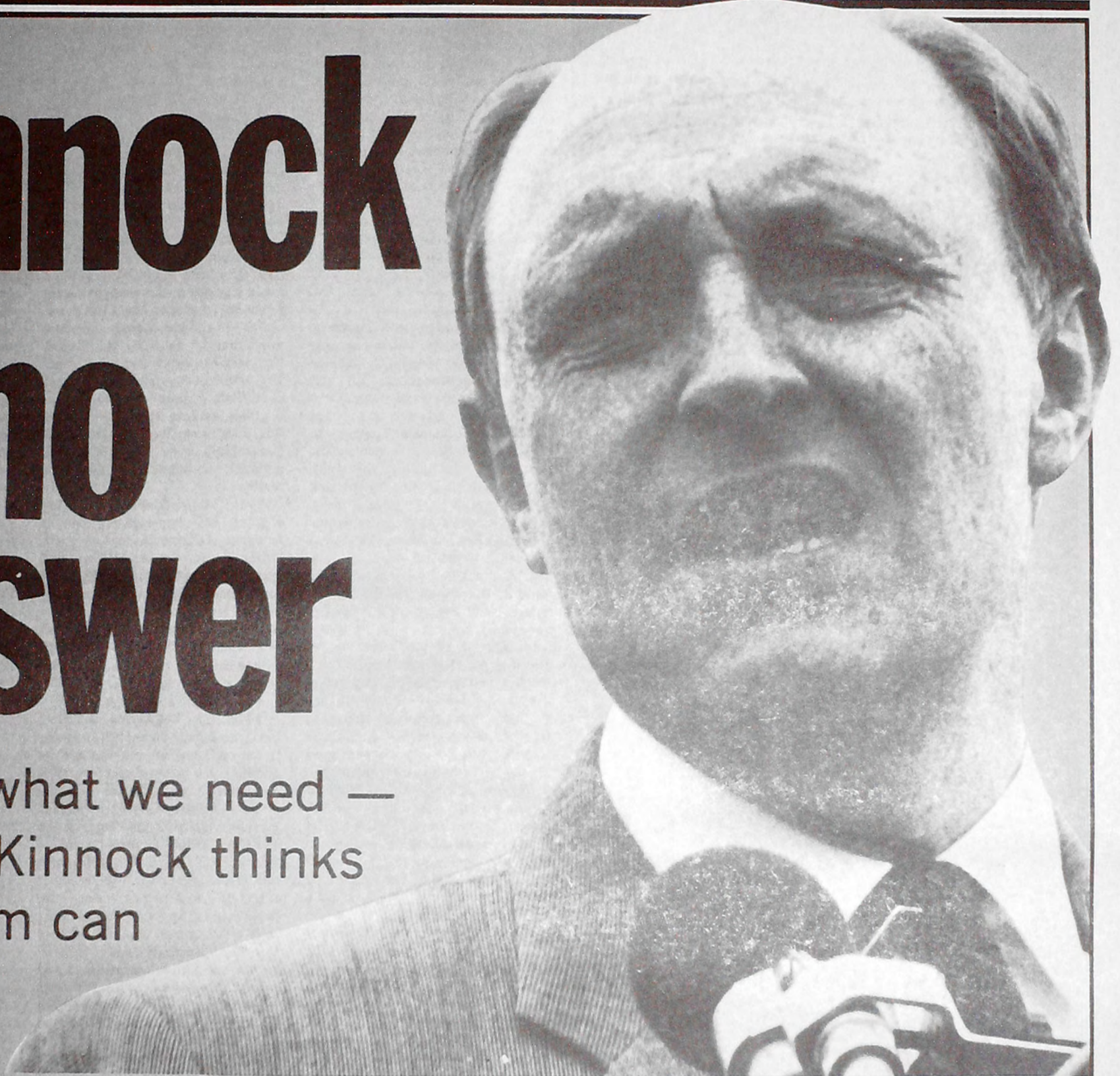


# Kinnock is no answer

Fight for what we need —  
not what Kinnock thinks  
the system can  
afford



KINNOCK pompously presents himself and the 'the next Labour government' as the only realistic hope for the whole working class. The TUC and Labour Party big wigs who gave him standing ovations certainly think they will get back into the corridors of power if Kinnock gets into No.10. Even militant class fighters who have seen one defeat after another under Thatcher's government reckon Kinnock is their best bet.

To get Kinnock as Prime Minister the left Labourites have been prepared to accept almost everything his PR men are demanding. Tory ballot laws and witchhunting *Militant* have all been argued for with reference to Kinnock's electoral chances. Even Arthur Scargill has toned down his rhetoric in favour of calls to vote Labour.

But what sort of Labour government is Kinnock offering? Well, Kinnock is promising government interference with trade union rules and wage restraint, all for a vague and perhaps never to be delivered, 1 million new jobs in two years — this will leave 3 million on capitalism's scrap heap.

So Kinnock is not even promising to fight for full employment, let alone socialism. In other words Kinnock is being honest — the 'next Labour government' will merely manage the crisis ridden capitalist system. That he is not promising anything else why should his government be any different from the Wilson/Callaghan one of 1974-9 which connived at and engineered an unprecedented drop in working class living standards and saw unemployment double?

If you want to see what the 'next Labour government' will be like we suggest you have to look at Australia. There the Labour Party came to office in 1983 promising a special relationship with the trade unions and to raise health and education spending. In fact poverty has increased dramatically, one child in five is now dependent on government 'hand-outs' unemployment is rising and funding to state governments has been slashed. Indeed since Labour came to office real wages have plummeted by 7% while profits have increased by 70%. But this has not been enough for the Australian Labour Party. In its latest budget Finance Minister Paul

Keating, announced that spending would be cut by some A\$2.5 billion of which A\$500 million will come from social security; by cutting — you guessed it — health and education. To cap it all Australian workers are to suffer another 2% wage cut, which will be the second such cut in a year.

Of course Australian workers have tried to fight back. What has 'Australia's Kinnock' Bob Hawke done? Well this head of the Australian TUC for 23 years and Labour PM since 1983 has fined the Meat Workers' Union A\$1.7 million for taking strike action, he has sacked 1,000 electricity workers and even smashed the militant Building Labourers' Federation. Against this 'Thatcherite' assault 'Australia's Norman Willis'. Simon Crean has made it clear he is "prepared to see any level of cuts provided the government talks to us."

Obviously Hawke's government, like Kinnock's 'next Labour government', has attempted to manage capitalism. Australian capitalism has recently found the going tough. Its markets in Japan and the US have dried up. Inflation is now 8%, The balance of payments

is A\$13.7 billion in deficit and this is predicted to go to A\$15 billion this year. Because of this the Australian dollar has declined sharply. In 1982 it was worth 250 Japanese Yen. Today it is down to Y90. As a result of attempting to stave off these problems the national debt has been spiralling upwards until now it stands at A\$75 billion — greater per head than Brazil and Mexico.

And if anyone thinks Australia is the exception they would be wrong. All social democratic governments, whether they are called 'socialist' or 'Labour' or whatever, run capitalism whatever they say. Just look at Kinnock's PASOK friends in Greece. They have just increased rents by 200-300%, that is after they had introduced an austerity package which has seen inflation soar while wages have been frozen. In the last few years it has been exactly the same story in Spain, Portugal, France and other European capitalist countries governed by social democrats. In backward capitalist countries like Peru the social democrats have presided over the mass murder of revolutionaries: all in the name of saving the

capitalist system.

So there can be no excuse for advanced workers having any illusions whatsoever in the 'next Labour government'. Workers must also have no truck with the likes of the Communist Campaign Group's Ken Gill. Speaking to the TUC he called for workers to enter into a "partnership" with "the next Labour government". Like his Australian mirror images he even allowed for the possibility of wage controls when he said "workers would respond when framing their demands, to the measures taken by a reforming, radical government."

We say there must be no illusions in Kinnock. We must fight in the here and now for solidarity with South Africa and Ireland, for decent wages and jobs and for democratic rights. South African and Irish workers, the unemployed, the youth, the old, the unionised and the non-unionised, women, gays, all workers and oppressed sections need unity against capitalism — not unity for Kinnock. We must fight for what we need — not what Kinnock thinks the system can afford.

Jack Conrad



## Fight for work – not Kinnock

“REALISING that only by the abolition of this hideous capitalist system can the horror of unemployment be removed from our midst, I here and now take upon myself a binding oath, to never cease from active strife against this system until capitalism is abolished and our country and all its resources truly belong to the people.”

This was the oath taken by all those who took part in the first national Hunger March organised by the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement (after 1929 the National Unemployed Workers' Movement) in October 1922.

In October 1986 an unemployed workers' march sets out from Jarrow. It does not have the aim of recreating the fighting determination of the NUWM which staged six hugely successful Hunger Marches between 1922 and 1936 and organised up to 100,000 in its ranks. No, the model of next month's march is the Jarrow Crusade.

It was overtly against the NUWM. Whereas the Hunger Marches had a militant character, the Crusade was eminently respectable. For instance its organisers sent the divisional agents of the Labour and Tory parties ahead to prepare receptions. So acceptable was this begging bowl march that at Harrogate the Territorial Army took care of the 'crusaders' at Leeds a newspaper owner gave food and drink, and at Sheffield, Chesterfield and Nottingham the Tory Party was the host.

Surprisingly therefore the original 1936 march did not have the blessing of the TUC or the Labour Party; they actually advised their local organisations not to assist the 'crusaders'. Why was this? The Labour and trade union bureaucrats were quite simply terrified of association in any way with anything which even smacked of the NUWM.

The fact was that after the defeat of the 1926 General Strike the TUC and Labour Party did everything in their power to sabotage the Communist Party led NUWM. So they were against being seen to help the Jarrow Crusade in case the NUWM took advantage of the precedent. But they need not have worried.

The organisers of the 1936 Jarrow Crusade wanted, and got, a well publicised begging bowl march. They wanted charity for Jarrow not a militant struggle against the evil of unemployment in Britain as a whole. To avoid being tainted by the NUMW, with Special Branch cooperation, they even expelled a marcher from the 'crusade' simply because he was a member of the Communist Party.

No wonder the media smiles on the 1936 Jarrow Crusade with such tenderness. That is why the Labourites feel safe with the Jarrow Crusade as their model. They want to use it to make today's unemployed cannon fodder to enhance Kinnock's pre-election propaganda.

While no one should doubt the sincerity of the 1986 Jarrow marchers, all workers, above all the marchers themselves, should question the sincerity of the organisers. They won't mind anti-Tory slogans (banned on the People's March for Jobs) but will they allow democratic control of the march by the marchers, let alone calls for the unemployed to organise against capitalism? For this is the cause of unemployment. And what will the 'next Labour government' be managing? Just like the last one it will be the crisis ridden capitalist system.

Under the last Labour government unemployment doubled. That is a fact Kinnock cannot deny. That is why we say: Fight for work - not Kinnock. That is why we say: Organise a new NUWM. It must fight for: Work at trade union rates or full maintenance. It must be run by the unemployed themselves and its officers must be elected and recallable.

In this way the unemployed can become strong. In this way the unemployed can win self-respect. In this way they can secure what they need - not what the system can afford.

The Editor

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## LETTERS

### Tartan Liquidationism

I would like very much to vindicate my character from your accusations and implied accusations in reply to the answer you published to my previous letter (*The Leninist* No.35).

1. You state I have a "strange ally" in Paul Cockshott who as your readers may confirm has a reactionary position on Ireland. This 'guilt by association' trick could be turned on you when both the Conservatives and the National Front do not want the separation of Scotland and England.

2. Marx, Engels and Lenin did not call for Scottish independence directly because they were unaware and not students of Scottish history.

3. John MacLean was not dismissed by Lenin. Lenin invited John MacLean to Russia after the formation of the CPGB. It is speculation of course but due to Lenin's superficial look at Scotland and MacLean absent from real communication.

4. Devolution is not independence. I did not say that it was, only that it is viewed widely as a first step towards independence. Can you read? Working class people can want independence but not bourgeois nationalism. The right to self determination is a democratic demand. If Scotland has this right, there would not be the present government in power in Scotland.

5. Scotland is part of the British state, and the Scottish working class is part of the British working class, but Scotland is also part of world imperialism and part of the world's working class. So much for geography.

6. You state that "Britain is not a 'lap dog of US imperialism' but the world's second greatest imperialist power". These two labels are not mutually exclusive when there are tens of US bases in Britain and the fact that English airports were used as launch pads against Libya.

7. You imply that principled unity of workers against the British state is impossible if Scotland goes for separation. Was not the ideological unity of the international proletariat a goal of the Communist International which we both seek resurrected? The break up of the British Empire is an historical process which any genuine communist would encourage. If Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man, Cornwall were 'no go' areas for the British state or any other part of Britain as such, would that not be the sign of a British workers' state in the creation?

8. The free and equal union of the nations of the world is a class goal of the international proletariat.

9. Comrade Conrad stated "it is dishonest to quote Marx and Lenin and try to transpose Ireland to Scotland." It is also dishonest to transpose the concrete conditions of the Ukraine and Georgia on to Scotland. Russia was not the imperialist dragon Britain has been in the world.

10. Comrade Conrad seems more concerned with the hard rock identity of the British 'nation', than the 'hard rock unity of the working class'. He implies that the independent cultural traditions of Scotland and Wales (I might add Cornwall and the Isle of Man) are necessarily backward looking, or dangerous and reactionary. This merely shows up Comrade Conrad as an English chauvinist who regards the cultural imperialism of his 'own' bourgeoisie to be more progressive than the traditions which retain remnants of primitive communism.

11. The main implication of the right to self-determination for Scotland is that it undermines the right of the CPGB to have an existence in that name. A federation

of communist parties of Scotland, England and Wales with principled ideological unity is in the spirit of the Leninist approach to the national question in general. This is no liquidation of the CPGB, but an adherence to the 22 conditions of entry to the Communist International. Rule 17 states that each affiliate must change its name to the Communist Party of (the countries name). Britain is not a country but a forced union of nations.

Yours in comradeship  
Al Donaldson

Jack Conrad replies:

1-3. Al, it is not your character we question but your politics. We understand you and comrade Cockshott worked together on *Vanguard*. We do not work with the Tories or the NF. Marx, Engels and Lenin did not call for Scottish independence. Correct. We do not think MacLean would have changed Lenin's position. But perhaps Lenin would have changed MacLean's.

4-5. An independent Scotland would not be ruled by the British Conservative Party. True. So what? The workers' struggle against capitalism would be weakened. Scottish workers being part of the British working class is no matter of geography, it reflects cultural, national, economic and historical reality.

6. British imperialism is not a lap dog of US imperialism, nor is Japanese, Federal German, French, Italian etc imperialism, but opportunists in those countries find it convenient to fight US imperialism, while ignoring their own.

7-9. If Scottish, Welsh, Cornish and Manx workers were won to nationalism it would be a grave setback for the struggle for a British workers' state.

10-11. The Bolsheviks fought for the right of Ukrainians and Georgians to have self determination but did not advocate that these peoples form their own state. Yet Russia was a prison house of nations. They called for the maximum unity in the overthrow of Tsarism. We think this is applicable to Britain itself (the British Empire was a different matter requiring separate CPs). Of course Britain is a country. Italy, France, Spain, Russia, etc were all forced unions. But aren't they countries, comrade Donaldson? The British nation like many others was formed using force, before it so was England and Scotland. Weren't they countries? Force is always important but economic and cultural coalescence have proved of greater importance, not least with Scotland's merger with England over the last 250 years or so. This is not 'cultural imperialism'. What tosh. Do you want to chuck out the English language the Scottish people have so brilliantly used? Should we break up the British workers' movement along the lines of Angle, Saxon, Dane and Celt in the name of 'primitive communism'. No comrade, this is reactionary nonsense. This does not prevent us from being the enemies of every type of national inequality and discrimination. We are for the fullest development of culture. But for us national oppression is not just an evil in itself, it obscures the contradiction between labour and capital and sets workers against each other. Respect for the right of nations to self determination is therefore compulsory for communists. But so is opposition to nationalistic narrowmindedness. Comintern was not a federation of CPs it was a monolithic World Party. The Leninist Party takes as its starting point the existing state, not nations, let alone ex-or non-nations like Cornwall and the Isle of Man. For instance our Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian and Cypriot comrades in the CPT — *Worker's Voice*, following the principled line of the Bolsheviks and

Comintern, organise in every part of the Turkish "prison house of nations". "Communists" they say in their programme "always support the organisation of the proletariat in the largest and most centralised units. In the absence of objective conditions compelling separate organisation, the proletariat organises in a single party. This is a requirement of proletarian internationalism. Any movement which fails to defend the organisational unity of the workers within the same state borders has not broken its links with bourgeois nationalism." In the name of the CPGB we agree.

### Aids

I was stunned to read the review of *The Plague Years: a Chronicle of AIDS: the epidemic of our times* by David Black in *The Leninist* No.36. What did your headline 'Contagious Desire' mean? Given the vicious anti-gay campaign in the bosses press over the very real fear of AIDS, this headline is disturbingly odd.

British prudery, i.e. ruling class morality, is renowned throughout the world for the rotten double standard it is. So it is important that communists speak out clearly on sexual questions. And this is particularly important for you since the CPSU has such a backward position on gay rights.

Yours fraternally,  
Jeff Pascoe.

Ian Mahoney replies:

Pascoe is trying to build his flimsy case that *The Leninist* is homophobic and chauvinist on the basis of the title of the review he refers to — *Contagious Desire* in *The Leninist* No:36. Apparently he has not read our earlier statements and articles on the gay question.

### BT Sanctions

With reference to the letter by Reg Mikes and action by Telecom workers over South Africa.

The correspondent is correct when he says telephone calls to South Africa could be dialled direct if telephonists refused to connect them. However, two points should be made here. Firstly, South Africa receives daily news material broadcasts from London via telephone lines, special circuits taken out of the public system, and satellite paths.

Secondly, options must therefore also include sabotage, as the correspondent suggests, or 'maximum' tactics such as general strike action by both engineering and clerical workers, and occupations of the international exchange buildings in London by militants.

These 'maximum' tactics are obviously far in advance of the consciousness of most Telecom workers, but I would suggest that militants in Telecom link their immediate economic struggle of fighting for jobs and conditions with the struggle going on in South Africa.

Best Wishes!  
ME Mailer

Note: Letters have been shortened due to lack of space. For political security we have changed names and addresses, and certain details.

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Liz Hill: no solidarity from the Straight Leftists

IN *THE LENINIST* of July 12 we reported on the disgraceful refusal of Straight Leftists on Camden Trades Council to support the campaign against the deportation of Revolutionary Communist Group supporter, Viraj Mendis. Viraj is still fighting and the Straight Leftists are still scabbing, albeit this time on a different campaign, and with the aid of a *Morning Star*-supporting friend on the Trades Council, comrade Vic Heath.

This time the target of these malevolent, bureaucratic blockheads is the Free the Guildford Four Campaign.

The Campaign has been actively mobilising, through meetings, demonstrations, and the like, in support of the release of Paul Hill, Paddy Armstrong, Gerry Conlon and Carole Richardson, framed for the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings in 1974.

After much confusion and tail-chasing on the part of the police they, worried about increasing pressure for a 'result', lifted as a desperate measure first Paul Hill and then the other three. This gave Paul the dubious honour of being the first person to be arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act that the Labour government had just rushed through parliament.

The police had soon terrorised and beaten out of the four a set of confused and highly improbable confessions to the pub bombings. There was no forensic evidence connecting them with the bombings, no evidence of association with any known 'terrorists', no incriminating evidence was found in their possession, no fingerprints and no witnesses. Carole Richardson even had a cast-iron alibi, corroborated by photographs, proving that she was at a concert at the time. In short, there was nothing to connect them with the bombings *whatsoever* except for the artificial confessions tortured from them by the thugs in blue.

This, of course, mattered little to British law and order. It needed a sacrificial offering and it had it. In the eyes of 'British justice' it was all over, bar the shouting. All four were pronounced 'guilty'. At the time of sentencing, in 1975, Hill was aged 21, Armstrong 25, Conlon 21 and Richardson only 18. They were, and are still, political prisoners and scapegoats of British imperialism in justification of its terrorism in Ireland.

Paul Hill wrote at the time: "The Irish prisoners are in British prisons because British troops are on Irish soil. If that is not political then what is? I have been told that I will spend the rest of my natural life in prison. I am 21 years old."

Further proof of the innocence of the Guildford Four, if any were

needed, came with the capture of the 'Balcombe Street' IRA Active Service Unit. At their trial these freedom fighters refused to plead, because they would get no justice from a British court and also because they were not being tried for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings for which they claimed responsibility.

Needless to say, they were jailed by the court but the issue of the pub bombings was quietly swept under the mat.

The Guildford Four's defence, however, was able to gain an appeal through this in October 1977. Despite the evidence of the 'Balcombe Street' Volunteers the appeal failed; for it to have succeeded it would have meant showing that £1.5 million of 'public money' had been wasted and exposing the police as liars. It would have been too great a blow to Britain's credibility in the Irish War, and the chance of continuing with the 'criminalisation' policy against the republican movement and the armed struggle would have been shot in the foot.

So now, in 1986, action to free these four victims of Britain's campaign of terror is well overdue, and the actions of the Free the Guildford Four Campaign can only be welcomed. What then is comrade Vic Heath and the Straight Leftist's beef? In the case of the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign it was because they 'didn't know enough about it'. What was there to know? A man is to be deported by the racist British state to face persecution by the reactionary Sri Lankan regime. Is that not enough to warrant support for his fight? Does not the case of the Guildford Four demand action for their release? Even the Euro on the trades council was shamed into voting to support the Campaign. For the Straight Leftists, on both counts, the answer can only be no. How can this be justified?

Vic Heath, with the support of the Straight Leftists, got up on his hind legs at July's meeting to try. Again, that old chestnut that they didn't know enough about the campaign. Obviously Vic and his Straight Leftist chums do not read papers or watch the television, since ITV/Yorkshire Television and *The Observer* have both sympathetically covered it. And after over eleven years of unjust imprisonment they have had ample time to find out what it is all about. Pardon me if we seem obtuse, but surely the Free the Guildford Four Campaign is (as the name would suggest) a campaign to free the Guildford Four? There is cowardice, downright treachery.

Vic went on to imply that 'dark forces' were in operation behind the campaign. These 'dark forces'

number amongst their ranks six Labour MPs and MEPs, Ken Livingstone, numerous councillors, Paul Hill and Gerry Conlon, and the Hill, Conlon and Armstrong families. A subversive crew if ever there was one!

What Vic is actually talking about are those dreaded bogeymen which all centrists frighten their children with, those 'handmaidens of fascism', the Trotskyites. This generally means anything to the left of them — not difficult these days.

But our unhappy gaggle of opportunists were not to be found wanting with a meagre two excuses. The last line of defence was still to come. This campaign was not backed by the TUC (shock, horror!) and therefore affiliation to such a Campaign might (just might mind you) risk disaffiliation from the TUC. Oh well then comrades; just so long as it isn't the bourgeoisie that says you can't then I suppose it is alright.

It almost seems worthwhile leaving the sorry tale here, without further comment. That they would let Irish political prisoners rot in jail for the sake of buddy-buddying with Willis and the rest of the TUC tops! These, remember, are ardent supporters of the party which when in government in 1975 jailed the Guildford Four. And Heath and the Straight Leftists are prepared to be their oh-so-loyal sycophants.

For genuine communists it is not a criterion whether the Guildford Four are 'innocent' or 'guilty' as to whether we demand their release. No Irish political prisoner can be 'guilty' of fighting to free their country, irrespective of whether they were IRA Volunteers such as the 'Balcombe Street' unit, or framed like the Guildford Four. But to oppose a campaign for the release of such transparently innocent people is just beyond the pale. As Lenin said, opportunists are a greater friend to the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself.

Throughout the history of the workers' movement in Britain genuine communists have always taken a quite different line. Marx and Engels fought long and hard within the Irish Amnesty Campaign for Irish liberation. Marx's daughter, Jenny, was known internationally for her commitment to such work. The early CPGB organised the Hands off Ireland Campaign, siding openly for Ireland against Britain. That same Party also ran guns and explosives to the IRA.

Today, these self proclaimed Marxist-Leninists dare not even stand in their shadow.

Contact Free the Guildford Four Campaign at BM BOX 6944, London WC1.

The recent CPGB delegation to China is to be welcomed. While it certainly did not indicate a healing of the rift that opened up between the Chinese party and the CPGB in the 1960s, the result of the Chinese comrades breaking from our world movement, it was a welcome sign that the schism at least is becoming less sharp. However, the mere fact that China is now regarded with less hostility not only by the CPGB but the CPSU poses acute problems for the Straight Leftists, NCPers, CCGers and other tailists. The Soviet Party (which is always correct according to these centrists) has in the past denounced China as "capitalist" and even "fascist"! Of course, the sycophants in and around our Party parroted this. Now that the diplomatic relationship between the Soviet Union and China has thawed and there are signs of a rapprochement between the Chinese Party and the world movement, we have a question for our centrist comrades: when exactly was the the Chinese anti-capitalist, anti-fascist revolution?

The Economic League (the big business organisation set up to spy on the workers' movement) does not like so many Trotskyites, NCPers and CCGers dismiss our CPGB as dead if not buried. "The size, frequency, quality and professionalism of their substantial output of papers and magazines have all improved" says its latest report. "No other organisation of the extreme left can boast such influence, resources and experience."

According to the *Guardian* of August 21 the Communist Party of Austria is "one of the giants of Austrian private capital." Since the reunification of Austria after World War II the CPA has owned a major oil company and most of the haulage business for exports to Eastern Europe and the USSR. Compared with its 15,000 membership its income is a massive £500 million.

The print run for *7 Days* is reported to be 10,000. Of these copies only 6,092 are sold, 1,456 directly to subscribers, most of the rest through branches. Sales only amount of 60% of the Party's 11,000 membership and for most district the figure is around 50%. The compares very unfavourable with left groups and papers. *Socialist Worker* sells 14,000 with a SWP membership of around 4,500; *Militant* 10,000 with 8,000 claimed supporters and *Tribune* manages 8,000 with only a group of tired soft left MPs officially backing it. Even smaller groups manage to place reasonable print orders. *Labour Herald* has a print run of 2,000 *Socialist Organiser* 3,250, *Socialist Action* 3,000 and *ins* 7,000. Indicating Eurocommunist discontent with *7 Days* and its general disorganising effect sales in Midlands District stand at a mere 32% of membership. Is this the Euro party of a new type?

## Head and shoulders



If you've been reading *The Leninist* recently you will be aware that at the end of this month our Summer Offensive will end. Our comrades have been scrimping and saving to meet, and usually exceed, their target of giving three weeks income to our paper. Everyone knows it stands head and shoulders above all other CPGB publications: official and unofficial. This is only possible because the dedication of our comrades — as witnessed by our Summer Offensive — is head and shoulders above anything seen in our movement for decades. But if we are to really expand our influence we need our readers becoming supporters. For starts this means you taking copies of the paper for friends and workmates and it means you pledging a monthly donation. Some readers have responded to our call for large donations. We have had several of over £100 — this is marvellous but not enough. This month's £600 stands at £509, so get the pledges and orders coming in now.

TUC delegates getting *The Leninist* message

# THE LABOUR LEFT



Kier Hardie proclaimed the Labour Party with thunder...

# NOWWHERE LEFT TO RUN

LOOKING AT IT realistically, the left in the Labour Party is in big trouble. The euphoric days of 1979 when many socialists honestly believed that they were on the point of winning the Party as a whole from the beleaguered and split-damaged right wing, today seem like a million years ago. Kinnock's leadership has seen a vigorous campaign against the left in the Party; erstwhile 'lefty' darlings have packed their bags and left town in the face of the right's onslaught and today can be found brown-nosing it with the pro-capitalist witchhunters. So far, all attempts to regroup and launch some sort of counter-offensive have flopped due to the Labour left's almost pathological sectarianism and an inertia engendered by the narrow inner-Party organisational focus that such campaigns have had. Now it seems there are new moves afoot in the Labour Party to weld together a coherent radical alternative to the witchhunting leadership; but will this one be any different to the others. Somehow, we think not...

## Leafy Hampstead

The Town Hall, leafy Hampstead, July 22 — the latest attempt at a regroupment of the left is this time being promoted by the new umbrella group, Labour Left Liaison (LLL). Inside, a medium-sized hall is full and on the platform the 'old faithfuls' Tony Benn and Eric Heffer of the Campaign Group of Labour MPs, speakers from LLL, prominent representatives of the *Militant* tendency and various inner-Labour Party campaigns such as those for Black Sections, women and Ireland. As the proceedings get going, Camden councillor, Judith Fitzgerald tells the hall that this is "one of the most important meetings of the left for many years".

She may well be right; which just goes to illustrate what a state the left of the Labour Party has got itself into. As Sarah Benton of the *New Statesman* (August 15) observed about the new umbrella organisation that was pulling this meeting together:

"Ask representatives of the LLL what they hope to achieve and none speak with any ambition for it. The simple perspective is that they expect Labour to win the next election (nothing else bears thinking about, and it's not thought about) and, in a relatively short time, to mess up the business of 'successful' government. At which point the left should, having organised itself to survive, be able to re-emerge with a neat critique of what went wrong..."

The fact that a figure like Vladimir Derer apparently seems to be playing a more prominent role in the intrigues of the left nowadays indicates the narrow and 'survivalist' approach of socialists in the party. If you want to be charitable to Derer, you could say he is a "sage" on inner-party matters; if you were being honest however, the man is a staid organisational hack and the fact that he is apparently now eclipsing more political figures on the Labour left illustrates graphically the dangerous course that this wing of the party is set on. Derer since he set up his Campaign for Labour Party Democracy in 1973, has made a political career out of inner-party constitutional campaigns and in the seemingly never ending organisational constructs and alliances the Labour left creates in order to protect itself and its precious niche in the Labour Party though never to do any campaigning in the real world.

LLL is little different and in fact was born as a product of yet another narrow organisational wrangle between the brothers and sister in the Labour Party. When the Women's Action Committee and Black Section's reps scuppered the Labour Co-ordinating Committee (LCC) on May 31 by refusing to participate, the main protagonists in LCC scuttled around to someone's flat, where ten minutes after the untimely death of the LCC, the LLL was born. The world's working class watches, waits and holds its breath...

## Reformist Politics

As Benton again points out in *New Statesman*: "Labour Left Liaison was thus formed without discussion among the constituent bodies which supposedly founded it. More importantly, it has been formed without any clear commitment so far to agreed political principles and certainly without any formulation of a political strategy either for the Labour Party as a whole or this particular Labour left."

As the reformist politics of the left of the Party become increasingly irrelevant and unconvincing in the harsh economic and political climate of the 1980s, so they undergo a commensurate retreat from intervention in the class struggle itself. The pressing priority that the reformist left now sets itself is simply to

survive. The campaigning priorities that the LLL has set itself therefore reflect the self-obsessed cul-de-sac that they are in:

- To defend the MP reselection process won in 1979.
- To fight for the reinstatement of Kevin Scally and Amir Khan to the party.
- To press ahead with the fight for Black Sections.

Meanwhile, while the Labour left intently study their navels and desperately try to think of a reason for their own existence, the working class, particularly the youth suffer increasing attacks on their rights and living standards. If they wait for anything like a fighting lead from the reformist left, they'll wait a bloody long time!

## History

There is a historical parallel that we could perhaps draw between this period and one during the 1920s. At the 1925 Annual Conference of the Labour Party, there was a hardening of attitudes towards the left, in particular against the communists, who then were officially allowed to work within the Labour Party despite the independent existence of our Communist Party of Great Britain. However, at the 1925 Conference the Labour leadership narrowly won their recommendation to delegates that no member of the Communist Party should be eligible for Labour Party membership and that trade unions would not elect communists as delegates to annual conference.

Prior to 1925, the Labour left was as amorphous and directionless as today's. As the leadership of our Communist Party observed in its Seventh Congress in 1925:

"As yet the 'left wing' groups are confused and without any definite programme beyond resentment at the policy of the right wing. Its unorganised, unformed character leaves the leading spokesmen of the left in the power of the right wing, who advance them or push them into the background according to the exigencies of the situation, while maintaining control of the whole apparatus of the Labour Party. The fears and political confusion of the left wing is seen in the futile attempts to create a grouping of left forces which will provide a centre functioning as a barrier between the Labour Party and the Communist Party."

After the exclusion of the communists in 1925, the National Left Wing Movement was founded to draw together the disparate strands of the left and give them a more coherent programme. At its founding conference, this organisation reported that:

"...sixty five groups had been established; 24 in London, 6 in Wales, 5 in Lancashire, 9 in Yorkshire, 4 in the Midlands, 3 in naval ports and the remainder in other parts of the country" (*The Communist International, Between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses*, CPGB, July 1928, p.122)

Of course, the key influence that allowed the NLWM to be founded and which gave it clear sighted view of its tasks was our own Communist Party. Communists' general attitude to workers still under the influence of reformism was elaborated by the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) in 1924. Its resolution urged communists to "assist" workers to convince themselves of "the utter worthlessness of the labour leaders, of their petty bourgeois and treacherous nature, and the inevitability of their bankruptcy." To do this might entail tactically "supporting the Labour Party programme", but at the same time pushing "other immediate slogans calculated to mobilise the class-conscious sections of the working class for common action." Thus communists maintained their political and organisational independence while attempting to "come to agreements for such and such common action with 'left' political organisations as well as the local organisations of the Labour Party."

The key word here is "action". Under the influence if not actual direction of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the NLWM adopted a programme which dictated that it did not submerge itself in sterile inner-party wrangles, but actually attempted to build workers' resistance to the capitalist offensive in the here-and-now, not in the distant future under a Labour government. Similarly, the Communist Party wrote to the Independent Labour Party (ILP) suggesting they both "should co-operate in a campaign of agitation throughout the length and breadth of the country." The priorities of the campaign said our Party should include for 100% trade unionism, nationalisation of the mines, a living wage and for the formation of Workers' Defence Corps against the government backed



...today Labourism is tired

professional scab organisations. (*Workers' Weekly*, November 20, 1925).

In our view, the dry and self-defeating way the left of the Labour Party is seeking to fight the onslaught of the right is a product of the fact that, unlike in the 1920s, today there is no viable independent Marxist-Leninist Communist Party capable of giving direction to the struggles of honest workers who are yet to break from reformism. Nevertheless, we believe there are important lessons to be drawn from this period both for communist and for those in the left of the Labour Party who are anxious to actually fight the bosses offensive and not just the witchhunt.

## Action

The Labour left appear to have accepted the idea that they are an electoral liability. Their reformist outlook thus dictates that they will simply passively wait until the Labour Party is reelected and hope in the meantime that by keeping their heads down and not acting in too provocative a way, they may, by the grace of Kinnock, survive and be around to dip their bread in the gravy when the Labour Party starts to mop up the anti-Tory backlash. There are two consequences of the reformist outlook of the Labour left:

● They do not understand in the same way as communists how attitudes and the views of workers are moulded and potentially changed in the course of taking militant action to defend their rights and livelihoods. They are thus obsessed with electoral politics. They relate to the working class not as a class which can be mobilised into action, but as atomised voters. Workers as individualised electors are most susceptible to the pressures of bourgeois society and to demoralisation and a rightward drift.

● However, the possibility of the Labour left initiating independent class section is precluded by the very fact of the left's reformist outlook. The type of old-fashioned reformist industrial militancy that provided the sustenance of the Labour left in the past, has been shown with the defeat of the miners' strike to be inadequate in today's new conditions of class war. As we have pointed out, it is now an objective necessity for revolutionary politics to take a firm hold on the British working class movement for our class to go on to future victories. The Labour left is incapable of providing this leadership. Thus, without a vanguard Communist Party around to cut the Gordian knot, the reformists are caught in a vicious and ever-decreasing circle.

We call on workers in the Labour Party and the Communist Party to seize the time. Today

there are huge opportunities for working class action to present a real challenge to the bosses and their system. We have set as our task the reforging of a vanguard Communist Party, an urgent priority for advanced workers in Britain, but we realise such a political development can never come through some backstage intrigue or secretive inner-Communist Party factionalism. It will come from the struggle to fuse our Leninist ideology with class action: it will come from advanced workers both in the Labour Party and outside it fighting together for the interests of the working class as a class, through campaigns for the sacked and jailed miners, for workers' sanctions in support of the coming revolution in South Africa and in solidarity with the Irish peoples' struggle against British imperialism. It will come from the struggle in the real world, not from those in the smoky labyrinth of Labour Party committee rooms that is the dismal world of the reformist Labour left. Socialists in the Labour Party who genuinely want to change their Party and to see our class on top should blow the cobwebs from their minds and stop telling the working class to wait for seven or eight years until all the Left's pet schemes for influencing the Labour Party have hatched. Our class simply can't and won't wait.

Ian Mahoney



## 57 varieties of Labourism

Sometimes, you will come across philistines in the workers' movement who throw up their hands in despair at the multifarious groupings and splits on the revolutionary left; then they have the cheek to advocate that we all drop our silly "sectarianism" ... and join the Labour Party! In fact, the left of social democracy in Britain has seemingly had more schisms than those that rent medieval Christianity. *Labour Briefing*, *Chartist*, *Labour Herald*, *Militant*, *Campaign* and *Tribune* to name a few. But whereas the theologians of that time were wont to split over issues such as the number of heavenly cherubim who could fit on the head of a pin, or whether angels had navels, the Labour left fall out over far more base and sordid concerns.

Derer set up his Campaign for Labour Democracy in 1973 and has been a more or less permanent feature on the landscape of Labour Party constitutional intrigue ever since. Of course, the high point for all the 'hard' left came in the 1981 Wembley Conference with the organisational changes that were won there. The euphoria did not last long however. The right soon counter-attacked and the hard liners fell out amongst themselves about what attitude to adopt to the Labour Party Register — the inner-party listing which was being used to proscribe certain groups. Probably because Derer adopted a rightist position on this issue — he advocated complying with the Register as it was agreed Labour Party policy — his grouping was eclipsed by Labour Briefing (LB), an organisation set up in 1979. LB provide Ken Livingstone with his political muscle and base, and they would probably love to be reminded of that

should you ever encounter any of them.

Derer meanwhile was calling for 'unity' of the left. Now however, no one was listening to him. Instead it was LB that managed to cobble together some 16 groups to form Labour Left Coordination (LLC) in 1985. The name of this group's newspaper was indicative of its outgoing confident approach to fighting the class struggle — *Witch Hunt News*. LLC, as was boringly predictable, degenerated into a sectarian bicker: from its founding it seemed totally directionless and in fact was so ineffectual that even the Womens' Action Committee (WAC) and the Black Sections, two groups with a penchant for the Labour Party left's sectarian musical chairs, kept their distance.

Spotting its chance, in leapt Derer's CLD, this time with that thoroughly confused mob, *Socialist Action* (the old International Marxist Group) in tow. They proposed (wonder of wonders) a new structure, but this time (Oh, stroke of genius!), giving a shared chair to the WAC and Black Sections. There was a short, undignified squabble with CLD and *Socialist Action* on one side and LB, *Viewpoint* (a split from *Socialist Organiser*) and *International* (a split from *Socialist Action*) on the other. The Black Sections rep intervened into this sordid little gaggle with the incisive political point that he had had a gut full of arguing the toss about the "words of a dead, white middle class man" (ie Trotsky) and he, his group and the WAC were going to slope off with the CLD and *Socialist Action* as they at least had offered more upfront in the way of tokenistic obsequiousness.



Both Harold Wilson and James Callaghan are helping to raise funds for the Young Conservatives. They both signed a copy of Number 10 Downing St which will be auctioned by the YCs. All nationalists, regionalists and parochialists take note: Wilson said he'd signed because "it was for Yorkshire".

Metropolitan Police commander Anthony Speed is in charge of riot and firearms training at Hendon Police College. Those who imagine, like Straight Leftist Nick Wright, that such policemen would be wonderful if only we had community control might like to note that his son James has recently been doing 100 hours community service after he decided to do some unofficial community policing and he'd beaten a black man with his National Front metal tipped flag pole. He was also ordered to pay £50 compensation and £30 costs. Roll on workers' justice.

"The 'civil war' that they are trying to banish from the revolution cannot be banished. For civil war is just another word for class struggle, and the idea of trying to introduce socialism without class struggle, by a parliamentary decision, is a ridiculous petty bourgeois illusion." So said Rosa Luxemburg described as a 'pacifist' in Margarethe von Trotta's film of the same name.

Having suffered under a geriatric leadership are our Soviet comrades going too far in lowering the retirement age? News has just been released of Yuri Brezhnev, yes the son of, being given a pension after retiring from his job as a deputy minister of trade ... old Yuri is 53.

"After the figures have been adjusted they will not appear to be so enormous" Kenneth Clarke, (un)Employment Minister, on the latest dole figures.

"When it comes to my children I'm a reactionary" admitted Neil Kinnock to Everywoman magazine. Now he should have the honesty to admit the politics of his 'next Labour government' should have the same description.

Roy Lynk has quit as secretary of the Spencerite UDM but will remain secretary of the UDM's Notts Area. "I would rather do one job well than make a mess of both". With UDM membership declining both nationally and in Notts he has a point. We wish him the worst of luck.

THE South African Communist Party's recent London public meeting boasted a platform of Namibian and South African revolutionary nationalists, trade unionists and communists. Also amongst them was the leader of our Party, comrade Gordon McLennan, and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, comrade Jimmy Stewart.

It is not so much comrade Stewart's presence at such a meeting that Leninist comrades present found ironic, but his remarks from the platform. Jimmy got up and, turning his left face to the assembled crowds, proceeded to draw parallels between South Africa and Ireland and to hold forth on the evils of imperialism, be it South African or British.

Well fair enough, you may think, but implicit in this and Jimmy's fulsome praising of the SACP's record of struggle was a supposedly close comparison of the two parties.

## The armed struggle

In both South Africa and Ireland the liberation struggle is being carried forward on the guns of the liberation armies, respectively Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Provisional IRA. What then is the attitude of communists in the two countries to these struggles.

Comrade Joe Slovo, main speaker at the London rally and SACP chair, is Chief of Staff of MK. The SACP was instrumental in establishing this army, and has declared 1986 'the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe'.

Comrade Stewart of the CPI makes nonsense of the comparisons he drew between the two countries by, at any and every opportunity, viciously condemning the armed struggle of the IRA and INLA in the Six Counties.

In the early days of the Irish war, the CPI tried to deny its very existence: "the lie that that this is an IRA versus the British Army conflict is unmasked when it is realised that many of the detainees are Civil Rights leaders, Peoples Democracy leaders and other Socialists." (James Stewart Morning Star August 14 1971) This statement is today itself 'unmasked' with the demise of the Civil Rights movements, the continuation of the IRA and INLA's struggle and the escalation of British terror against them.

The CPI now realises its little mistake, even if it has never admitted as much, and now contents itself to condemning "the gunmen who murder worker's unity" (Unity August 9 1986). 'Unity' for the comrades of the CPI means unity around the Protestant dominated trade union movement in the Six Counties. We shall deal with the dangers of this perspective later.

Of course national circumstances differ and the armed struggle cannot be regarded as a sacrosanct principle, but, as comrade Stewart pointed out, both countries are oppressed by imperialism. Both also have movements who violently struggle against this oppression. The real difference is in the role of the communist parties in the two countries to this struggle. Listen, first to the SACP and then to the CPI:

"Para-military formations are sprouting in widespread areas as instruments of peoples self-defence and as detachments which mount organised attacks on the enemy." Does the SACP, as would the CPI, see this as cause for concern? Far from it. "Now, these units must be spread to every community, to every town and village and to every part of the countryside. They must be armed with more and more weapons and they must also find ways of arming themselves. Led and trained by cadres



The unity of the Irish and South African struggles proclaimed in a Belfast street mural

## SOUTH AFRICA AND IRELAND

of Umkhonto we Sizwe, they will be the most decisive contingents of our revolution." (Umsebenzi, No.3 1986)

So what is the CPI's attitude to 'the most decisive contingents' in the Irish revolution at the moment, the IRA? "The Communist Party of Ireland unreservedly condemns the recent statement of the IRA which defines anyone with the slightest contact with the security forces as so-called 'legitimate targets' ... The threats show how divorced from reality the Provisionals are, they are elitists, living in their own world, far removed from the experiences of the working people." (Unity, August 9 1986) Would the CPI then condemn the comrades in the South African townships who 'necklace' their collaborators? It is after all far more 'humane' to shoot them as does the IRA. But it is less humanitarianism that motivates the CPI and more a thirst for 'respectability'. As to 'divorced from reality' who gets the most votes come election time comrades, Sinn Fein or the CPI? The ranks of the IRA can surely boast more working people than can the ranks of the CPI. Who then, shall we conclude, is divorced from reality?

Some of the CPI's 'reticent' attitude towards the armed struggle has crept into their analysis of the struggle in South Africa. In response to an MK car bomb in Pretoria, Unity of May 28 1983 whined that the "action in Pretoria might have been misguided." All this violence stuff is a bit distasteful for the CPI, who have, it seems, greater moral scruples than an arch-bishop.

Such an attitude is not born out by the history of the revolutionary movement. Contrary to popular belief, the Bolsheviks did not just keep their hands in with the odd strike until that great day in October 1917, filling in the time by circulating *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* and the like.

Lenin, in his article on guerilla warfare had this to say:

"A Marxist bases himself on the class struggle, and not on social peace... In such periods a Marxist is obliged to take the stand of civil war. Any moral condemnation of civil war would be impermissible from the standpoint of Marxism... we absolutely demand in the name of Marxism that an analysis of the conditions of civil war should not be evaded by hackneyed and stereotyped

talk about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism".

In agreement with the Comintern's position that "the workers' movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must first of all establish itself as an independent revolutionary factor in the common anti-imperialist front", the early CPI fought for an alliance with Sinn Fein and had many members in the IRA. It seems little use reiterating the minutiae of Connolly's and the Citizen Army's united front with the fore-runners of today's Provisionals, the Irish Volunteers.

What has the CPI today in common with those proud traditions?

### Revolution and the democratic state

The apartheid state is racist by its very essence. It is not a matter of the people who staff it; it is not reformable. This is self evident. It is also the position of the SACP.

The state in the Six Counties is inherently sectarian, as is British rule there. It is not a matter of the people who staff it either; it too is not reformable. This also should be self evident. It is not, however, the position of the CPI.

For the CPI, like the CPGB, it is the British state that has caused the 'mess' in Ireland, so the British state must 'clear it up'. This manifests itself in the demands (requests?) by our two parties for Britain to withdraw troops to barracks and introduce wide-ranging democratic reforms; in general to behave in a more responsible fashion. The issue of self-determination does not come up.

This is a very dangerous position. British imperialism is not a naughty child who can be made to clear up the toys it has strewn over the house. It is a rapacious, oppressive power that must pursue such 'policies' to survive. What the CPI and CPGB's position does is to reduce the struggles for national and social emancipation to ineffectual pressuring of the British ruling class to do something which it cannot afford. It is like chastising a rabid dog for biting people.

The SACP has on the other hand resolved to "destroy state terror

through revolutionary violence". It, unlike the CPI, does not blame the liberation movement for the violence, but imperialism. *Unity* hardly ever mentions imperialism.

A point that *Umsebenzi* makes against Buthelezi could so easily be transposed to Ireland and used against comrade Stewart: "By accusing the ANC (and not apartheid) for the killings and sufferings of our people, Gatsha Buthelezi reveals his true colours." (No.3 1986)

### Labour aristocracy

The CPI often equates the violence of the IRA with that of the UDA, UVF, UFF and the like. To do so it has to go to ludicrous extremes:

"Let us say quite strongly that while Loyalist para-militaries obviously gun down innocent Catholics in random sectarian killings, the IRA's assassinations of UDR men and policemen, to say nothing of civilian contractors are equally sectarian in effect." (Unity) So random butchery is the same as a military campaign against those maintaining, and profiting out of, Britain's war machine. Warped logic.

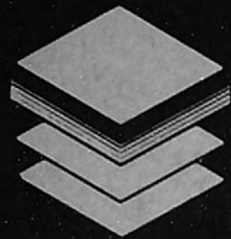
The CPI goes a bundle on worker's unity, but is unable to figure out why they have not achieved it.

As a result they blame IRA 'sectarianism' as the cause, equating the violence of the oppressed and that of the allies of the oppressor.

Worker's unity cannot be declared, it has to be fought for. The real material obstacle to this is the privileged position of Protestant workers over Catholics. For instance, unemployment is respectively 18-20per cent and 38-40per cent. Harland and Wolfe and Shorts have almost complete Loyalist workforces. The security forces are almost entirely Loyalist. This is due to the link with Britain and the privileged position this bestows on Protestant workers.

This transforms them into *labour aristocrats* who will fight to maintain this privilege. It is analogous to the position of white workers in South Africa. Equating the violence of IRA and UDA would be like the SACP equating MK to the AWB. The SACP leads one and fights the other, as perhaps should the CPI.

Alan Merrick



PAMPHLET

## The red and the green

William Paul, *The Irish Crisis*, 1921 CPGB Pamphlet, reprinted by Cork Workers' Club 1986, pp.12

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY of Great Britain hails the dauntless fight of the Irish Republicans in their successful struggle against the British Government." You may recognise this quote from the front cover of number 36 of our paper, and possibly also from one of our banners on August's Irish Freedom Movement demonstration. It is not, however, of our own invention, but from a 1921 CPGB pamphlet by William Paul.

The early Communist Party had a proud history of internationalism, certainly not excluding the Irish people, and Paul too came from an equally proud tradition, predating and contributing to the CPGB.

He was a founder member of the CPGB, and prior to that of the staunchly pro-Irish Republican Socialist Labour Party, whose first National Organiser was James Connolly. When Connolly left for Ireland the SLP found an excellent replacement in Paul.

Really, it need not be said that Paul's pamphlet is incomparably better than more recent CPGB pamphlets by comrades McLennan, Brennan and Myant. In fact, if the pamphlet has any fault whatsoever it is that it under-estimates the material basis of the Protestant workers' allegiance to the union with Britain. However, this pamphlet was written immediately prior to partition, so this had not been as clear or as developed as it is today. Comrade Myant and crew have no such excuse.

Paul, like his comrade Connolly, well understood the vital role of the proletariat imprinting the national liberation struggle with the stamp of their class interests;

"The fusion of the revolutionary workers with the Sinn Fein movement made it a more vigorous organisation than it had hitherto been." (p7) The uniting of national with class interests in Ireland gave a force and dynamism that had been lacking before.

The CPGB saw it as its cardinal duty to Ireland to offer its comrades there advice, it also supported the Irish through propaganda, action such as the Hands off Ireland Campaign, and materially (the CPGB ran guns and explosives to the IRA across the St Georges channel — can you imagine Martin Jacques doing the same with a boat load of AK47s?).

Comrade McLennan, speaking at the recent South African CP rally, used the well known quote from Lenin: "There is one, and one only, kind of real internationalism, and that is working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and other material aid) this

struggle, this, and only this, line in every country without exception."

McLennan uses it to impress, as is his wont; Paul *did it*. This is the difference between the leaders of the CPGB in 1921 and those now at the helm of our Party.

But the cop out over Ireland runs the length and breadth of our CPGB today, with *The Leninist* alone standing by the revolutionary tradition of William Paul. Who in the Party but us, today stand with the IRA in their war against Britain? "We, the Communists of the British Party," wrote Paul, "have a sacred duty to perform in connection with the Irish question. We must help Ireland in her struggle against Britain."

Comrade Paul and the CPGB did not do this out of the goodness of their hearts, or in the pangs of some 'little Englander guilt trip', but because they themselves had a material interest in Ireland's liberation, as did all British workers; "As workers we communists know that the same troops, tanks, machine guns and other democratic instruments of capitalist persuasion, which are sent to Ireland and elsewhere, are also hurled against us during a big strike." (p12) Can anyone doubt that this is still true? Ask any miner that was at Orgreave if you do.

Central to Marxism has been the need, always and everywhere, to assert the independence of the workers from their 'own' bourgeoisie internationally. Without this it would be impossible to wage the class struggle successfully at home. Lenin well understood the implications of this in the case of Britain; "A blow delivered against the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland is a hundred times more significant politically than a blow of equal force delivered in Asia or Africa." (Lenin, *The Irish Rebellion of 1916*). Members of the CPGB, and others, who turn out for Anti Apartheid demos, but not on Bloody Sunday and the like, would do well to remember this. We have time and time again been the only Communist Party contingent on demonstrations in solidarity with the Irish people.

Does the CPGB, apart from ourselves, "support by propaganda, sympathy, and other material aid" the struggle of the Irish people? Comrade McLennan may state as much but he knows this is just hot air.

For those who today equivocate on their support for the struggle in the North of Ireland we ask them — is the Provisional IRA today essentially any different from the IRA of 1921, and if so why? We must confess that we see little difference, and see no reason not to uphold Paul's revolutionary internationalist position today.

The principled stand of 1921 rested on the understanding of the inextricable link between democracy and the social and national revolutions in oppressed countries such as Ireland. No lasting democratic gain could be won while imperialist domination existed, even if imperialist rule were ended, such a gain could not be consolidated unless the national revolution, under the hegemony of the proletariat moved on to socialist tasks. This is the essence of Lenin's theory of uninterrupted revolution. Compare this with the daft notions around the Party and CCG today; all have more stages than Dodge City.

Imperialism cannot and will not unite Ireland, cannot and will not democratise Ireland. To do so would mean the loss of Britain's oldest colony, a vital prop to the British bourgeoisie. Democracy in Ireland can only come through revolution in Ireland. To put off the struggle for self determination until democracy has been achieved in the Six



## Punk hero

Alex Cox (Director) *Sid and Nancy*

PUNK is ten years old; it has become like all other modes of fashionable rebellious youth sub-culture sanitised and wrapped in plastic for public consumption. In its more palliate form, devoid of its initial shock and danger it has been comfortably adapted and incorporated into establishment society. Alex Cox follows suit in his salubrious celluloid treatment of *Sid and Nancy*. His is an impenitent romantic view consequently the viewer is subject to the usual blurry fabulist biopic.

This is his story of a doomed romance. It's central characters are based on the lives, and more specifically the deaths of Sid Vicious and Nancy Spungen. Other pivotal characters of the time, Jonny Rotten and Malcolm McLaren are barely represented — one can assume that this was to safeguard Cox & Co from libel suits had he used the same liberal licence he has with the protagonists.

Facts are omitted, fantastic falsehoods abound. As a post-punk post-mortem Vicious is innocent, or

portrayed as misunderstood. His cruel acts of torture, unwarranted slash attacks, racism are diluted to puerile acts, his acts of violence turned to masochism.

The viewer is led to believe that it was Spungen who not only introduced Vicious to heroin, but who pushed him along the path, where fact is he was already a user and on that downward path of destruction. Spungen was an American from the mid-East middle classes, the spoilt product of excess. Vicious from a deprived working class background, single parent family from the East end of London. Their common ground was boredom and a lack of concern which manifested itself in a maladjusted nihilism. Rebels without causes remain totally rootless, their screams empty, self absorbed with no vision and no solution in their vacuous void awaiting the next sensation.

Vicious is a symbol of the Punk Generation. Gary Oldman plays Sid Vicious with depth and clarity, the loathing and lonely personal abyss played to perfection especially when

no psychological or sociological analysis of the relationship is scripted. Chloe Webb plays the deranged Nancy with a sadness and insight which also far excels the script writers.

Cox has operated his own censorship for cinematic effect, and with the odd cinematic metaphor thrown in shows the couple as sentimental and sympathetic, and in certain scenes caring. There was support — a selfish cloying comfort of the desperate — depicted. But at the end of the day Vicious is elevated and exonerated of guilt. Spungen provokes her own death at the hands of Vicious and the final scenes are of a penitent Sid.

The dead Nancy is resurrected symbolically in bridal wear, the ghost of Nancy beckons to Sid and leads him off "Man, he's going with her, he don't even know where she going".

It's a cop-out to depict Spungen as the precursor of Vicious' fate, it is also too simplistic to imply that 'Love Kills'. The film was ultimately a simplistic cop-out.

Anna Campbell



Hapless victims

Counties is to put it off to *never*. Worse, it results in placing one's faith in imperialism to bring democracy to the Irish people — a reactionary utopia, Britain can only offer oppression in Ireland. Communists in Paul's day did not act as advisors to British imperialism: "We scorn to hide our opposition to British imperialism. We fight it by any and every means. Therefore, because Ireland is engaged in a life and death struggle with it, we rally to her assistance." (pp.11-12)

Compare this to a statement released by the CPGB Political Committee some 48 years later, on the day that the British army rolled into Derry on August 4 1969: "Any basic constitutional changes are questions of a longer term nature which can only be settled by consulting with the people of Ireland. The immediate question is that of civil

rights and democratic rights."

So the blood drenched British imperialists were to sit down and chat amicably with the Irish people, and in the meantime concede democratic rights to them. Come off it! Comrade Paul must be performing somersaults in his grave.

Comrade Paul's revolutionary stand on Ireland included, but of necessity, a merciless exposure of the treachery to the Irish of all shades of opportunism within the British workers' movement, specifically that of the Labour Party:

"In lending every assistance to Ireland, it is not only necessary for us to attack the Government, but also to warn our Irish friends that the political and trade union leaders of the British Labour movement are as dangerous to them as a Lloyd George or a Hamar Greenwood. The

cowardly ineptitude of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, so far as Ireland is concerned, is at once humiliating and treacherous. The bare-faced betrayals of Ireland and her workers by the British trade union leaders is on a level par with the Labour Party. We assure our Irish friends that these elements are being exposed by the Communists." (p.12)

Somewhat different than the crass Labourism within today's communist movement.

Now, as upholders of the traditions and principles of our early CPGB we find ourselves having to expose not only the rotten chauvinism of the Labour Party, but also the chauvinism that has eaten into the ranks of our Communist Party. As did Paul, we assure our Irish friends that these elements are being exposed.

Alan Merri

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SUBSCRIBE

TERRY FLANAGAN is the chair of the Camden Printworkers Support Group. He is a member of Sogat London Machine Branch and used to work on the *Sunday Times* before the dispute. Terry spoke to *The Leninist* about his impressions of the strike and the way forward for the printers. The first thing he wanted to impress on us is the deep mistrust that he and other printers have for their national leadership:

Terry Flanagan: I think that the dispute is being deliberately wound down so that they can cook up a shady deal. We're all expecting Brenda Dean to try to stick another sellout on us.

*The Leninist*: That seems a depressing perspective. Do you think the initiative was lost after the Biennial Delegate Conference of Sogat? It seemed then, after the victory the London District Council (LDC) in campaigning for strikers to reject Murdoch's 'final offer' that perhaps the initiative could be taken by the rank and file.

Terry Flanagan: Given the layout of our union, I don't think it was feasible that the rank and file could ever control the strike completely. There are too many splits in it. I don't think the initiative was literally handed back to the national leadership at the Biennial Conference. I think the LDC got through the best deal they could get through that meeting at that time, that was all. They had the best intentions for the men, I think. But in the situation where 75% of our own union are scabbing on us anyway, that was the best deal that we were likely to get through that conference and it was done with the intentions of getting the very best out of it for the printers that was available.

... If Dean and Dubbins and the others manage to dig up some sort of lousy deal then the membership will again reject it, even if its some cunningly worked out deal. I honestly think that the most likely result will be that Sogat will in actual fact go into Wapping. He'll sack the membership he's got in there at the moment; we'll go in there, have to work with some scabs and the NGA will eventually be the sacrificial lamb because their jobs in Wapping, in the composing department or whatever are just dead anyway.

Only Sogat will have any hopes of jobs there, but given Dean's history she'll have us in there on a workers' council and no FoCs and all that sort of arrangement. I definitely don't like the look of that.

... I don't think the key is spreading the strike. Spreading the dispute, even in Fleet Street, is at the moment a dead duck happening at the moment. After the TUC we've got to confront our own leadership and ignore their instructions about screaming "scab" at people, step up the pickets and especially step up the flying pickets all over the country.

I think the dispute is having a great effect on Murdoch, otherwise he wouldn't be taking us to court and putting all these writs about. We need more of what we've already done and really get stuck in on it. The long nights are coming now, so ...!

*The Leninist*: We've called on militants across the NGA, Sogat, NUJ, AUEW, EETPU divide to establish joint rank and file committees to take the strike forward. Don't you see this perspective as having strengths?

Terry Flanagan: I actually think that we've got too many committees at the moment anyway! There's a

committee everyday of the week on every subject you can think of. Many of them are ineffective. I think some are made ineffective deliberately — that's one ploy, get people to meetings and bore them stiff. They've had meetings in the middle of Bethnal Green in the middle of the day. It's got to be one of the worst places for anyone to get to. That was the way they slaughtered the mass meetings, by having them out of the way of everybody.

There's a role for other people, but I would like to see first of all some of our own people turning up at Wapping. The printers are maintaining their presence with demonstrations of about 3-4 thousand every Saturday night, but we're getting little support from other trade unions either there, or on the flying pickets or the Printworkers' Support Groups around the country. Even a big city like Sheffield has had its Support Group fold up. To me, that is a disgrace, particularly from the point of view of the NUM up there. We backed them 100%, they ought to get off their arses now and back us in Yorkshire or wherever.

All over the country the other unions have got to get off their backsides and do something. At the moment, we are the 'shield' against them, against all the other employers attacking them in the same way... They're all going to get the same treatment as us if we don't win. Quite honestly, the support we're getting from other unions outside of London at the moment is bloody negligible. We're not even getting basic support. We need money to put into our funds for our clerical branch and the people who are getting virtually no money. That's what we need and we're not getting it.

The trade union movement's got to realise what the fight is about. I know we've got our own scabs throughout the country, but Sogat and to some extent the NGA have always been poorly organised in the provinces. That's our fault obviously. Fleet Street being totally organised isn't enough for the rest of the country as well.

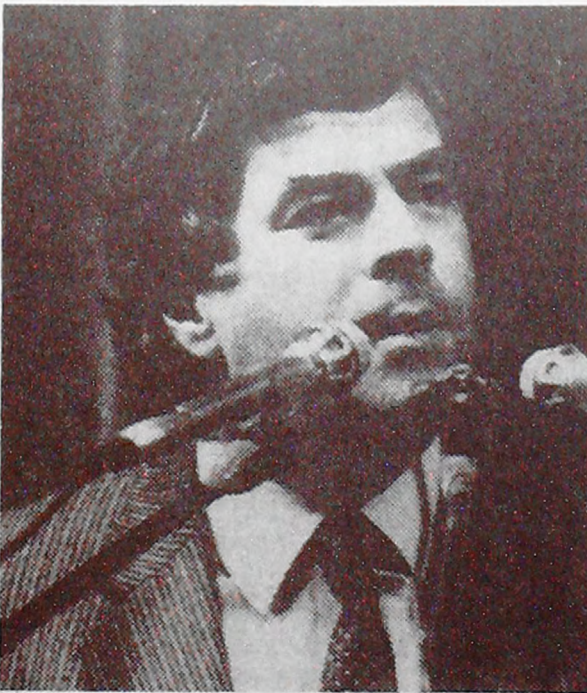
... Effective flying pickets are very important to this dispute. TNT depots all over the country should be picketed. I don't care what Dean and Dubbins say, we should stop Murdoch's distribution wherever and whenever we can.

The strategy of Dean and Dubbins has been a sellout strategy, there are no other words for it. They've completely abandoned the Wembley '82 decisions to fight the Tory laws tooth and nail. I think we possibly have got the most gutless TUC we've seen in many a long year and that's saying something! If you look at the history of the TUC, they've never done anything but betray the working class. Unfortunately Sogat in particular has got the worst possible leader we could have in this position. A film star who is more interested in the personal impression she is making on the public than any fight for her membership. And to a great extent that goes for Dubbins as well. He's after a safe seat in the Labour cabinet. I'm absolutely disgusted with the whole crowd! 'Disgusted', but not surprised. I think there are very few trade union leaders around today who are worth two bob. I suppose you could say Scargill is and possibly Ron Todd, but with the rest of them... their 'new realism' means selling out the working class as far as I'm concerned, betraying our members in the most disgusting and obscene manner. I think they are revolting.



Lobbying the TUC - what will it do now?

# FIGHTING THE SELL-OUT



Dubbins: sellout strategy



Dean: digging up a dirty deal



## SUPPLEMENT



The CPGB first Congress brought together the finest militants under the banner of violent revolution and soviet power

# In the vanguard of struggle

WHATEVER GAINS the working class may make under capitalism, however far the balance of class forces is shifted in its favour, it cannot consolidate these advances, nor set about preparing for state power, unless it is led by a vanguard party.

There are, of course, an abundance of dull self seeking hacks, academics who fancy the status of guru and even a fair number of sincere revolutionaries who proclaim their sect the vanguard. This is sometimes done with references to a god building version of dialectics, sometimes to a real politic divine right bestowed through worship at the shrine of the USSR. Still others refer to historical continuity with this, that or the other Trotskyite so-called 'International', while the more honest point to their stirring calls to action and revolutionary predictions.

Now if we look at the reality of virtually every single one of these groups which claims the mantle of 'the vanguard' we see they are in truth little more than propaganda sects. None of them have proved able to offer the working class any real revolutionary leadership. This cannot be excused by the objective situation alone. The worship of spontaneity, the fatal pull of full or semi-Labourism and a complete lack of theoretical vigour predestine failure; as does the nihilistic attitude towards the CPGB, the ostrich-like denial of the fact that the majority of the vanguard on a world scale are organised in the world communist movement and the

cowardly refusal to defend existing socialism.

So what all these vanguard claims have in common is that they are transparently false. These vanguards are obviously by self-appointment, not as a result of winning the trust, confidence and loyalty of the most advanced sections of the working class. It is therefore obvious that today in Britain there is no genuine vanguard party, only those who claim or aspire to this role.

Our dismissive attitude towards the vanguard claims of these groups does not mean we have a dismissive attitude towards all their criticisms of our CPGB and world communism. Indeed on many questions we will admit the criticisms have a great deal of truth in them. Nonetheless it is clear the myriad of petty groups which buzz around our movement are part of the problem not the solution. They are products of our movement's rightist sins, a pestilence of our own making.

Lenin said, one of the essential conditions for preparing the working class for victory is a prolonged, persistent and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social chauvinism and similar bourgeois influences and tendencies in the workers' movement. He said these manifestations of bourgeois ideology are inevitable as long as the workers exist and operate under capitalist conditions. But unless such a struggle is fought, and unless a complete victory over opportunism within the working class movement is preliminarily gained, there can

be no hope for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Given this, it follows that one vital task in building a vanguard party is pulling away the reformist blindfold from the eyes of our class. We therefore set ourselves the task of laying bare before the workers the irreconcilable antagonism between their interests and the interests of the capitalists, of showing them the historic significance, character and condition of the social revolution they are destined to carry out. Only in this way can the proletariat come to realise its historic mission to liberate mankind from the shackles of class society.

So a vanguard party cannot be built without the sharpest ideological and political conflict in the working class movement itself. By ruthlessly, systematically and forcefully exposing all that is flimsy, rotten and treacherous in the theory and practice of the existing misleaders of our class the ground can be cleared for a vanguard party.

For this reason Leninists must have no truck with the liquidationist call by the Straight Leftists for communists to reconcile themselves to Labourism, and the flip side of this, their call for unity in the CPGB around "the struggle for peace", a revolutionary question which in the hands of both Straight Leftism and Eurocommunism has been reduced to little more than pacifist clowning.

Despite this nothing can obliterate

the historical achievement that the founding of the CPGB represented for our working class — its highest. The CPGB of today is no sect and remains a formal historical link with the CPGB of 1920, the Party of Lenin's Comintern and revolutionary principle. We all know our movement has slowly degenerated till now it shows signs of disintegration. Nonetheless it has been our assessment, and it is now our experience, that because the world communist movement, of which our CPGB is an integral part, does organise tens of millions of advanced workers, it will be from its ranks, through the crisis in it, that the revolutionary vanguard the working class needs will first stir, learn its politics, organise itself and then win leadership.

The model for this must be the birth of the Third International itself. To all intents and purposes the Third International existed for many years in the belly of the Second International. It was not the product of some leader declaring the Second International dead for revolution, nor was it brought into being by some sect successfully creating a few overseas clones.

The Second International might have been dominated by opportunism but the objective situation, until 1914, necessitated the revolutionary trend in it to remain organisationally united with overseas opportunists. Thus Lenin, Luxemburg,

Connolly and Liebknecht were in the same International as Kautsky, Bernstein, David and MacDonald. It was the cataclysm of inter-imperialist war which split the Second International down the middle and in this chaotic situation the Second International's left wing quickly evolved qualitatively from a tendency, into a loose knit faction and then into an entirely separate but higher identity, the Third (Communist) International. It aimed to unite revolutionary theory with the revolutionary practice the outbreak of general capitalist crisis in 1914 demanded. So it was not just an ideological trend, it was the world party of revolution.

If we are able to grasp some of the important parallels between then and today, if we are able to grasp even the most elementary laws of social development we can appreciate that crises are not negative. Crises show the old cannot continue in the same way, they are the medium through which the new is created, emerges and destroys the old. Party membership might be down to under 11,000, but this is because of Eurocommunism's failure. *7 Days*' sales figures are pathetic, but this is due to a social democratic approach to membership; Straight Leftism is keeping its head down to the point of irrelevancy; and the Communist Campaign Group is good at organising monthly meetings for its OAPs but it does not attract youth; these are failures of opportunism not communism. Because opportunism is in crisis communism can grow.

If the CPGB was smoothly growing by a 100 or so each year, if the YCL was likewise recruiting, if ideological differences were being overcome through unity around the *British Road to Socialism* or slavishness towards the CPSU, then there would be no basis for *The Leninist* or the possibility of reforging the CPGB back into the revolutionary organisation it was when it was formed in 1920.

The crisis that grips it today reflects a broader crisis in the workers' movement and capitalist society itself. Because of this dynamic, using the method of open ideological struggle, taking on board the lessons of history and taking full cognisance of the gathering storm clouds of a new general crisis, the possibility is opened up for those who dare take on the task, of seeing the struggle in the CPGB through to the point where we do not just see the Party back to health, but forward to the point where it can play a full role in organisationally recementing the revolutionary unity of communists on a world scale and leading workers in Britain to revolution.

There are those who for their own narrow and sectarian reasons maintain against all the evidence that the crisis in the CPGB has reached the point where to continue to fight in it is simply a waste of energy and resources. The Party is, they tell us, Eurocommunist from top to bottom. Better to cut and run and join the New Communist Party or a pro-*Morning Star* NCP Mark II than continue the fight. Others, this time mainly in the Euro set, make it a point of undocinaire doctrine, that the Party crisis has come to an end.

True one phase of the Party crises has ended. The CCG has beaten off attempts by the Party to regain control of the *Morning Star* and is doing its best to cut off its supporters from the inner-Party struggle; the Straight Leftists are keeping their declining number of heads well down; and the Euros having gained a majority on the Executive Committee, now pray for acceptability in the eyes of the pro-Nato SDP peacenik, the Green feminist and the witch hunting soft left trade union functionary.

Seeing the Straight Leftists cowering like a kicked dog and the splitters in the leadership of the CCG doing their best to get oppositionists to behave like lemmings, no wonder some Euros insist that the Party crisis has come to an end. Because of this voices have been raised on the EC calling for a more comradesly internal regime and dropping the feud against the *Morning Star*.

*The Leninist* has quite correctly pointed out that the Party crisis has not been resolved. All there has been is an interregnum. As the crisis had its origins deep in society itself, as long as the Party continues to exist no administrative measures can resolve its crisis positively.

The crisis in the Party, we have pointed out, will see this or that issue come to the fore, but underneath all the various arguments around Poland, shop stewards perks and fiddles or the *Morning Star* the major contradiction in the workers' movement and now the Party, the contradiction between reform and revolution, would constantly reassert itself. And given the existence of the Labour Party, this, we have repeatedly said, would pose the question of

whether the Communist Party? Will, in other words, our Party be liquidated through one of the competing Labourite doors represented by *Marxism Today*, *Straight Left* and the *Morning Star*, or will it be saved by *The Leninist* and reformed into a vehicle for revolution which must as one of its key tasks see the defeat of Labourism?

We say the Party crisis continues and is full of possibilities. There is little doubt about this in my mind. Evidence to prove this contention is abundant. We not only have the continued drift towards Labourism from all opportunist tendencies in and around our Party but we are seeing, again as we predicted, splits simultaneously opening up in the camps of Eurocommunism and the CCG.

Carrying on the previous pattern of futile pro-*Morning Star* rebellion the district committees of East Midlands and West Middlesex have thrown down the gauntlet to an EC just itching to bureaucratically 're-register' or 'reorganise' these thorns in its side. More interestingly, and perhaps more significantly, we have new divisions starting to open up amongst the EC, not between those sympathetic to the *Morning Star* and the right opportunist/Eurocommunist bloc, as was the case before the last Party congress, but amongst the Eurocommunist grouping itself.

Who a year ago could imagine comrade Monty Johnstone, the arch Euro of arch Euros as the centrists branded him, standing on a conciliatory platform that says communists should not be discouraged from reading the *Morning Star*?

This could be the opening gambit by comrade Johnstone to line himself up for big things in the post-McLennan regime. The air has been thick with rumour of comrade McLennan's voluntary or forced departure for some time. Did Monty write a conciliatory letter to the *Morning Star* on July 12, before the EC met, in order to put himself over as a man above factions and the friend of all?

Surely he knew his conciliatory but logical motion to the EC would go down, but leave him in the tactically useful position of having to openly do the impossible squaring the circle of his July 12 letter (printed after the EC meeting) and the majority's illogical stubborn antagonism in the letters column of the *Morning Star*. (After all why put up candidates for the Management Committee of a paper Party members are not encouraged to read or support?) The 19 majority on the EC, putting narrow factional interest above the Party as a whole, voted Johnstone down simply because they do not want to do a thing to prevent the CCG forming an NCP Mark II.

Johnstone (and his six other EC supporters) do not want to lead a bickering Euro rump; and who can doubt a powerful and authoritative call for unity could produce a resonance across all Party tendencies. Comrade Johnstone is after all one of the few Euros who justifies Eurocommunism with reference to orthodox Marxism-Leninism. Others like comrades Jacques, Bloomfield and Glen have few pretences now to be anything other than petty bourgeois radicals.

Because he has a formal knowledge of Marxism-Leninism he is able to operate as the Euros only serious weapon against Trotskyism and can take on centrists in our own Party with devastating effect. Using the pages of *7 Days* for example, he boxed comrade Fergus Nicholson into a corner on whether or not the CPSU could make mistakes. Cornering him Monty forced poor old Fergus to make an absolute idiot of himself. They could make mistakes Fergus conceded... but we have no right to criticise until they have criticised themselves. All Monty had to do was to raise the question of international issues and Fergus was out for the count.

Of course as Lenin said "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat" — Monty repudiates not only working class dictatorship but revolution — thus he is only a petty bourgeois radical. Nonetheless his lack of bluster and the fact that he has a political brain and knows how to use it, certainly means he is a horse more plodding nags like comrades Cook, Temple and Carter will be watching.

So will the next Party congress in November 1987 see comrade Johnstone distance himself from hard line Eurocommunism and make his move? Obviously we don't know. But we can say with certainty that whatever comrade Johnstone's ambitions are and whether or not he succeeds in realising them, his thoroughly opportunist politics mean today's petty splits are merely a taste of things to come. The Euro/right opportunist bloc dominating the

EC is not stable, nor is Eurocommunism, it is doomed to growing internal contradictions and in due course, with or without a unity monger as General Secretary, divisions and the ever stronger pull of liquidationism.

## CCG DIVISIONS

Naturally the CCG says it is cock-a-hoop. In the not too distant future it hopes to receive, courtesy of the EC majority, two district leaderships, on a platter. As if this were not enough divisions on the EC have become public knowledge through the *Morning Star*, and signs of disarray, disillusionment and debilitation amongst the partisans of Eurocommunism are all too evident.

But is the CCG free of trouble? Well hardly. Look at the report we carried in *The Leninist* of its July 5 London aggregate. Photis Lysandrou confirming his position as the top dog in the London CCG, gave a report which for those prepared to grasp the implication was a blunt call for the CCG to form a new party following the Party's November 1987 congress.

The CCG, Lysandrou said, was in a "no man's land". But today he quite rightly insisted "is a critical period which requires a Communist Party". But the long and short of his argument was that as there was no realistic chance of "principled communists" (ie the leaders of the CCG) "regaining control of the CPGB", the CCG would have to become a "Communist Party".

He admitted splits in countries like Holland and Australia had not been great successes. But Britain will be different. More out of hope than conviction, he 'proved' it by pulling out of his hat the *Morning Star*. This boring paper, with its declining circulation and boot licking prostration before the trade union and labour bureaucracy is supposed to make Britain exceptional and enable the CCG leadership gang of disaffected right opportunists and right moving centrists to form a communist party.

Not surprisingly some CCG leaders (a minority in London) are not convinced by the Lysandrou line. For starters we can simply quote Mary Rosser's remarks at the July 5 CCG aggregate. She said that if the CCG were to split it would then itself proceed to split into five different groupings. Rosser has already made it public that a Lysandrou led CCG/NCP Mark II could not expect to have the *Morning Star*.

So, frustrated by references to the *Morning Star* making Britain exceptional, she called for the CCG to fight it out in the Party till victory. Of course as the CCG has to all intents and purposes already split, this perspective is a call for the CCG to stay in its "no man's land". Nonetheless it is clear that there exists "split" and "no split" factions in the CCG. Rosser found her opposition to a split supported by Mick Hicks.

He knows that the comrades in Moscow do not want a split in the CPGB, he knows they would prefer communists to unite around the "struggle for peace", even if this is under Euro leadership. So after triumphantly referring to the increased *Morning Star* order from Czechoslovakia Hicks insisted the CCG must "take into account what the socialist countries want"; in other words no split.

Clearly Lysandrou, Hicks, Rosser etc have constructed the CCG ship purely on the basis of anti-Eurocommunism, and for opportunists this subsequently necessitates a bureaucratic approach to all ideological and organisational questions or find the rank and file deserting in half a dozen different directions.

Because the leadership of the CCG is acutely aware of the danger of schismatisation in their own ranks they have done their best to prevent any outbreak of political debate amongst the CCG crew. To keep things quiet the leadership is forced to talk left for the benefit of the rank and file. At the same time it must act right for the benefit of the upper, or executive car driving, echelons of the Labour Party/TUC.

This is what was behind the cynical manoeuvre by the management committee of the *Morning Star* at the last PPPS AGM. The management committee said it agreed with motions supporting sacked and imprisoned miners, the liberation struggle in Ireland and the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and then called for the motions to be voted down because they were already the policy of the paper.

True to this thoroughly opportunist form the much heralded CCG journal will therefore be handed down to the ranks from high and will even include one of Tony Benn's pedestrian left reformist articles. The journal will not be designed to clarify the tasks of communists but

to impress Ken Gill's friends during TUC week. What an evasion of responsibility. After all the communist movement in Britain is in the midst of the deepest, most far reaching and dangerous crisis ever.

Surely it is incumbent on those who claim to be the heirs of Marx and Lenin to present a full analysis of the origins of and solutions to the Party crisis and to encourage the maximum possible debate of these questions in their press, not least the *Morning Star*. Only then is there any basis for going to the 'broad labour movement'.

Because the CCG leadership will not do this, all they can appeal to is the lowest AES common denominator of left reformism and that must lead to subordinating all struggle to getting that scab Neil Kinnock into No 10 and eventually to liquidationism into the Labour Party itself.

This is the message at the heart of all publications coming from the CCG stable; the talk of Marxism-Leninism, revolution and class struggle are used as a cover for the most craven parliamentary cretinism. Dishonesty therefore serves as the fundamental ideological cement of the CCG leadership. Because of this we can forwarn honest CCGers: as the gap widens between the left impulses of the rank and file and the rightism of your leadership and its publications (not forgetting the *Morning Star*), the lie will become first the lost motion, then the exclusion and finally with grim irony the circle will be completed and we will see the re-registration. After all the CCG leadership were suckled on the opportunist poison of the Harry Pollitt CPGB, learnt the ABCs of bureaucratic heavy handedness at the feet of the grey John Gollan and finally mastered the finer points of crushing dissent carrying out the line of comrade Gordon McLennan.

Of course reality will not allow the CCG to stay as it is. Like those who try to stay perpetually young, attempts by CCG leaders to keep things as they are are doomed to disappointment. The dynamic of political life will force change even on the most unwilling, or consign them to extinction.

Clearly Photis Lysandrou is aware of this, if other CCG leaders are not. He fears that if Hicks, Rosser (and it is said Gill) have their way the CCG will decline slowly but surely into an old age pensioners social club. And those who want proof of this should have gone along to the last Hackney CCG meeting. If you wanted an example of Derby and Joan communism there it was. Lysandrou knows that if that is the future of the CCG, all he will be a general secretary of is a grave yard. He knows that he has got to offer what for him, and for any serious leader, is the future of any organisation — the activists, the militants and the youth — a long term perspective. He knows the CCG is not winning in the CPGB, cannot win in the CPGB. So what the hell to do? Split in November 1987 is his answer.

Now what will happen if the CCG formalises its split after the next Party congress? Well, we confidently predicted at the beginning of the CCG, even before the CCG was the CCG, that the grouping around Chater was united around nothing other than anti-Eurocommunism, and if it was launched as an independent body it would sink. Therefore we called the CCG 'Chater's Titanic'. We said we even doubted it would last as long as the Titanic — which at least managed to get half way across the Atlantic. Chater's Titanic, his NCP Mark II as we also named it, was destined to go to disaster as soon as it went down the slip way. It is a grouping built in haste, with rotten material, it is full of contradictions and riddled with theoretical holes.

Let me give you a very good example of this from the mouth of Photis Lysandrou himself. Speaking at the London CCG aggregate he admitted he was one of those who voted against the current *British Road to Socialism* at the November 1977 congress. He then, without apparent embarrassment, went on to say he supported the "revolutionary core" of the *BRS* and for the benefit of others in the audience who also voted against he said that is what the CCG supports.

As a communist, if I went to a Party congress and I put forward my amendments to a programme which had a "revolutionary core" and they were rejected I would be duty bound to vote for that "revolutionary core". Of course I would argue for my amendments but I would have no right to vote against a basically healthy programme. So what was Photis doing voting against a programme which he insists has a "revolutionary core"? Well I know, Photis Lysandrou knows, you know, we all know that the *BRS* has not got a "revolutionary core". It

has nothing to do with revolutionary politics, it never had anything to do with revolutionary politics, not in 1950, 1951, 1952, 1958, 1968 or 1978. It always had a reformist core... and now, as capitalism heads towards a new general crisis, that reformist core is putrid, rotten with irrelevancy given mass unemployment, the Six Counties and urban uprisings, it is in other words an offence to the nose of any revolutionary.

The truth must be that Photis voted against the finalised 1978 5th edition in November 1977 because back in those days he had some revolutionary honour. The fact that he is now saying the BRS's reformist core is revolutionary and that the CCG is standing on this reformism not only proves that Photis has moved to the right but it is another example of the lying that keeps the CCG together. The CCG is in fact a pack of lies. And as Lenin said honesty in politics is a sign of strength — clearly the CCG, as personified by Photis Lysandrou (who calls the core of the BRS "revolutionary" and who will not openly admit the differences in the CCG leadership) is spineless, brittle and not long for this world. Photis is forced, despite his own past, despite the bad taste it leaves in the mouths of his supporters, to defend the BRS because of the need to maintain unity with Chater, Hicks and the like who always supported the BRS.

Is this any basis to launch a 'vanguard party' on the working class in November 1987, or at any other time? Of course not. If it were to be launched I can tell you that even if it did not instantly disintegrate and take the captain and crew to Neil Kinnock's social democratic locker, the working class will judge it harshly. Workers will rightly say 'why support the CCG party and its reformist programme of getting the Labour Party elected, when we can support the Labour Party itself? And they would be right.

Faced with such a reaction does anyone doubt the CCG leaders would scuttle their unsound craft and in their factional lifeboats (Mary Rosser's "five way split"?) make their way to the safety of the Labour Party? And if truth be told that is where its leaders belong. They do not belong in a Communist Party. Of course many in the rank and file in the CCG can be won to genuine communism, but not while they maintain their loyalty to the CCG leaders.

## FIRST LESSONS

The formation of our CPGB marked the highest organisational and political achievement of the working class in Britain. Sixty-six years ago the First Congress of the CPGB took place. It marked the coming together of the most militant leaders of the working class in Britain, like Tom Bell, Arthur MacManus, William Paul, Harry Pollitt and Albert Inkpin.

They united, of course, on the basis of democratic centralism, but this fighting unity was only possible as a consequence of unity around principled, revolutionary, politics enshrined "on the basis of the decisions and principles of the Third International" (Lenin). These decisions informed the Joint Provisional Committee for a Communist Party's *Call for a Communist Party*.

The Bolsheviks, declared the *Call*, had made the idea of revolution "a real live force" that was "rending society at its very roots and challenging the power and authority of capitalism the world over." For the *Call* the October Revolution was a "veritable light indicating the path to follow and the course to pursue". After October 1917 the *Call* asked "who now can defend the time-worn ideas still held by socialists of a gradual evolution or peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism?"

It was therefore unambiguously committed to violent revolution, it was committed to soviets as opposed to parliament, it unashamedly called for workers in Britain to subordinate their national interests to those of the workers of the world as crystallised in an International. This necessitated unconditional defence of the Russian Soviet Republic and fierce opposition to Labourism and all forms of reformism, national narrowness and parochiality. So despite faults it was a genuine communist platform.

I don't think it is dishonest to ask those CCG leaders, and for that matter the leaders of Straight Leftism, who so casually label *The Leninist* "ultra-leftist" whether or not our CPGB was founded on the basis of "ultra-leftism?" Would you have wanted to have joined our Party when it was formed?

Given its solidarity with Irish republicanism, its commitment to soviets, violent revolution



Clockwise from top left: Arthur MacManus, Albert Inkpin, Harry Pollitt, Tom Bell

and the dictatorship of the proletariat it would seem unlikely. But if you CCG leaders had applied would you have been admitted? Definitely not. Despite the militant trade union record of some of you — until you break from reformism you are not eligible to join the ranks of a revolutionary CPGB.

Those who see a "revolutionary core" in the BRS, whether it be the 1950, 1952, 1958, 1968 or 1978 edition, support the idea of a gradualist, evolutionary and peaceful transition to socialism. Those like comrade Fergus Nicholson who thinks the place for all communists is in the Labour Party should go and join it now. You will find it a much more cosy environment there: after all, there you will be best able to devote your energies to getting Neil Kinnock into No 10 as a possible first step towards socialism as you appear to imagine it would be.

Those who say they stand by the founding principles of the CPGB should break from the CCG and Straight Leftist centrist traps. You should enter into discussions with *The Leninist*. The fact is only *The Leninist* consistently opposes reformism and stands by Marxism-Leninism as enshrined in the founding principles of our Party.

We agree with the *Call* when it states parliamentary democracy is "an instrument of class oppression to be engineered and wielded in the interests of the bourgeoisie."

We agree that "against this sham of parliamentary democracy of capitalism the workers' republic places the method of direct representation and recall, as embodied in the soviet idea".

We agree that what is needed is a Communist Party "that will wage the class war up to the point of revolution, rejecting with disdain all compromise and truck with capitalist reform, but ever seeking to organise and rally the working class to the standard of International Communism".

We agree "communists must be prepared to meet and crush all the efforts of capitalist reactionaries to regain their lost privileges... in other words, the Communist Party must stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Far from these ideas becoming outdated, as the sages of opportunism claim, everything since 1920 shows capitalism still means war, unemployment and misery. To end it requires revolution not reform. And that requires a Communist Party based on democratic centralist practice and guided by Marxist-Leninist theory. Such a Party cannot be built on the shifting sands of Straight Leftism, or the

rotten lies that is the CCG, let alone the milk and honey reformism of Eurocommunism. The fact is only *The Leninist* stands on the principles of Lenin's Comintern, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Only *The Leninist* therefore has the theoretical and political foundations from which to defend and reforge our Party into the revolutionary vanguard the conditions of the 1980s demand.

## REFORGING OUR PARTY

Now having the theoretical and political foundations for re forging our Party is one thing, actually doing it is another thing entirely. Given the theoretical and political bankruptcy of our opponents it is easy to say we are theoretically sound and politically honest. But this does not actually reforge our Party. We have never sought to just contrast our Marxist-Leninist purity to the sordid opportunism of the other tendencies in and around our CPGB. We have always emphasised the centrality of uniting theory with practice and re forging our CPGB through active political struggle in the working class. This is the essence of open ideological struggle. Only using this Leninist method can we educate workers as to the differences in our Party, educate them to judge the disputes and above all actively take our side against opportunism.

We can only reforge the CPGB if we emerge as the dominant force in our Party. This is only possible if we win thousands of workers and revolutionaries to Leninism. It cannot be done on the basis of the failure of Eurocommunism, the disintegration of the CCG, or the liquidationism of Straight Leftism. Re forging our CPGB, building it into the vanguard of the working class relies on what we do, the future depends on our dedication, self-sacrifice and political understanding, dynamism, imagination and daring.

Obviously our most important weapon is *The Leninist* itself. With all its undoubted faults it is a good paper that stands comparison with the best papers on the left. It certainly puts the artless 'broad labour movement' *Straight Left* to shame, the Straight Leftists' duplicated sheet *Communist* is badly written and pathetically produced if put side by side with our paper, the official *7 Days* is simply boring and slapdash, and even the *Morning Star*, with its huge Eastern European orders and £1½ million press, cannot compete with our political honesty or even our versatile and sophisticated layout and presentation.

*The Leninist* encapsulates our open

ideological struggle. It presents to all advanced workers the truth of what is going on in and around our Party. Not in an neutral, non-partisan fashion, but in a Leninist fashion to win sympathy and then active involvement in our inner-Party struggle to change the CPGB.

Now, it must be said there exists a lagging behind of our organisation on the ground compared to the paper. This is understandable. We have quite correctly thrown our resources and our best comrades into building our publication, first from a quarterly to a monthly and now into a fortnightly. No mean achievement for a group which began with four founding comrades and has no accumulated wealth from which to leech like *Marxism Today* and *7 Days* or the fat Soviet and Eastern European cheques that keeps the *Morning Star* and the *New Worker* afloat. As our supporters know full well it is their sweat, enthusiasm and skills which allows our paper to come out more regularly and expand in terms of professionalism and political impact.

We have built a dedicated group of Leninists. It is still small and amateurish, but it is part of a world movement which will shake the heavens. How to overcome amateurism and realise the full potential, of what we have.

Our comrades can for a start be made far more effective, can be made professional like the paper. This means overcoming some bad habits inherited from the past. The bad habits I am referring to are partially the result of our evolution, partially the result of still being a small grouping which has to make difficult choices when it comes to priorities. Nonetheless size is no excuse for Leninists.

Our comrades can be more effective if we dramatically intensify their training in Marxist-Leninist theory. But also we must finally purge our organisation of the gladiatorial approach to all those who don't agree with us on this particular detail or question. Our comrades must learn how to begin with what we agree with people on, they must learn the art of patience, the practice of mass work.

We have had enough of the bull in a china shop supporters who lost us more support than they ever won. We have rid ourselves of quite a few posing loud mouths who when it came to hard work, serious commitment and revolutionary modesty did not find their male ego sufficiently boosted. We have had enough of the 'Marxist-Leninist' theoreticians who made a valuable contribution but did not have the human courage to unite theory with practice. To these types we wave farewell and forget them.

We will unite with the most advanced sections of the working class in action. Through the example of practice and after patient discussion we can show this stratum in the working class that we are right on this or that issue. This is comparatively easy. What we must aim to prove to them though, is that they need a vanguard Communist Party, they must be won to trust Leninists, sympathise and then join us in the CPGB. We have shown we can do this in a few isolated areas, certainly during the miners' Great Strike our propaganda met a powerful resonance. But we must now systematise this, win not ones and twos here and there but tens and twenties in every important city.

This is perfectly feasible, if we start working in the right way. Today this means grasping the whole question of building solidarity with the South African revolution with both hands. We have been saying South Africa can unleash millions into political activity for a long time, we have called for comrades to fully realise the prospect for mass work. Only now are we beginning to see the first steps towards this. The political lead must be given now, we must not let this opportunity pass. Our strategy of linking solidarity firmly on the bedrock of the class struggle in Britain has the possibility to mobilise tens, a hundred thousand, perhaps a million. This is not exaggeration but revolutionary realism.

## INTERNATIONALISM

Our Leninism can cut through all the cant of reformism, the sophistry of opportunism and win the hearts and minds of a whole layer of advanced workers. This is possible through giving the cutting edge of our day to day work weight, power and thrust by genuine internationalism.

Internationalism is vital for workers in Britain. The development of capitalism itself on a world scale constitutes the material foundation of our proletarian internationalism. Workers cannot give full scope to their struggle against capitalism within the confines of the nation

state. Internationalist ideology, coordination and discipline are not luxuries but necessities. Imperialism means that the struggle for socialism can only be international, certainly communism will remain a dream until workers have united the various nations into a World Federation of Socialist States.

Closely related to this is the building of the vanguard party which can give effect and leadership to the proletariat's historic tasks. Revolutionary parties, like revolutions, grow on the soil of national conditions. But the catalyst which sets it into motion, its 'genetic code', its ideological sophistication and organisational adaptability are historically nine times out of ten the products of international developments.

This can be seen clearly if we look at the events up to the First Congress of our GPCB — 66 years ago. The 'idea' of our Party, its organisational form and ideological basis was not British in origin but international. It was a product of the world wide split in the workers' movement following the collapse of the 2nd International in August 1914. More than that it was also a planting of the seed of advanced Bolshevism.

Russia from at least 1905 was the world's revolutionary centre. It was thus in a very real sense a precursor of world revolution. The Bolshevik/Menshevik split heralded the international schism of August 1914. Above all the Russian Revolution had demanded and produced a party of a new type, steered in struggle and razor sharp in scientific theory. Only such a party could successfully cope with the mass of contradictions that was Russia. Only such a party could survive in Russia and then take full advantage of the revolutionary possibilities it offered.

Some still imagine a vanguard party can be built on the thin stratum of revolutionary workers in Britain in isolation. Some even say their group or 'party' stands at the centre of the international revolutionary movement. We think not.

British workers are denied the chance, do not have the objective conditions to develop the most advanced theory. This is because their organisations and theories are not constantly tested and developed in relation to the most demanding conditions: pre-revolutionary situation, revolution and counterrevolution again and again as was the case with Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia. This means those who confine their vision to Britain when it comes to revolutionary theory are so myopic they cannot see beyond their Labour Party.

Marxism-Leninism is as we all know not a brilliant toy for academics in university ivory towers. It is a guide for revolutionary action. It can only be developed and enriched by constant reference to concrete reality not least the concrete practice of the class struggle of the working class where it has been taken to its highest level. The simple fact Britain has not known a revolutionary situation for many generations dooms British-centric revolutionaries to disappointment, frustration and ultimately despair.

It must be emphasised that the early CPGB, not least its highly successful implementation of united front tactics with the setting up of the National Minority Movement was due to the willingness and ability of advanced workers to take up the theoretical and organisational weapons forged and put to devastating effect in Russia. More than that the very coming together of various left centrist tendencies, the BSP, the SLP and the like to form the CPGB was the result of firstly the shining example of October 1917 and secondly the direct intervention of Lenin and Comintern, to give those still influenced by petty centrist differences and gripes a firm shove towards principled unity.

So internationalist example and intervention was essential. A vanguard party, organised on the basis of democratic centralism and guided by Marxism-Leninism could never be the product of British conditions by themselves. The ability of British imperialism to attenuate class contradictions, the fact that the workers' movement was dominated by the ideas of the bourgeois and led by labour bureaucrats could never have independently produced a 'British Bolshevism'. That had to come from the outside. In point of fact from imperialism's weakest link, the country where the class contradictions and struggle had reached its highest expression. This was not accidental.

We would maintain that this is the cardinal lesson from July 30 — August 1 1920. And we would also maintain this lesson has lost none of its relevance for today. Indeed we need to understand this lesson, hammer it home to our

own comrades and supporters and give it life by uniting it with practice.

The communist movement is essentially an internationalist movement. This does not merely mean that we must combat national chauvinism as not a few left groups limit their internationalism to. This certainly does not mean tailing the CPSU, worshipping it as "Marxism-Leninism". What it means is that in a country like Britain, with a workers' movement dominated by bourgeois ideas deposited by over a century of imperialist world robbery, the communist movement can only be successful on condition that it assimilates the experience of other countries where the revolutionary struggle has been taken to a very high level.

In order to assimilate this experience, it is not sufficient to simply be acquainted with it, or merely circulate the latest pamphlet. A critical attitude is required to overseas experience.

Those who believe the CPGB can be reformed by returning it to the 'mainstream' of the world communist movement ie tailism to the CPSU are equally doomed as those who imagine the working class through its own efforts in Britain has all it requires to build a revolutionary vanguard party. The Soviet Union might still be the world's revolutionary centre — it is after all the first and most powerful socialist country — but the CPSU has retreated on many essential theoretical areas to centrism.

Its programme is no longer based on a recognition of the necessity of world revolution, it artificially splits the struggle for peace from the struggle against capitalism and has constantly downgraded the importance of the world communist movement. The CPSU is therefore no longer a party fighting for world revolution that sees its national tasks subordinate to international tasks. It might still be the leading party in our world movement because of its history, the respect this has accumulated for it and simply the prestige of its leaders because they lead the Soviet Union — the second most powerful country on the planet. Nonetheless it no longer considers itself duty bound to act as the intransigent defender and inspiring propagandist of Bolshevik theory and practice as it did in Lenin's time. Those who ask it for decisive help in combatting opportunism will be left unanswered or be bluntly told 'no'.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU certainly represented a step forward in the sense that it called for a campaign against corruption, drunkenness and the slowing down of the pace of economic growth. Yet it also offered US imperialism cooperation in dealing with the world's "hot spots" ie countries like South Africa in the grip of revolutionary turmoil. In Lenin's time such a proposal would have been unthinkable. The fate of Russia was always thought of as inextricably bound to the progress of the world revolution.

As to the world communist movement it was mentioned in the final resolution along with, and almost on a par with social democrats, liberals and religious believers in the struggle to pressurise imperialism into acting peacefully. Differences that exist in our world movement were portrayed as nuisances which should not interfere with the 'struggle for peace'. The message was clear. Eurocommunism can do what it likes as long as it does not overly criticise the Soviet Union and the CPSU, or even as long as it still campaigns against the installation of cruise missiles and other imperialist moves upping the stakes in its anti-Soviet war drive.

Therefore those who ask the CPSU for a powerful intervention against the cancer of opportunism will be put off with a reference to the 'principle' of the non-interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties. This 'principle' is, as the people of Eastern Europe know, selectively applied. Of course what we are advocating is not CPSU leaders laying down ultimatums, acting as big power bullies. No, we merely say the workers movement is international and this demands communists say what they think about the important questions facing our movement. The so-called 'principle' of non-interference can only help opportunism by definition.

Opportunism flourishes in the dark under the cover of national peculiarities, it festers in the go it alone national road atmosphere. No wonder to Lenin's Comintern questions of importance for one national section was the concern of all sections. To suggest non-interference as a principle as British ILPers did or even a 'we know conditions best' as some British communists did was decisively rejected by Lenin and his comrades. They after all

considered it a principle to fight opportunism wherever it manifested itself; Russia, Germany, Italy, Britain... the struggle against opportunism was as international as the struggle for socialism, indeed the two were dialectically linked. After all the victory over opportunism is a pre-condition for victory over capitalism on an international, as well as national, scale.

## TURKEY

There is no hint of utopianism in genuine communism. It doesn't invent new systems or models, it studies the birth of the new society in the old and the new party in the old. We learn from the actual experience of the workers' movement. Marx learnt from the Commune, Lenin from the soviets of 1905 and the Comintern from the Great October Revolution and the Bolsheviks. So where do we look today, both for aid in the fight against opportunism and for lessons with which to arm our working class in their struggle to overthrow capitalism in Britain?

We would say there are many valuable lessons to be learnt from the class struggle in Britain. The miners' Great Strike was a gold mine from which we, unlike others, have not been afraid to learn. It did after all see in very embryonic form soviet type bodies and workers' militias. But it is countries which are weak links of imperialism where the theory of communists is put to its most severe test and the richest lessons are to be found.

By looking at Chile, Argentina, Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Iran, Turkey and South Africa, we can see as it were various shades in our CPGB operate in conditions which mercilessly test every assumption, theory and prejudice. It is not surprising therefore that it is in these countries that right opportunism has exposed itself so thoroughly and centrism has proved itself a conservative brake on the revolutionary aspirations of the workers. Who can deny that these are valuable lessons?

Thankfully as well as there being negative lessons there are also the positive. Contradictions in Turkey are so numerous and sharp that everything that posed as a salvation to the masses has been exposed and out of this crisis of leadership a genuine Leninist vanguard has emerged.

In turn reformism and opportunism, left, right and centrist, were catapulted into mass influence, tested, found wanting and flung into crisis. The spread-out revolutionary situation that spanned most of the 1970s was most thorough in this. It gave every opportunity to those that called for revolution to make revolution. None could. The experience of a social democratic government provided the chance for Turkey's advocates of evolutionary socialism — they ended up introducing martial law, hounding revolutionaries and staging an imperialist invasion of Cyprus. The centrists started out with revolutionary slogans on their lips and ended up tailing social democracy and tut-tutting at the 'anarchy' that disrupted social peace.

The fascist coup of September 1980 and the period of reaction that followed broke many revolutionary groups. Thousands of militants were rounded up and imprisoned. Those groups which managed to go into exile were soon sunk in depression, petty squabbles and drawn to the mire of bourgeois respectability. Inevitably such groups suffered schism after schism, and as the realisation of failure dawned their supporters scattered to the four winds.

The one exception to this has been the Communist Party of Turkey — *Worker's Voice*. It has rapidly spread its influence and is successfully digging roots amongst the masses in Turkey — not least in the trade union movement.

Certainly the achievements of the CPT — *Worker's Voice* against centrism which dominates the mainstream of our world communist movement have applicability for us; not least as we are faced with the CCG, the NCP and the Straight Leftists. But its achievements are far wider than that.

It was born out of the crisis in the 'official' CPT, forced to organise its forces as a wing of the Party, the revolutionary tasks that are again coming to the top of the political agenda in Turkey demanded that it constitute itself as a Party. This was possible because its cadres and organisations were equipped to meet the onslaught of counterrevolutionary terror and take advantage of the possibilities the disintegration of fascism offers.

Fortunately for us many of the most important documents produced by *Worker's Voice* have been published in English. These have been crystallised in the Programme of the

CPT — *Worker's Voice* which is now itself out in English. It is a model from which all communists should learn. Of course it deals with questions peculiar to Turkey. It is after all a programme for revolution in Turkey, a guide to action for making revolution under the general conditions of the disintegration of fascism, where a reactionary authoritarian regime is forced to pass as an example of true democracy.

Nonetheless the construction of the programme, its logic, is undoubtedly superior to anything our world movement has yet produced. More than that its formulations on communism and socialism have the advantage of drawing on a genuine Marxist-Leninist understanding of the living reality of socialism. Socialism is not seen as something to be analysed as a thing in itself. It is seen in relationship to a world economy still dominated by capitalism and as a transitional social formation between capitalism and communism — inevitably containing features of both.

Certainly its understanding of the separate but closely related struggles for democracy and socialism is a brilliant example of the Marxist method. It will, we are sure, prove of great interest to all communists, especially those operating in backward and medium developed capitalist countries. It avoids the leftist trap of dismissing everything except the working class struggle for socialism. In true Leninist fashion the Programme sees the necessity for the working class to take the lead, become the hegemon of, the democratic revolution. This and the logic of a working class-led democratic revolution, will as in Russia, open up an uninterrupted process leading to carrying out socialist tasks. Not as a preordained sequence of events but as a direct result of the working class's power and fighting ability before and after the democratic revolution.

Kautsky's assessment of Russia after the 1905 Revolution was that it was a taste of things to come, an assessment much quoted by Lenin, even after Kautsky had gone from being the world's most respected Marxist theoretician to a renegade. Because of the course Turkey's revolution has already taken, because of the profound contradictions that propel it towards revolution, we say it is acting as a precursor of the coming new general crisis of capitalism. Above all because its communists have shed off the mental and political shackles of centrism we can look upon Turkey and its various classes, parties and peoples playing out our future.

The lessons of the comrades from Turkey should have, will undoubtedly have after their revolution, as much influence on our world communist movement as did the Bolsheviks on advanced workers in Britain and throughout the world. Those who are unwilling to take on board these lessons, will, if they survive, in due course be left like the living fossil we see in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. To those communists who insist Turkey is irrelevant to an advanced, civilised, democratic country like Britain we suggest they abandon the pretence of being communists forthwith and join the Labour Party.

But there are thousands, tens of thousands, of advanced workers who are yearning to see the destruction of the rotten capitalist system. True there has not yet been a revolution in Turkey; but what has been achieved so far in reforging a Communist Party in Turkey based on genuine Marxism-Leninism, which can survive under fascism and thrive under conditions of pseudo or limited bourgeois democracy can inspire those itching to build a serious alternative to Labourism with its never failing ability to betray the interests of our class.

To give these workers real vision and scientific clarity it is essential to infuse their struggles with the most advanced lessons available in the world today. This must not be done in an arrogant fashion but in practice. Turkey does not give us all the answers. The experience of communists in Turkey has, though, enriched the Marxist-Leninist treasure house of knowledge, advanced its ability to act as a guide to action. In other words we must still think for ourselves, strive to root communism in the national soil of Britain while understanding the centrality of completing the world revolution, not least by spreading the message of Leninism to other countries.

If we can fuse our open ideological struggle in the CPGB with the class struggle of the working class we can reforge our Party along CPT — *Worker's Voice* lines. This would enable the workers to consolidate gains they make under capitalism as a prelude to making revolution — the greatest contribution we can make to the world proletariat.