spin-off (from having to wake up to the unpleasant material reality of imperialist aggression) into a firmer and clearer (partially) insistence on the international rights of the embryonic socialist camp than had lain behind the 1930s 'Popular Front' class-collaborating retreat from socialist revolution, -there was no return at all to Leninist scientific understanding, or any attempt at it.

And this pattern has continued unbroken since Lenin's death. The party management will always eventually do what it is finally forced to do for preserving the very existence and independence of the Soviet workers state, -but very little more than that.

The socialist state (proletarian dictatorship) must be preserved because the CPSU state management has no other basis for its existence and support. Individual bureaucrats can flee the Soviet Union from among the diplomats, the artistic performers, or the intelligentsia generally, to claim their huge defectors' awards from Western fascist reaction. But there is no serious possibility or credibility in all 40 to 50 million engaged in one way or another in running Soviet society (with some degree of 'responsibility' for its management) all being simultaneously bribed to flee West to a cushy existence as anti-communist émigré stooges.

So the Soviet workers state (and managing party) is now such an established phenomenon that for all practical purposes, its self-perpetuation and self-preservation can be taken for granted.

At the same time, the management of the USSR will also do quite well in looking after Soviet interests, -and even the interests further afield of the socialist camp in general on some issues, -on certain occasions.

Ultimately, the Soviet Union will always out-

wit Western imperialism intrigues when it is a question of the USSR's own defence.

Even when the revisionist class-collaborating illusions from the staid management (no longer interested in Leninist international revolutionary perspectives) appear to place the Soviet Union in grave danger from being tricked and disadvantaged over various disarmament proposals,—that same anti-revolutionary (defeatist) management conservatism will still be far too good at its job to get fooled too far for too long to the detriment of the USSR maintaining its interests and the status quo (roughly speaking).

But neither is there any great reason for the management of the Soviet Union to rediscover the Leninist science, that the best defence,—and the only ultimately guaranteed defence,—of the full interests of the world's first workers state is to be found in the revolutionary overthrow of the rest of the imperialist system (just as Tsarism was overthrown,—and then the social-democratic 'reformist' government which refused to end the inter-imperialist holocaust Russia was embroiled in.)

To reassert this truth for the Soviet state management would mean such a vast challenge to so many tens of millions of present and past assumptions and managerial outlooks as to raise the question: What cataclysmic event or revolutionary upheaval lies within the bounds of probability, or even possibility, to shake these complacent limitations on what is now seen as the simple task of routinely managing the USSR's steady development,—and keeping the Soviet Union out of international harm.

The answer of 'a Soviet economic collapse' doesn't make sense because there isn't one, and nor can there be one. Non-capitalist economies can suffer terribly from planning defects but they can never be plunged into the insoluble problem of the 'free-market' system where it event-

ually suits a majority of the dominant monopoly-imperialist financial groups internationally to oversee a deliberate destruction of wealth, capital, and people (all declared to be 'in surplus' due to the incurable laws of uneven development and cut-throat competitiveness of monopoly capitalism and the unplanned 'market economy').

It is this class-war, competitive warmongering essence of capitalism which finally forces the proletariat to revolt against the depths of fascist slump degradation that society is plunged into by the periodic crises.

There is no material class basis for a revolution against bad planning.

The answer of 'a revolt against bureaucratic privilege' makes even less sense since there is completely open membership to the Communist Party, and the real problem of Soviet society is to persuade the more outstanding and responsible citizens in any walk of life to take on the considerable burdens and obligations of becoming an organized communist leader of the community. Some budding megalomaniacs may relish a sense of power in such a situation, but Soviet society is in general very healthy. There are very few such individuals. Far fewer would be the occasions when such an individual would be remotely considered as suitable for membership of the Party. Most of the 16million membership of the Communist Party are known and seen in their local communities and are generally regarded as reasonably worthy citizens,—representing authority certainly, but hardly in it for the perks and privileges which are practically invisible at rank-and-file level.

The standing of the Communist Party membership generally reflects whatever esteem (or lack of it) the current leadership of the Soviet state, or regional government, or local community,—are held in.

On this there have been huge problems. But

these are problems of lack of Leninist inspiration for the CPSU and the whole of Soviet society (see previous articles),—not problems of non-existent "exploitation".

There are no class relations whatever inside the Soviet economy. By definition, thus there can be no class exploitation. And there will be no 'revolution' against this non-existent "exploitation".

No new top groupings within the general CPSU leadership,—however 'vigorously different' from the 'old guard' they present themselves as, as Gorbachev does,—could ever just 'reach a decision' to become Leninist again.

The historical record is clear. The post-Lenin Bolshevik leadership,—trained in Leninism's world revolutionary perspectives,—brilliantly carried out certain aspects of Leninist science (building a strong socialist state of proletarian dictatorship; preserving party unity; reviving the economy through the paradoxical marketing aspects of NEP; conducting an international diplomatic offensive to end the USSR's isolation and trade embargoes against it, and to keep the potential imperialist counter-revolutionary aggressors divided amongst themselves instead of all united against the Soviet Union; developing the Third International; defeating Trotskyite pessimism and ultra-left posturing; etc, etc),—but became hopelessly baffled by the dialectical complications of strategy and tactics for further revolutionary advance in a period when the revolutionary tide was in fact receding in part (in general) and imperialist counter-revolution consolidating again,—particularly in the industrialised West where the most crucial new communist-revolt breakthroughs (Germany in particular) were originally supposed (and expected) to take place.

Failing to grasp Lenin's masterly understanding that the revolutionary advance could continue to be made through the East, and the colonised coun-

tries generally, while the revolutionary banners should be kept flying independently in the West against revisionist backsliding while simultaneously fighting a tactically defensive battle for a while against imperialism's (and reformism's) temporary consolidation,—the Stalinist leadership went into headlong retreat from Leninism itself,—falsifying its own record, and the Leninist record, as it did so,—and eventually rationalising away the continued international setbacks by effectively revising away all the conditions for continued revolutionary advance,—finally ending up suspicious of all 'revolutionary situations' because so fearful of more defeats, and substituting ultimately the class-collaborating nonsense of the 'Popular Front' abandonment of revolutionary leadership, and eventually the 'peaceful road to socialism' idiocy which tried to wipe out any notion at all of the inevitable future revolutionary advance of mankind (the only one open to it, in reality).

Stalinism as the management of the world's first socialist state had a choice of whether in its difficulties to just stick with running Soviet development, and keeping out of harm's way as much as possible from imperialist warmongering while preparing strictly for whatever defensive operations would be needed against direct imperialist intervention on the USSR. Or whether it should actively pursue Lenin's revolutionary internationalist line of triumphant profound analysis of revolutionary situations, strategy and tactics all round the planet,—coupled with preparations to take on imperialist counter-revolution wherever and whenever it was possible within the still-developing potentials of Soviet power.

Having found the first choice made far fewer difficulties in their lives as a leadership wishing to be regarded as at least successful in managing the Soviet Union's affairs even if the international problems

appeared dauntingly dismal and difficult at times, and the embarrassing failures hard to explain and analyse (from their weakness in Leninist science),—the Stalin leadership increasingly distorted the historical record (of Leninism, and its own disasters), and increasingly withdrew into a 'fortress USSR' style of management,—eventually full of much subjective idealist illusions, paranoias, and vicious arbitrariness.

Gorbachev wants to remedy the most obvious aspects of the Soviet leadership's bad image (at home and abroad),—but he doesn't stand within a thousand light years of rediscovering Lenin's international revolutionary understanding. His whole social being is now to manage the shop (the USSR) with as few mistakes as possible. There will be (and already are) innovations,—but strictly at the levels of window rearrangements, stock clearances, and personnel changes, plus a week or two on new management-methods courses, etc. He cannot, from being a Soviet manager in 1988 in the vast and stable Soviet Union planned economy,—with all its detailed immediate problems,—be transformed into a 1917 internationalist revolutionary theoretician trying to plot a scientific path out of the catastrophic turmoil of imperialist warmongering crisis by which the raw proletarian masses could be led to the necessary transformation of the whole world and of its entire prospects as then properly seemed necessary, possible, and desirable.

To some routine Soviet managerial type, up to his eyebrows in the problems of managing the Soviet social and economic development problems in 1988,—such a vision and such a profoundness of historic, once-and-for-all motivation,—must appear as just a distant and almost irrelevant fable, not remotely connected to the tasks lying on Gorbachev's desk today.

These revisionist bureaucrats are hopeless-

ly wrong about the relevance of Lenin's revolutionary perspectives to their current Soviet managerial problems, of course. Completing the world socialist revolution is the one outstanding and fundamental condition for getting to grips with all problems of Soviet development.

But such stimuluses hardly spring out of grappling with Soviet milk yield difficulties, or consumer goods choices, or the problems of better fuel management and marketing, or even the problems of youth culture and ethnic minority complaints (which only obviously appear connected to the problems in general of world philosophy and culture in a planet dominated by imperialist crisis if such has been the starting-out point for scientific analysis of all social and political phenomena in the world all along).

These particular conditions which have affected Soviet development are not part of any proof that all new revolutionary leadership "will eventually degenerate" (which is an impressionistic absolute of an essentially subjective idealist kind which would be an utterly useless judgement even if it could be proved true. So what? The revolutionary struggle still has to go on; there is no other basis for human progress, or for the undoubted advances in civilisation which have become possible since class-divided society first began. But in reality, the revolutionary purpose of building up a strong Soviet workers state despite all that imperialist intervention and sabotage has tried to do to prevent it, - has held together remarkably well; the Chinese revolution is now unshakably consolidated; Castroism is in some respects as combatively hostile today to imperialist pressure as it was when first storming to power thirty years ago; the Zimbabwe leadership under Mugabe shows enormous revolutionary-scientific ability now as it did when capturing power, first in armed struggle, then in out-

writing British imperialism's electoral trap, and then in outlasting South Africa's vicious economic pressures and counter-revolutionary subversion; the Vietnam revolutionary leaders and people have shown as much revolutionary heroism in rescuing Kampuchea from the subjective-idealist idiocies of Pol-Potism as they did in liberating their own country in 40 years bitter war against the might of western imperialism; etc.)

Scientific dialectical-materialism must eventually become the sole reality of human consciousness. The phenomenon of some backsliding before civilisation quite gets there is properly seen as the consequences of immense bourgeois counter-revolutionary pressures (still hugely potent within the still dominant world imperialist system blanketing the planet), - and completely misleadingly and uselessly as a non-existent "tendency for leaderships to degenerate once they have got there", etc. The peoples of the USSR and the rest of the socialist camp will be at one with the rest of mankind after the final overthrow of imperialism by the proletarian revolutionary Leninist vanguard, - certain to be led from countries still in the direct civil war non-stop battle against imperialism, and its warmongering counter-revolution.

Gorbachevism itself will potter along - until the next 'shake-up' crisis, - adapting idealistically to real problems with more or less subjective vigour, rearranging the stores in the way that new managements do, and appointing fresh public relations representatives.

The world imperialist crisis as the decisive influence on events inside the USSR (as everywhere else) will continue to be ignored, and only when the intolerable cost of incurable capitalist competitive warmongering has finally driven the masses outside the socialist camp into communist revolution will Leninist philosophy be restored inside the Soviet camp itself.

As a good sign of the times, however, Gorbachevism does signify by the vigour of its 'shake-up' (in itself by no means a novel phenomenon in Soviet history) that great world developments are under way, itself being a response (however misfired) to the enormous disturbances under imperialism. But the ILWP's original analysis that Gorbachevism as such is in essence nothing but a "pull your socks up" gimmick, and is philosophically irrelevant to the international class destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat, - is also already proving correct.

Gorbachevism is a response to imperialist crisis, - but one which endlessly seeks thankfully to delude itself that "US sabre-rattling is not all it seems" and that "agreements can be found to all problems", etc.. The artificial Reagan spending boom, temporarily reviving the West yet again, - and reducing the obvious drift into all-out inter-imperialist warmongering for a while, - has probably stabilised Gorbachevite illusions for the time being. Even if the USSR is forced into limited military response to imperialist subversion again (as in 1979 in Afghanistan), it could easily take place with no let up in the steady ideological retreat from Leninism, - as happened when the Soviet contingent went to fight fascism in Spain in 1936 but class-collaborating illusions simultaneously plumbed even greater depths under the Popular Front defeatist idiocies in Spain (and France, etc.).

Despite all this, the relentless building of socialism in the USSR still causes echoes of the 1917 revolution to reverberate around the ex-colonial world, toppling regimes here and there. But a completely new Leninist movement will be needed to complete the task of overthrowing imperialism in its industrial heartlands.

Lenin's letter of application for a ticket to the Reading Room of the British Museum April 21, 1902. At the time he was living in London under the pseudonym 'Jacob Richter'.

RR

25. 4. 1902

30 Holford Square
Tottenham N.16

25/4/1902

MUSEUM
22 APR 1902
4332

I beg to apply for a ticket of admission to the Reading Room of the British Museum. I came from Russia in order to study the Land question. I enclose the reference letter of Mr. Mitchell.

Believe me, Sir, to
be Yours faithfully
Jacob Richter

April 21 1902

To the Director of the British Museum

the proletariat will continue to pose a Dubcek danger of ideological chaos, undermining the USSR, - probably prevented from dismantling the ruling Party structure as well (as Dubcek did) only by the historic established strength of the Soviet workers state and its management echelons.

But Gorbachev's bumpitious glitter has also put the 'left' swamp in turmoil in the capitalist countries, - deluding some Trots as being the 'political revolution' so long dreamed of; some CP 'old guard' revisionists as being the return to vigour of the 'Bolshevik Revolution'; some class-collaborating Euros as being the hoped-for 'cleaning up' of all the 'failings & disappointments', etc; and by some bogus 'Leninist' ultra-left middle-class posturers as being the 'last straw' total capitulation to counter-revolution by Moscow', etc.

Some 'pro-Soviet' gr-

oups have disintegrated completely under the demoralising inability to know what to make of Gorbachevism. And a whole array of varying attitudes towards 'nuclear disarmament' myths have become equally confused.

The ILWP wants to become more determined than ever to spread the fight for Leninism. History is clearly preparing for a new dramatic leap in mankind's conscious ability to sort out the appallingly tangled and dangerous problems and chaos which are now undermining all existing understanding of society's essence & perspectives. And individuals are increasingly going to really respond only to answers which meet the deep longing for profound philosophical truths beginning to assert itself against the hopeless confusion of all existing politics and ideology.

Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.