

# THE LENINIST

Bloody Sunday  
Jan 30 12.30pm  
Whittington Park  
Holloway Rd  
London N7



Make Ireland Thatcher's  
**VIETNAM!**



Fortnightly paper of the Leninists  
of the Communist Party of Great Britain

KINNOCK and the official labour movement have proved totally useless in fighting Thatcherite reaction. In fact there has been no fightback at all. Worse — blacks, Irish, miners, printers, women and gays have been stabbed in the back.

Only a few years ago many would have enthusiastically pointed to the Labour left as an alternative to Kinnock's spinelessness, his treachery. Today such suggestions carry no credibility, the hopes of left Labourism have turned to dross.

Take Camden. Like true blue Tories, to save money the Labourite hard left councillors red baited the local unemployed centre to ensure its closure, and in the name of efficiency it cut jobs and even deported Irish migrants.

This is par for the course. No wonder the Labour left, including the Trotskyite entryists, is in disarray. And talking shops like Benn's Chesterfield conference will do nothing to change it. Labour stands exposed as the bourgeois party of the working class it is.

Such conditions cry out for a genuine working class party, a Communist Party. That is what the working class needs and many would formally agree with such a call. And yet what do we see?

Disintegration and disillusionment all around. Because of chronic theoretical poverty, many have been laid low by the parlous state of our CPGB. This has produced all sorts of muddled thinking. Some like to kid themselves that a genuine Communist Party can be built by following economic trade unionists and careerist academics into the soon-to-be-formed revisionist CCG party.

As part of the same problem, whole swathes have opted out of the struggle for a Communist Party altogether. Some — who still call themselves communists — have sought to maintain their revolutionary honour by seeking refuge in cosy solidarity movements, others have simply given up the ghost and turned away from active politics altogether.

That such confusion is the dominant characteristic in the communist movement in Britain must be blamed on the weakness of *The Leninist*. Our organisation is still very small and many of our supporters are theoretically raw and operate on the fringes of our movement. This means that *The Leninist* has been unable to determine the terms of debate in and around the CPGB.

Our movement is still dominated by what are, at the end of the day, marginal arguments between revisionists of various hues, rather than the struggle for Marxism-Leninism. Indeed, it is true to say that *The Leninist* is in many senses still a voice in the wilderness.

This unhealthy situation has not been helped by the fact that last year our fortnightly paper hardly ever actually came out fortnightly. In 1988 this is something that must be rectified.

Having said this though, if everything could be changed by our paper overcoming the technical problems which plagued us in 1987 then things would be rosy indeed. If only life were that simple.

Of course, a genuine Communist Party will not be built quickly. It is not a short term project. But it can and must be built. Obviously it will not be built by opting out, looking for half way houses or passing the buck. No comrades, it will be built by rallying to the banner of Marxism-Leninism raised by *The Leninist*, greatly extending its circulation and putting its revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice. There are no short cuts. There are no easy options. It is a hard road but it is the only road.

*The Editor*

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## LETTERS

### Ireland

Much as I agree with the editorial concerning Tory and Labourite hypocrisy over the Enniskillen bomb, I cannot bring myself to allow the IRA a pardon for the deaths of innocent civilians, no matter how much of a mistake it was.

The IRA and other national liberation forces must understand that genuine attempts to unify Ireland do not include laying bombs in places where ordinary civilians congregate or reside. These tactics result only in alienating potential mass support, not just in Ireland but on the British mainland too, for the overthrow of the common enemy — the British bourgeois state.

Communists, while fully understanding the oppressive nature of imperialism globally, should never try and justify these sort of terrorist acts.

Only the conscious application of revolutionary communism by the vanguard of the Irish people can liberate their country from imperialist domination in the Six Counties.

Paul Watts  
South London

### Ireland's Agenda

Having read your article 'Red or Green' (October 8, 1987), I would like to comment first on the declaration at the 1984 Ard Fheis that "the movement adopt the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin". This was not implemented because the words were barely spoken when harassment and subtle threats were begun by political bankrupts against comrades who were undertaking a genuine attempt to assert the supremacy of politics. Unfortunately these attacks were soon to lose their subtlety.

That said, the supremacy of politics has now been asserted and as your article asks, 'What kind of politics has been fought for?'

I see our politics as being clear and precise and based upon the reality of the situation in Ireland. I use the words clear and precise guardedly in that it is precisely clear the direction the struggle for Ireland must go in: the process of the construction and defence of a Socialist Republic and developing within that process an ideology that is designed to make the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie of Ireland disappear as a class.

These are tasks to be carried out along with, in conjunction with, the development of revolutionary ideology. Your article states that we would contend that talk of jargon etc. are a hangover from the past. This is so. But I also believe that it shows a little bit of fear of beginning the task.

It is my contention that some comrades, myself included until recently, tend to look at the movement's development in relation to the republican movement. I believe this trait to be part of the left nationalism and underdevelopment in the party. It is surely a block which must be removed. Happily I and my comrades in this gaol and outside are all part of this battle and in the fighting of this battle your internationalism is productive.

Eamonn McCallion  
HM Prison Maze

### Irish Message

I read Alan Merrick's article 'Red or Green' (October 10, 1987) with a lot of interest. While the article dealt directly with the Irish Republican Socialist Party it also had an acutely relevant message for many people in Ireland not connected with that party.

Much of what the author said on the general principles of Marxism-Leninism are lessons which could be profitably learned by any serious Irish communist or indeed socialist.

Whether the IRSP avail of the comrade's advice is a moot point. I hesitate about commenting on internal affairs of that party since, coming from my position, it might well be misinterpreted as just another attack. However, as Alan Merrick speculates on a liaison between the IRSP and communist republicans a few observations may be useful.

For a start, no communist is likely to take the IRSP seriously while there remains even a hint of ambivalence on the question of the 'primacy of politics'. Secondly, any communist must hold reservations about IRSP socialism while they retain the radical left wing nationalist stance that resolution of the 'national question' comes before embarking on the task of social liberation.

A third, and possibly most important point, involves action. Not even the most fervent of the IRSP supporters would deny that, for them, the past few years have been chaotic. The recent feud was in many ways a ghastly result of this chaos. The onus is now on the IRSP to clearly demonstrate by deeds that they are in fact a Marxist party. Fine words or grand claims are not enough. The article 'Red or Green' has indicated how the theoretical and planning stage can be enacted — a party paper, honest discussions, etc. Yet we must see a coherent and lasting campaign on behalf of the working class before we can be reassured that we are not looking at 'old wine in new bottles'.

Such a period of campaigning and agitation is essential if the IRSP is to lay to rest the widely held suspicion that their organisation is more a criminal conspiracy than a party with the interests of the proletariat at heart. If these words seem harsh, I apologise, but it doesn't serve any useful purpose to create illusions because of a demure deference to 'good form'.

Having referred to the specific issue of the IRSP, let us return to the original point; the relevance of Alan Merrick's article to the Irish left in general. No party in Ireland today contains all the material to be the vanguard of the working class. Yet, the potential for such a movement exists and the material, albeit latent, is already in being.

There is growing dissatisfaction within all left wing and republican parties in Ireland because of their ineffective response to either current economic problems, the continuation of partition — or both. Nowhere is this felt more than within the ranks of radical nationalism.

A long campaign has shattered many illusions; has thrown doubt where once there was certainty. Yet many who contributed selflessly to the cause of Irish nationalism (a cause which has served its adherents poorly) retain a desire to see a better society created. What

they lack is a clear theoretical and practical alternative to effect this change. To some extent this 'emptiness' is felt by sections within all parties of the Irish left.

With this in mind, some of my friends have called for a relaunch of the Republican Congress. Not a slavish reproduction of the original Congress of course — history does not work that way — but rather a body that would draw inspiration from the people of 1934 and hopefully learn from their mistakes.

We therefore tried to make it clear that a new Congress would/could not, initially anyway, be a unified party. And since Ireland's problem is an inextricably linked national as well as social one, we directed our call towards radical republicans also. The Congress would therefore become the organisational pivot around which diverse groups could pool their efforts on shared objectives.

This much is reasonably straightforward. It needs, no doubt, much discussion to iron out the technical problems but the concept has to be aired if 'the idea is to be father of the deed'. What might not be so obvious is that within Republican Congress type work lies the best hope of developing and building a genuine workers' vanguard under present conditions in Ireland.

Nor is this necessarily a putting of priorities about face; that is, calling for a Popular Front before a solid vanguard exists. First, we don't today have a real vanguard and secondly therefore, it must be built. In this case, a certain dialectical interplay is needed. History making man and man making history. Therefore, conditions must be created which allow for the emergence of a strong party. And the activity of a Republican Congress would create these very conditions.

However, these conditions cannot be allowed to drift aimlessly, so as a very minimum there must be at least a small group to lobby for the development of the vanguard party. The agents of the pre-split *Iskra*, if you like. And incidentally, the word lobby is used deliberately. For there can be no attempt to politically subvert or seduce people into a vanguard party. It is not a matter of morality, it is one of common sense. There may be many wrong-headed people in Ireland but there are very few utter fools.

I don't know to what extent *The Leninist* may agree with the above. Your opinion would certainly be appreciated. Your advice and encouragement would be valuable if only because you enjoy the advantage of standing, to an extent, above inter-party tensions here.

Perhaps though you could try to address your message to a wider Irish audience. We don't begrudge the IRSP your efforts to give them a guiding hand. Yet there are many potentially receptive minds in Ireland for a Marxist blueprint and any help must be welcomed. It would be a pity therefore if your assistance was confined to just one group and this applies to us every bit as much as to the IRSP.

Tommy McKearney  
HM Prison Maze

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

### WRITE OR RING

If you would like to reply to any of these letters, raise questions or comment on articles in *The Leninist* please write to The Editor, BCM Box 928, London WC1N 3XX. Or phone us on 01-431 3135.

The YCL is now officially credited with 44 members. Its collapse was the result of its domination by opportunism. Now the opportunists are squabbling over the corpse

# Our Future?

**T**HE YOUNG Communist League was always the barometer of our Communist Party. This had two aspects. First, it meant that developments in the League predated and anticipated developments in the Party itself. Secondly, the contours of these developments were expressed in a particularly explicit and graphic way.

For example, in the period after the 1926 General Strike the YCL grew even faster than the Party. The report to the YCL's Fourth Congress in December 1926 noted that membership had *trebled*, that three quarters of these new recruits were miners and that this new social composition was reflected in the delegates to the congress.

In contrast, the miserable showing the CPGB made in the 1984/5 miners' Great Strike was amplified in the League to quite grotesque proportions. In the course of the bitter twelve month dispute, the League's paper *Challenge* managed to appear a grand total of *two* times. Despite this, the YCL leadership under the nasty, suspicious bureaucrat Doug 'Chalmers of the Yard' claimed that they had made a "substantial contribution" to the strike.

Now the YCL is virtually dead, if not officially buried. With its demise a family squabble has developed over its corpse between the two main opportunist groupings in our Party, the Communist Campaign Group and Eurocommunists, both of whom want to lay claim to its name and heritage.

The front man for the CCG's frankly shallow and dishonest campaign to steal the YCL's once proud banner has been comrade Kenny Coyle, a young CCG activist originally from Glasgow who is evidently being groomed for the post of general secretary of a CCG 'YCL'.

Writing in the *Communist Campaign Review* (Winter '87), comrade Coyle promises us "a study of what happened to the YCL [which] also provides us with some interesting answers about the development of revisionism in our Party."

Coyle's article, however, lacks the theoretical underpinning necessary to carry out this task. In line with the CCG leadership, he claims that the rise of revisionism was almost a plot on the part of various opportunist individuals.

Coyle implies that opportunism was not *organic* to the development of the Party, though it goes back decades before comrade Coyle was even a gleam in his father's eye. For him it was introduced in some way by outsiders who had used the YCL as a laboratory for their diabolical opportunist experiments. He compounds this error:

"This has even greater significance when we remember that in the period since 1967 well over

10,000 young people passed through the YCL, many, if not most, joining the Party."

Thus, the social basis of the development of opportunism in the Communist Party was the fifth column of YCLers who had honed their revisionist claws in the training ground of the YCL. In fine dramatic tradition, Coyle employs a significant pause before the *bete noir*, the 'Yargo' of the piece, is introduced - *Martin Jacques* (crashing chords, hisses and boos from the audience)!

Coyle correctly pinpoints the 1979 Congress as the high point of Euro hegemony in the YCL, crowned by the adoption of *Our Future*, the League's equivalent of the *BRS*.

"*Our Future* was chaotically confused and qualitatively different in its approach from the *BRS*. Nor can there be any question about its origins, it was a product of revisionism."

Now, we have time and time again conclusively shown that the *BRS* is a thoroughly revisionist document, qualitatively in no way different to its pygmy *protege*, *Our Future*.

Coyle's role though, in this article and in his writings elsewhere, is not to honestly analyse the reasons for the YCL disintegration and demise: he is concerned to play the role of monkey to CCG organ grinders like Lysandrou, Chater or Hicks, to give them a clean bill of health when it comes to the virulent opportunism that grips the Party today.

Comrade Coyle shamelessly plays the stooge for the dishonest CCG leadership here. Martin Jacques, Peter Carter, Nina Temple, he solemnly intones in his *CC Review*, once leading YCL revisionists, now leading Party revisionists: "There is a direct and ominous continuity", and it is this continuity which explains the Party's decline, of course.

Tricky, Kenny, very tricky. After all, what about Tony Chater, Dave Whitfield, Mike Hicks - all were members of the Party's Executive Committee and presided without protest over the Party and League's shift to the right, all are now or have been cosily ensconced in either the CCG or *Morning Star* bureaucracy? Does their association as individuals with the CCG guarantee that organisation's decline and death?

The inability of the CCG leaders (unfortunately, Coyle included) to honestly and fearlessly go to the root of opportunism in our movement is explained by the fact that they are part of the problem rather than the solution.

Thus Coyle is at pains in his 7 *Days* letter (December 5 1987) to disabuse Euro comrade Lorraine Douglas of her notion that it was "intense factionalism" by *Morning Star* supporters that demoralised and finished off the YCL. Coyle

retorts:

"In fact there were all too few *Star* supporters at that time. The bulk of the anti-Eurocommunist wing in the League were from the anti-*Star* group *Straight Left*."

And after *Straight Left* came *The Leninist*, with *Star* supporters making up a very poor third. The *Straight Leftists'* presence in the League was a vestigial one; they maintained themselves in a fossilised, isolated existence in a handful of branches. The *Morning Star* had little attraction for youth.

Coyle himself was not in the *Star* camp in those days and played the role of a non-aligned and relatively principled leftist. The few *Star* supporters in the League tended to be the most conservative and bureaucratically minded, for example James Cohen from Manchester or the ineffective thuglet Ian Park from Glasgow.

From the day that a Leninist group emerged in the YCL in late 1982, we were the most dynamic and fastest growing section without a doubt. We won recruits from every other major faction; from the *Straight Leftists*, even from the left of the Eurocommunists! We were able to recruit in such a wide way primarily because they were youth looking for ideas. Undoubtedly, if the YCL had any sort of real existence, we would have continued our steady growth in it.

At the April 1985 YCL Congress, Mark Perryman, a rising *Marxism Today* star, declared to delegates that they had a choice between two types of politics - in one hand he brandished a copy of *Our Future* and in the other ... a copy of *The Leninist*. Exactly!

The same choice will face supporters of the newly established CCG Youth Group. This organisation has evidently been set up as a sop to the left of the CCG and also as a useful stick with which to beat the dismal record of the Euros in the YCL.

So far there has been no major conflict between the youth and the 'adult' organisation, but there are real tensions developing beneath the surface. Coyle's clumsy attempt to establish the innocence of the CCG leadership of complicity in the Party and League's decline fools no one.

The healthy elements in the CCG Youth Group must honestly confront their own tendency's history and the history of our world movement as a whole, if they are to play any positive role in building the genuine Communist Party our working class in Britain so desperately needs. Any honest investigation into the history of our movement - warts and all - will pose to them point blank the real, living and growing alternative of Leninism.

'WH' ex-member of the YCL  
General Council

It was not so long ago that Monty Johnstone took great delight in humiliatingly taking apart the flimsy Soviet Union right or wrong arguments of Straight Leftist guru Fergus Nicholson in 7 *Days*. How times have changed. In the December 1987 (self written) letters section of the *Straight Leftists' Communist*, arch Euro Monty Johnstone is praised to the sky by Perry Striker (get the pun). Apparently Johnstone's article on *perestroika* in November's *Marxism Today* is "good news." Johnstone is "a widely read and well informed commentator on Soviet affairs ... He writes with the advantage of a proper party training and a wider than usual acquaintance with the facts." In the two page plus letter by Striker - whose style bears a remarkable similarity to that of Harry Steel/Heather Sanderson - he implies that the Straight Leftists have always had criticisms of the Soviet Union. More than that, he claims that there is a need to combat "pro-Soviet sentimentality", and Johnstone is a potential ally in this. This enemy of Straight Leftism is a "mirror image of anti-Sovietism", it "recoils in fear from the problem which a rejection of the *British Road to Socialism* throws up" and strangely finds its "purist organisational form" in the "NCP sect." What theoretical bankruptcy, what dishonesty. As we all know, the NCP is anti-BRS.

The intricacies of the break up of the Euro camp were intriguingly revealed by Pete Ackers, until last summer secretary of the Birmingham Area of the CPGB. In a centre page spread in *Tribune* he explained how a "new sectarian Eurocommunist trend has emerged," centred on Dave Green, the London District Secretary. It is "heavily coloured by the 'new social forces' - gay, feminist, anti-racist - politics of the Labour left." Its strategy is the revival of mass, community electoral politics, to outflank Labour on the left." Another Eurocommunist trend is "centred on Martin Jacques, Carter and Cook". It is strongest in the Welsh and Midlands districts and according to Ackers - who should know - it "places itself on common ground with the 'soft left'." It wants to abandon all electoral work and act as a think-tank for Kinnock. He also says that the next Party general secretary will either be Martin Jacques, Pete Carter or Dave Cook (from the *Marxism Today* camp) or Ian McKay or Nina Temple (who according to this former Euro are 'centrists').



• Dave Cook: front runner in the Euro jockeying to replace comrade McLennan

Discussion about the new divisions in the Party are not so open when it comes to the official Party press. Nonetheless, the evidence is there. Two recent letters stand out in particular. In 7 *Days* (December 19 1987) we had Doug - call the police - Chalmers slagging off rising *Marxism Today* star Mark Perryman on behalf of the right opportunist Scottish Committee. Perryman's description of the Party's 40th Congress as "dull" and the call for the "new divisions" in the Party not to be "submerged" enraged the bureaucrats who rule the CPGB in Scotland, who resent their exclusion from *Marxism Today* and its south of Watford politics. And in this January's edition of *Marxism Today* the grey secretary of the Party's international department, Gerry Pocock, launched a vitriolic attack on hard line right Euro Jon Bloomfield. Bloomfield wants to cut the Party's (and the CND's) politics to suit the rightist cloth of Kinnock's shadow cabinet. In line with this he suggested in *Marxism Today* that "the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain is insular". This was described as "quite extraordinary" by Pocock, who wants to stick with old fashioned social pacifism rather than old fashioned social chauvinism.

## Use it



Last month our £600 fund was again short - this time though by only £39. This is a great fillip to our efforts to ensure that we make our fortnightly a real fortnightly. Yet while you our supporters came up trumps last month you have not come up with enough bankers orders ie regular and guaranteed pledges of money to provide us with a solid financial bedrock. We also have had nowhere near enough increases in orders. If you read *The Leninist* and agree with what it has to say you have a duty to fight to extend its circulation. The objective conditions are ripe for communist ideas to gain a significant audience. The official labour movement has adopted the ideas and ideals of Thatcherism. Neil Kinnock and Brian Gould wax lyrical about the advantages of the 'enterprise culture'. Obviously Labour will never bring socialism to Britain. Our task is to show workers that there is a real socialist alternative to Labourism - the tried and tested socialist alternative of Leninism. *The Leninist* is our main weapon in this. Use it.

**A**LL FOLLOWERS of 'official' communism have, over recent years, seen all their old certainties crumble. It is true to say that their idealist world outlook is in tatters. Take the Communist Campaign Group, speak to one supporter and you will get one view, speak to another and you will get an entirely different one. This is nowhere more true than when it comes to developments in the Soviet Union – and its relationship to the world as a whole.

The CCG is particularly vulnerable at the moment. It is in ideological flux because of its move towards an open split from our Communist Party of Great Britain and to this has been added the confusion created by the inelegant and hasty attempts by its leadership cabal to transform themselves from loyal Brezhnevites into loyal Gorbachevites.

At a rank and file level some CCGers have declared themselves straight down the line Gorbachevites, others cling to the old certainties of Brezhnev and Stalin, and while still others dither between these two poles certain elements are beginning to look for Leninist answers.

This complex, fluid and contradictory situation within the CCG was strikingly revealed at the last of the London CCG's four meetings on the so-called *Second Revolution in the Soviet Union* on December 14 1987. It went under the title *Glasnost and Foreign Policy*. A better title would have been *Revisionism and Foreign Policy*.

Frankly, comrade John Berryman, the speaker, presented yet another CCG apologia for today's Soviet leadership. Although he tried to be honest and open, his politics prevented him going beneath the surface of events and developments. His was no scientific analysis beginning with the world revolution and the principles of proletarian internationalism, why the Soviet Union is at one and the same time the world's revolutionary centre and a transitional society between capitalism and communism. This absence of theoretical underpinning meant that Berryman's approach was impressionistic at best.

Because he was methodically unable to locate the socio-economic source of what he correctly called departures from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the theory and practice of Soviet foreign policy, he was, as it were, unable to see the wood for the trees. Stalin was to blame for this crime, Brezhnev for that, a wrong idea here, a wrong idea there. This is not the Marxist-Leninist method, which looks for material class and sectional interests. In the USSR this means confronting the fact that since the mid-1920s the bureaucracy of the proletarian state has governed the country in a parasitic and sectional way, and recognising that Gorbachev's 'New Political Thinking' does not represent a return to Leninist principles, but the first ideological steps of the emerging technocracy.

Berryman refused to confront the existence and effect of a self-serving bureaucracy and the emergence from it of the technocracy, and his approach was in many senses typically academic – well informed but in essence consisting of a string of quotes. Yet his opening and the following (restricted) discussion had some value. Let us start with John Berryman himself.

Using Soviet sources as his cue, he called for a truthful analysis of the world's realities and demanded that old simplistic stereotypes be discarded. It is a pity that comrade Berryman was not able to practice what he preached. Aside from a few very interesting 'reassessments' (all originating with Soviet academicians) he stuck to the old simplistic stereotypes in order to justify official optimism.

Nonetheless the fact that Gorbachev has repackaged these old simplistic stereotypes and *The Leninist* has begun to develop its critique of Soviet reality has caused more than a little trouble for the CCG. Certainly Berryman, like other leading CCGers, is all too conscious of the ideological challenge represented by Leninism.

Against this backdrop Berryman sought to blacken the names of Gorbachev's predecessors, presented his leadership as a long overdue break from the past and again and again attacked Leninist warnings about the direction that the CPSU is taking. In spite of this, and although our comrades made up a third of Berryman's audience, the autocratic Photis Lysandrou (in the chair) cynically and totally undemocratically limited us to two speakers of his choosing. They were given a "generous" four minutes (sic) each to put our case!

We are sure our readers will not object if here we take a slight detour to comment on

this. Oppositionist CCGers (and there will be many in the future), even those CCGers who claim, like comrade Berryman, to want an open and truthful debate between communists about changes taking place in the USSR, should take note of the refusal to give Leninists their democratic rights at a public meeting.

It is not a matter of apologies. We do not want any more of your sympathy. We are concerned for you. Consider the 'democracy' you will be allowed under the Lysandrou regime you are helping to create, comrades. By not defending our democratic rights, by turning a blind eye now, comrades, you are digging your own bureaucratic centralist graves.

Interestingly though, Lysandrou's gerrymandering did not stop the questions we raised dominating the truncated and absurdly limited discussion. This can be seen if we look at some of the major areas which were raised in both the introduction and discussion.

### World balance

We have always questioned official claims coming from the Soviet Union about how the world balance of forces has decisively tilted towards socialism – that socialism accounts for 33% or even 40% of the world's industrial production and hence we supposedly live in an epoch of socialism, and not the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, the epoch of imperialist wars and revolution.

Such figures do not accord with the facts. According to the UN the Comecon countries between them produce no more than 20% of world industrial production. We have no reason to doubt the UN figures. All the key economic indices confirm its estimate and cast doubt on official Soviet claims. Hence we have been forced to conclude that Soviet statistics are deliberately exaggerated. The reason for cooking the books is obvious. It enables the leadership of the CPSU to ideologically divorce the defence of the Soviet Union from the struggle for world revolution.

Both the original CPSU Third Programme of 1961 and its updated version finalised at the 27th Congress in 1986 suggest that the Soviet Union can reach communism by itself, independent of further revolutions taking place in the rest of the world. One way of justifying this was to greatly exaggerate the speed with which the Soviet Union was developing. This reactionary method originated with Stalin and was crowned with Khrushchev's absurd claims (enshrined in the Third Programme) that the USSR would overtake the USA by 1970 and reach communism by 1980. Although Gorbachev's revised version of the Third Programme, not surprisingly, ditches these dates, it still claims that the USSR can by itself reach communism.

Given the prestige of the CPSU, its power and influence, this could only but encourage the steady shift to the right in the world communist movement. Communist parties were reduced from revolutionary brothers in the same proletarian army, to a diplomatic appendage, mere apologists for Soviet revisionism. No wonder the world communist movement is disintegrating. The big parties are becoming social democratised while the small ones are in danger of disappearing up their own irrelevance.

The go-it-alone politics of the CPSU reduces communism to a religion for groups like the CCG – a schizophrenic religion. On the one hand, like members of the more esoteric Christian sects, they feel strong, historically right, almost invincible because of the supposed power of their god. On the other hand we get the direst of gloom and doom mongering.

Photis Lysandrou, for example, told the London meeting (he allowed himself 10 minutes, by the way, where he limited everyone else, including CCG members, to four) that unless the Gorbachev line won the Soviet Union would go under. With such shock tactics Lysandrou hoped to get the more militant CCGers to swallow Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism and his pro-market reforms. It does not seem to have worked.

Berryman himself did not go into the question of the world balance of forces. It has not yet been put on the agenda for him by the CCG's Soviet comrades. Nonetheless he told the meeting that the Soviet Union might be a first rate military power but as an economic one it was second rate. This is certainly true, as is the danger of Soviet socialism disintegrating. But where Berryman and Lysandrou put all their eggs into the Gorbachev basket, we put our faith in the working class in the USSR and its ability to carry out a real political

revolution which will firmly link the USSR's future to completing the world revolution. Clearly with Gorbachev this is not the case.

For the Gorbachev leadership of the CPSU the aim of world revolution has no practical significance. Everything Berryman said confirmed this. Preservation of the status quo has become the be all and end all. This is enshrined in the *strategy* of peaceful co-existence pursued by Gorbachev and praised by Berryman.

Our speakers explained that peaceful co-existence as a *tactic* is perfectly legitimate, but to elevate what should be a *tactic* to the level of a *strategy* is, at the end of the day, opportunist.

Because of its opportunist version of peaceful co-existence, the CPSU is prepared to put on the negotiating table living revolutions. As we pointed out, while this gains the Soviet Union short term advantage, such an approach can only damage the long term interests of the Soviet Union, which are bound up with the progress of the world revolution.

Berryman himself quoted the 'New Political Thinking' in the Soviet Union which is reassessing supposed old certainties about the collapse of capitalism and the irreversible forward march of socialism. According to Berryman, the Soviet leadership now sees the so-called 'socialist orientated' countries as "unreliable allies and extremely unstable". Moreover, capitalism has apparently proved far more adaptable than was previously thought. It will be around for some considerable time. Because of this, the Soviet Union should adapt to the realities of capitalism, rather than banking on the utopian promise of the spread of socialism.

Indeed, because of this, the destructive power of nuclear weapons and the need to peacefully co-exist with capitalism for the "indefinite future", revolution should be approached with the greatest care and armed struggle should definitely be put on the back burner. What a betrayal of the ideals of communism!

This hardly squares with proletarian internationalism, nor with the theory and practice of world revolution. Some of the more militant elements in the CCG objected to this and rightly identified this as revisionism. When pressed, Berryman – to his credit – said he disagreed with what can only be called a further shift to the right by the CPSU.

To renounce the pre-emptive use of violence is to renounce revolution, and this is to renounce socialism itself. To renounce the use of arms is to court disaster. For serious revolutionaries this is obvious. Revolution cannot be put off. It is an objective fact, like gravity. Try jumping out of a plane at 10,000 feet and refusing to wear a parachute. Your death is almost certain. It is the same with revolutionary situations. With arms we can control the 'effect of gravity', we can land safely with a revolution.

### Revolutionary situations

Revolutionary situations come into existence independently of the will of human beings. Given a revolutionary situation, what is crucial is the determination of the proletarian revolutionary vanguard party to make revolution.

Parties which follow CPSU advice, parties which are not willing to make revolution because it might mess up projects for peaceful co-existence or provoke nuclear war, can only line the working class up for counterrevolution and the Soviet Union for war. Such pacifism and defeatism plays into the hands of counterrevolution. After all, unless a revolutionary situation is resolved positively through proletarian revolution, it will be resolved negatively through counterrevolutionary fascism. And ironically this can only heighten the danger of anti-Soviet war. Appeasement and acting as a brake on revolutions cannot stop capitalism's war drive, quite the opposite.

Revolutions, whatever Soviet comrades may like to imagine, cannot be turned on and off like a water tap. They are a window of opportunity created by profound crises in the existing socio-economic order which affects all classes. The consequences of holding back in a revolutionary situation are horrendous. We only need cast our minds back to 1933 when Hitler came to power to understand this. Because the social democrats did their all to limit the German 1918-19 revolution to establishing a bourgeois democracy, because the Communist Party of Germany lacked the strength and the revolutionary maturity needed, Germany's revolutionary situation ended with



Dubcek insists that this would have been 'the' Gorbachev had been in power then

Gorbachev's real past 'proletarian' actions by the not least the CCG in August 1968 the likes of the

## Splitters

Nazi terror, barbarity, murder and world war.

The suggestion that we should put off making revolution until the Soviet Union is overwhelmingly strong is therefore clearly playing with fire. For all its pretensions of maturity it is not a mature or serious revolutionary strategy. Indeed it smacks of social democratic senility. Certainly such ideas are the product of an ideological trend which is doing its best to rob Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary content. What has this got to do with proletarian internationalism, comrade Berryman? The advice your Soviet comrades are coming up with is clearly a case of cutting one's nose to spite one's face: in other words it is dangerously opportunist. That is why the Eurocommunists now like what they hear coming out of the Soviet Union.

Berryman himself mentioned the improved relations between the CPSU and the forces of Eurocommunism in general and the Communist Party of Italy in particular. He thought this was a good thing. He also apparently thought it was a good thing that, in order to improve its relations with the PCI, the CPSU has finally ditched any suggestion of holding any more world conferences of communist parties like the ones in 1957, 1960 and 1969, with their final declarations. The future will be one of getting together with Greens, social democrats and representatives of non-aligned countries. In other words, a downgrading of the importance of the world communist movement as far as the CPSU is concerned.

One of our comrades made the point that the PCI was openly pro-Nato, pro-European Community and thoroughly reformist. It is certainly interesting to note that the CCG is just about to split because the CPGB has softened its *opposition* to Nato and the EC. Berryman could only reply that there were some 'good forces' in the PCI. Surely there are 'good forces' in the CPGB, comrade Berryman! And surely you can think of a better, a more convincing, apology for Gorbachev's new found friendship with the ultra-revisionist PCI.

With all this Berryman still claimed not only that the Gorbachev version of the CPSU's programme does contain references to the "concept of world revolution" but also that its practice is guided by it.

To 'prove' it he produced a single passing reference to the so-called "world revolutionary process" – a concept which, as developed by our Soviet comrades, is a revisionist



thinkable" if

## Assessment of the internationalist Soviet Union, which intervention has thrown CCG into crisis

# in Tatters

distortion of the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of world revolution. This is easily verified ... and in his attempts to parry our criticisms of the CPSU, Berryman only exposed the CCG's ideological heterogeneity.

The CPSU, we said in *The Leninist* No.56, "has abandoned proletarian internationalism, not only in word but deed." Berryman attempted to deny this. Yet his own comrade, Julian Cooper, (the first speaker in the CCG's series of meetings on the Soviet Union) told us, using copious Soviet sources, how the term proletarian internationalism was being deliberately dropped by them.

So our claim about the CPSU abandoning proletarian internationalism in word is not something we invented but something we heard courtesy of the CCG.

More important, more important by far is, of course, the question of practice. Here Berryman well and truly destroyed his own case.

While claiming that the Soviet Union had, in spite of "many mistakes", always "provided assistance" to revolutionary movements, Berryman told us how under Stalin, and since, the Soviet version of proletarian, or socialist, internationalism has been used as a "code word for Soviet hegemony".

Exactly, comrade Berryman! This is precisely the problem!

Is "Soviet hegemony", the fact that the leadership of the CPSU has acted in a bullying, narrow and domineering fashion towards other communist parties, not least ruling ones, an example of proletarian internationalism? Hardly!

## Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan

Comrade Berryman himself produced a veritable shock wave among his CCG friends, not least London education organiser Mike Martin, when he informed them that he thought there was a "need to think again" about the Soviet led intervention into Czechoslovakia in August 1968. This was no leap into the dark. He let it be known that the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow has already been given the task of concocting some ideologically suitable get-out for the 1968 action - and with Hussek now safely upstairs the path is certainly clear for this.

Certainly Dubcek's claim, published in the PCI's *L'Unita*, that there is a "profound con-

nection" between perestroika and "what we tried 20 years ago" contains more than a grain of truth. Indeed, Dubcek's contention that if the Soviet Union had been led by Gorbachev 20 years ago there would have been no armed intervention rings true. Considering that communist centrism diverged from communist right opportunism in country after country on the question of the Soviet led intervention, this is no small matter. The centrist parties in Australia, Finland, Greece, Sweden, Holland, Britain, Spain, Japan, all owe their political origin and physiognomy to the schisms opened up by the events of August 1968.

Indeed in many ways the CCG can be traced back to the divisions in the CPGB in the wake of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. For the centrists, who constitute a majority of its Steering Committee, the Soviet action was by definition proletarian internationalism. They stood and fought the rising forces of Eurocommunism (then supported by *Morning Star* Editor, Tony Chater) on the ins and outs of the Czech events.

What will Lysandrou and his centrist ilk say if the present Soviet leader decides that his predecessors' intervention was wrong? Will they denounce this as 'revisionism'? On past form these miserable sycophants are not capable of anything so principled ... let us wait and see.

As an illustration of the toadyness of the CCG it was interesting that not one of them questioned the correctness of the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan in December 1979. Although Berryman was glad to go along with recent Soviet 'discoveries' that many past 'proletarian internationalist' actions were little more than examples of crude big power hegemonism, he held up the Afghan intervention as a shining example of proletarian internationalism in practice. How can this be?

In *Isvestia* the Soviet leadership admitted that it went into Afghanistan because, as a great power, it could not tolerate a hostile regime on its borders. What is this, if not big power chauvinism? And what about Turkey and China?

They are both on the Soviet border, and both hostile. Should the Red Army enter these countries? This is out of the question. Turkey and China would be no pushovers. Turkey is in Nato and China has a billion people and huge armed forces.

We support the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan. We are against any Soviet deal with imperialism which will involve their withdrawal, let alone a withdrawal beginning in May, as Eduard Shevardnadze has suggested. Such appeasement of imperialism would be treachery. It could only lead to the collapse of the government in Kabul, the reverse of the gains of the April 1978 revolution (not least the enslavement of women) and the wholesale massacre of the PDPA's membership.

This said, the intervention in December 1979 hardly strengthened the confidence of, and popular support for, the revolution in Afghanistan. Soviet aid was vital if the Afghan revolution was to survive. Yet the Soviet Union acted in a way which smacked of a great power bully. In other words the action of the Soviet Union was contradictory. That is why we unreservedly condemn the way the Soviet Union intervened but demand the continuation of the presence of Soviet armed forces.

Its intervention was not to aid the existing revolutionary government in Afghanistan but to defend the great power interests of the Soviet Union. The *Khalq* forces which organised the April 1978 revolution and led the revolutionary government were overthrown. Hafizullah Amin, the leader of the Afghan Party and state, was killed along with 97 of his comrades and a new Parcham opportunist regime under Babrak Karmal was installed.

Amin was branded an agent of imperialism in Soviet pamphlets like *The Truth about Afghanistan* and it was claimed that these charges could be proved with documentary evidence. This has not been done. In fact accusations that Amin was an agent have been quietly buried. None of this was mentioned when Berryman claimed the role of the Soviet Union had been one of exemplary proletarian internationalism.

The leaders of the CPSU have and do put the interests of the Soviet Union above the interests of the world revolution. And this not only includes 'long term projects' like the revolutions in Britain, Japan, the US and Federal Germany, but living revolutions.

Our comrades raised this with John Berryman. They quoted Gorbachev's speech to the 27th Congress of the CPSU in which he offered US imperialism cooperation in dealing with what he called "hot spots", presumably like Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Nicaragua,

South Africa and Palestine.

The case of Nicaragua was also raised by concerned CCGers. Unfortunately, considering Gorbachev's 27th Congress speech, comrade Berryman tried to dismiss the possibility of a deal over Nicaragua as a throwaway remark made during the Washington summit.

Surely this is a case of self delusion. The Soviet Union has made it as clear as it can to the US that in return for concessions on areas such as Star Wars it would use its considerable influence to 'persuade' revolutionaries in the so-called 'hot spots' to act with circumspection, ie stop being revolutionaries.

Unless we want to kid ourselves, we have to recognise this. The key question CCGers, indeed all communists, have to face, is the fact that the leadership of the CPSU do not practice genuine proletarian internationalism and have not done so for many, many years. This is no small matter.

## Proletarian internationalism

Proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is an objective law reflecting the fact that: "The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries" (Marx). So proletarian internationalism is no sentimental relic, no pious utopian wish for a brotherhood of man, but a necessity for the working class, a precondition for its liberation.

Although proletarian internationalism is an objective law, it does not develop spontaneously. Communists must determinedly and consistently cultivate it among the working class and keep its spirit alive through combating all manifestations of chauvinism and national narrowness wherever it comes from. Such opportunist problems in the working class movement will remain a constant and latent danger in both capitalist and socialist countries as long as the proletariat operates in a world divided into states. In the interests of the world revolution vigilance is essential, success vital.

Through a successful ideological struggle for proletarian internationalism, the working class is transformed from a class in itself - turned against itself by nation, its vision limited to narrow national interest - into a class for itself, which is fully conscious of its historic mission to do away with all national boundaries and antagonisms.

One of our comrades made the point that the Soviet Union is acting more like a state among states than the vanguard of the world revolution, that real proletarian internationalism requires the subordination of national interests to the interests of the world revolution. This produced contemptuous and theatrically loud laughter from Jeff Sawtell, a journalist on the *Morning Star* and a veritable CCG sage.

For Sawtell, the idea that national interests need to be subordinated to the interests of the world revolution is "banal", there is apparently no contradiction between the interests of the USSR and those of the world revolution. In this he was backed up by fellow *Morning Star* journalist and fellow CCG sage, John Haylett.

This is pathetic. For all their pomposity these CCG time servers do not even know the ABCs of dialectics.

There is always a contradiction between a whole and its parts. Take a Communist Party, there is a contradiction between the Party and the short term interests of the individual member. There is a contradiction between members' private lives and the interests of the Party. For the sake of the world revolution, individual communists have to be willing to sacrifice a great deal, sometimes everything. Likewise with countries.

Let us see what Lenin has to say on this question. A true internationalist, he insisted, "must not think only of one's own nation, but place above it, the interests of all nations ... he must consider the whole and general, subordinate the particular to the general interest." (our emphasis CW Vol 22 p.347)

And again "proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world wide scale." (our emphasis CW Vol 31 p148) Many national interests are in contradiction with the aim of world revolution. In Britain the call from certain sections of the workers' movement for import or immigration controls are examples of putting narrow national interests above the interests of workers of all countries. This putting your own country first is just as possible for the leadership in a socialist country as it is with

opportunists in the capitalist countries.

For instance, a big and relatively rich socialist country might be asked to provide large amounts of aid to a small and poor socialist country which finds itself cut off from its natural trading partners because of imperialist embargo. Some might say this is a bad investment, that the money would be better spent on much needed modernisation at home, which in profit and loss terms might well be true. In other words, there is a contradiction. If it is resolved in favour of narrow national interests, this is reactionary; if it is resolved in favour of the aim of world revolution, this is progressive.

Comrades Sawtell and Haylett, like all centrists in the official communist movement, monstrosly call their slavish tailism of the CPSU 'proletarian internationalism'. This discredits proletarian internationalism in the eyes of advanced workers. Tailism robs proletarian internationalism of its revolutionary essence and reduces it to a mere apology for this or that action by this or that Soviet leadership.

The revolution will not be advanced one inch, one iota by those who agree with the (current) leadership in the USSR as a reflex reaction. What is needed is genuine proletarian internationalism which, as we have already stated, is brought to life through the medium of ideological struggle against chauvinism and the defeat of all forms of counterfeit internationalism ... and this brings us to the CCG itself.

It not only tails the CPSU, it mixes this with a championing of the Alternative Economic Strategy, import controls and all, and calls for 'non-racist' immigration controls. What is more, implicitly through its commitment to the reformist *British Road to Socialism* the CCG stands against the liberation movement in Ireland and fosters the reformist notion that British imperialism and its military-bureaucratic state has a progressive role in the world today.

In other words, the CCG stands theoretically between classic pro-Soviet centrism and common or garden right opportunist social chauvinism. Naturally the CCG will not admit the truth about the eclectic platform it has painfully constructed in order to unite in the same organisation enthusiastic young militants and staid bureaucrats like Chater.

Indeed the CCG claims to stand for Marxism-Leninism and to have fully embraced the concept of proletarian internationalism. Because of this supposed ideological orthodoxy the CCG is able to act as a Judas goat and looks set to lead several hundred communists into an NCP Mark II split from the CPGB this easter. That is why we are duty bound to cross swords with the CCG. Its proletarian internationalism is doubly counterfeit.

Firstly, it puts the interests of workers in Britain above those of the working class of the world as a whole. Secondly, it tails the CPSU, a party which puts Soviet national interests above the interests of the world revolution.

In the long term this is an oil and water mix. But while Gorbachev's star is in the ascendancy with almost every trend in the bourgeois establishment, this presents the CCG with the possibility of leeching off his popularity. Such parasitism comes easy to the leaders of the CCG. For Leninists, though, the world revolution comes first.

The CCG wants the Soviet Union to be praised by the boss class in Britain. It makes life so much easier. We want the Soviet Union to be loved by the working class in Britain and feared by our rulers.

The CCG wants the working class in the Soviet Union to accept Gorbachev's market socialism, his appeasement of the US warmonger and his further downgrading of the importance attached to the world communist movement. This will be welcomed by everyone from Martin Jacques to Margaret Thatcher. We want the Soviet Union to be a true bastion of proletarian internationalism and we will unconditionally support the working class in the Soviet Union carrying out a real political revolution to make this a reality.

With us, actions are united with words. Revolutionaries in Turkey, Iran and Ireland will testify to this. The CCG makes a mockery of proletarian internationalism, they pay lip service to it by tailing every rightist move Gorbachev makes, and this while supporting the most chauvinistic attacks on those, such as the IRA and Inla, who are daily risking their lives fighting British imperialism.

We Leninists will never let the banner of proletarian internationalism trail in the mud like this. We will stay loyal to the cause of world revolution come what may. We, unlike the CCG, can truly proclaim: Long live proletarian internationalism!

Jack Conrad



# IRELAND

## One step forward!



Seamus Costello: murdered founder/leader

Many revolutionaries in Ireland recognise that what is needed is a genuine Communist Party.

The unanswered question is how to get it?

A few months ago ex-Trotskyite David Reed announced that his paper, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! (FRFI), was going fortnightly; then, shortly afterwards, it was announced that it was not going fortnightly. The letters page of January's FRFI features correspondence actually congratulating his organisation, the Revolutionary Communist Group, on this failure. The Leninist does not go along with this. Some have argued that probably the best feature of FRFI was that it did not come out more often. Not us. We would like to see the RCG put its foot in its mouth as often as possible.

Relax everybody, everything is under control. According to the Editorial Board of the Trotskyite Newline on January 2 1988, this year is "the year for world revolution!"

Unemployed Workers Charter supporters were recently given a crash course in theory and practice, Labour Party style. On January 13, Clause 4 of the Social Security Bill, the latest Tory attack the rights and living standards of the young unemployed, was being wearily debated by a near empty House of Commons. A few Labour MPs wept some crocodile tears for the 'poor unemployed', then came the turn of the Tories. One slimy creature struggled to his feet and launched into a vicious attack on the unemployed. Just as he was about to sit down, a section of the Strangers' Gallery erupted as UWCers leapt to their feet with chants of "No Slave Labour! Smash the YTS!" and showered the MPs sitting below with leaflets. In the ensuing melee - as reported in the Daily Telegraph and Radio 4 - a young woman was also dragged out with our comrades, despite having nothing to do with the protest. And as chance would have it, she was actually the step daughter of one of the Labour Party MPs who had just waxed so lyrical on the plight of the young unemployed. He raced from the Chamber to save her. But any hopes that the UWCers had that he might actually intervene on their behalf as well were quickly disabused. "I don't care what you do to them", he told the police holding our comrades, "But that's my daughter!". Thanks brother.

IRELAND, like every country in the world, needs a Communist Party. Not just any Communist Party, mind you, but a genuine Communist Party guided by and committed to the science of Marxism-Leninism. Today this is recognised by a wide range of revolutionaries in Ireland, including revolutionaries we have direct contact with in the IRA and Sinn Fein, the Long Kesh League of Communist Republicans and, of course, as our readers will well know, the Irish Republican Socialist Party.

With this in mind it is indeed a great pleasure to announce that in December 1987 the IRSP published the first edition of *An Camcheachta (The Starry Plough)*. Well, it is not actually the first edition, it is the first edition after a break of many years. But, given the IRSP's declared intention of breaking from left nationalism and "building a revolutionary communist party", it is quite justifiable to call the paper a first edition.

So, what is our initial assessment of *The Starry Plough*? From my own experience with launching *The Leninist*, first as a quarterly theoretical journal, then a monthly and then a rather fitful fortnightly (as well as other papers), I know that all number ones are difficult.

When you first put pen to paper you are tentative, you are not quite sure who you are talking to, your readership is a completely abstract concept. So *The Starry Plough* number one should not, and will not be by us, judged as the finished product, but rather in relationship to the lofty and difficult aim we and the IRSP share, that is "building a revolutionary communist party".

In my view *The Starry Plough* represents an important step forward for the IRSP. In fact I would go as far as to say that it represents an important step forward for the revolutionary and workers' movement in Ireland taken as a whole. But what it does not represent is a decisive step forward, it does not represent a qualitative break from left nationalism or a qualitative shift forwards towards the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The IRSP (note 'socialist' not 'communist') has still not grasped communism with both hands.

Actually this can be seen in the

design and technical construction of the paper. It lacks a clear structure or form, it smacks of amateurishness and lack of a clear perspective. Of course, it is the content of the paper's articles which is most important and this is where we shall concentrate our criticisms.

We have a great difficulty here. There seems to be an editorial policy not to have signed articles. This in our view is an important mistake. Workers need to get to know their leaders - not as individuals but as politicians. We are not advocating that security should be ignored, but the fact is that ideological struggle is carried out by leaders, and readers will only trust leaders if they know their past. The truth of this can easily be seen through Lenin's role after he returned from exile in 1917. He was no anonymous figure, but the tried and trusted writer of well known articles, pamphlets and books.

Looking at the articles in *The Starry Plough* we are in no doubt that every encouragement must be given for leaders to emerge. Very broadly, the articles in the paper can be divided into three. Those which reflect a desire to break with left nationalism, those which reflect left nationalism and those which reflect nationalism pure and simple. It is possible that the same authors straddle two categories, but how are we to know. Anyway, let us deal with the last of these categories first.

Almost the whole of the back page of *The Starry Plough* is taken up with an article on the Birmingham Six. Nothing wrong with this in itself, but apart from saying they are innocent, framed victims of British 'justice' there is no criticism of the campaign to free them, no linking the call to free these innocent men to the call to free all of Britain's political prisoners. In other words, it seems to have been included in the paper for form's sake, rather than because the IRSP has something particular, something different, to say. This is a waste of space for a paper like *The Starry Plough*.

What about the left nationalist articles? The prime example of this is the one on the 10th anniversary of the assassination of Seamus Costello, the founder/leader of the IRSP. The author - whoever that is - seems to be fighting the ideo-

logical battles of the past, using the ideological weapons of the past.

While it is absolutely correct to honour Costello - he was an outstanding and heroic revolutionary - for the IRSP, claiming as it does to have made a break from its left nationalist past, it is vital to develop a critique of its founder/leader, who in so many ways personified what was good and bad about left nationalism.

Fortunately, it must be said that most articles in *The Starry Plough* reflect a desire to break from left nationalism. This is all to the good. Unfortunately none of them fully succeeds, and this makes it all the more necessary for us to concentrate our remarks on these articles, the articles which are closest to us politically.

There seems to be no clear-sighted conception of exactly where the IRSP stands in the world, or even in Ireland. No serious theoretical work is in evidence. The result we get is eclectic. The hammer and sickle is wrapped in the Irish tricolour.

Some authors wrongly consider Ireland simply an "underdeveloped capitalist country" (the editorial p2), others, correctly, that it is a "medium developed capitalist country" (Waterford glass p8). This lack of clarity can also be seen in the IRSP's world view.

In the commentary on Eammon Mullan's excellent speech at the Manchester Martyrs Commemoration, the IRSP takes a sympathetic but not a partisan attitude towards the divisions in the British left. It is treated as a 'factionalised' but homogeneous whole. This is not good enough. The IRSP should, if it is committed to proletarian internationalism, take sides when it comes to differences on the left in Britain.

It certainly has in Turkey. Its message greeting the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey sent 'congratulations and solidarity'. It hailed the decision of the congress to reclaim the name of the Communist Party of Turkey from the opportunists. It went on to state that the IRSP sees the congress as "an important landmark in the struggle to rebuild the world communist movement and to restore to it the revolutionary content of its glorious beginnings." (p8)

The editors of *The Starry Plough*

have obviously taken the decision to allow a loose rein. This policy of letting a thousand flowers bloom is no bad thing in Ireland, where political opponents in the liberation movement have first turned to the gun rather than theoretical or even political debate. Nevertheless, it hardly helps *The Starry Plough* to develop itself as Ireland's *Iskra*, and it is an *Iskra* that Ireland needs.

The editors of *The Starry Plough* must ask themselves how they are going to fight for communism. This should be their starting point. This is what should separate them from Sinn Fein and the IRA, not this or that particular tactic. As communists, who subordinate themselves and their country to the struggle for world revolution, they must set their sights on laying the Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation stones on which the revolutionary Communist Party they so earnestly desire can be built.

Without the solid foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory there can be no serious proletarian revolutionary movement. The building of a genuine Communist Party requires more than a mass base, let alone passing a resolution. It requires the setting of definite theoretical tasks for a communist leadership to confront and then solve. Yes, communist parties are built from the top down and this article is primarily directed towards the top.

A number of key questions which a communist leadership must correctly solve spring to mind instantly.

1. What is the nature of the present epoch? How are the danger of war and economic crisis connected and how should we characterise the dominant trends in the working class movement today?

2. What is Ireland's place in the world? Is it underdeveloped or medium developed? Is it a weak link in imperialism's chain? What is the main contradiction in Ireland today? What sort of strategy is needed which can combine the struggle for national liberation with the struggle for socialism? Why are both necessary and possible?

3. What is the relationship between the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in Ireland and other revolutionary forces. How should the revolutionary working class approach other classes? How to forge working class unity in the Six Counties? What attitude to adopt towards the Twenty-six County state?

4. What is the relationship between communists in Ireland taking a lead in the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for world communism? What will socialism in Ireland be like? Should there be a one party state or full freedom for parties? How to take existing socialism in the world forward?

For all its faults, *The Starry Plough* is committed to an openness. This is excellent, and all who want to see a genuine Communist Party in Ireland should put forward their views. In this way a communist nucleus could be forged. But if the IRSP's paper is to be used as a bridge from left nationalism to Marxism-Leninism, it will require sharp debate. It will require not a paper which is aimed at the average republican but at the advanced republican, the advanced worker.

There must be a sorting out, a drawing of lines between communists and all other political trends in the liberation and workers' movement. This cannot be done by *The Starry Plough* as it presently stands. Nonetheless it must be done and *The Starry Plough* could do it.

Jack Conrad



# Revisionist think

George Comninel, *Rethinking the French Revolution - Marxism and the Revisionist Challenge*, Verso, London 1987, pp225, pbk £8.95

SINCE THE late sixties, there has been a concerted attack from some academic quarters on the Marxist concept of 'bourgeois revolution', specifically on the view of the English Revolution of 1640-60 and the French Revolution of 1789-99 as revolutions led by a capitalist class and representing the breaking of feudalistic fetters on the developing capitalist mode of production.

In the case of the French Revolution, these self-styled revisionists claim that "the entire body of social historiography of the *ancien regime* stands in refutation of the whole idea of bourgeois class revolution."

Against the Marxist 'social interpretation', they pose a model of a purely political revolution transferring power from one section of a landed elite to another, with the social relationships of the old regime remaining essentially unchanged. Taylor, for example, holds that "the bourgeoisie could not be differentiated from the nobility in terms of forms of wealth or income." (p.19), and thus concludes that a bourgeois capitalist class, as defined by Marx, did not exist in pre-revolutionary France.

The central theme of the revolution becomes the struggle against despotism, perhaps even led by sections of the nobility, and is exemplified by the Assembly of Nations and the Convention; the revolutionary government, the Terror, "sansculottism", becomes an accidental "skidding off course".

As Comninel remarks, this interpretation, in dismissing the concept of a capitalist class revolution, fails to deal with the very real and intense social conflicts inherent in the whole process, from the convening of the Assembly to the coming of Napoleon I as First Consul. However, by accepting their view of the historical data as overwhelmingly contradicting the Marxist theory, he is guilty of misunderstanding the rise of bourgeois productive relations within feudal society.

His proposal that the concept of 'bourgeois revolution' was carried over uncritically from liberal historiography by Marx and Engels is rather lame; and his stated objective of a future analysis of the French Revolution using what he regards as the proper method of historical materialism, though an admirable contrast to the petty bourgeois philistinism of the revisionists proper, is based on a false distinction between the approach adopted in *The German Ideology* and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and that of *Capital*.

Let us briefly recapitulate Marx and Engels on the question of 'bourgeois revolution'. The seeds of the bourgeoisie were the chartered burghers of medieval towns. The wave of exploration and discovery in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries opened up huge new areas for exploitation and trade for this rising class. "The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets ... The guild masters were pushed aside by the manufacturing middle class." (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*).

This petty industry (whether manufacturing or agricultural) is the essential condition for the development of social productive forces. "At a certain stage in its development it brings forth the material agencies for its own dissolution. From that moment new forces and new passions spring up in the bosom of society; but the old social organisation fetters them and keeps them down. It must be annihilated; it is annihilated. Its annihilation ... this fearful and painful expropriation of the mass of the people forms the prelude to the history of capital." (*Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation*, chapter XXXII, Vol I, *Capital*).

Thus, in France, the revolution was, as Albert Soubou has it, a complex political struggle against the *ancien regime*, nuanced by the ambiguous position of the commercial and rentier bourgeoisie, driven forward by the popular masses, not least the proto-proletarian labourers and artisans.

The rise of agrarian capitalism in the France of this period is quite similar to the process in Russia as described by Lenin, in which the poor and middle peasants are forced to sell their labour power to the better off peasants (tenant farmers) who thus are transformed into a petty bourgeois capitalist class.

Similarly, the more successful artisans became petty capitalists in their own right. Thus we see that bourgeois property relations grew in pre-revolutionary France as petty capitalism, both agrarian and industrial. Obviously, the remaining feudal property relations, supported by the legal and political superstructure of the *ancien regime*, were a hindrance to the continued growth of these classes and could be removed only by a social revolution.

Close connections with the mass of the people gave the bourgeois movement ideological hegemony over popular society, (for example the 'hunger for land' of the peasantry is objectively a striving to become a capitalist and it is clear that the radicalisation of the revolution, cut short by the more conservative bourgeoisie in the Thermidorian reaction, was due to this).

Popular participation is, of course, what neither Comninel nor the revisionists can explain, being reduced to invoking 'demagogic politicians' and 'the drunken mob'. Their failure here is due to a wider fault: a lack of any materialist analysis which could connect the intense political conflicts with the socio-economic structures of the period.

While Comninel rightly criticises the structuralists for removing "class conflict of any kind from the field of historical behaviour", due to his mistaken idea of capitalism, he can only reject the idea of the revolution being based on a rising capitalist class and is therefore left only with the same answer as the revisionists proper: that is, a mere political revolution.

Peter Clancy

# Gay Holocaust

Richard Plant, *The Pink Triangle*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh 1987, pp257, £9.95

THE REACTION to Aids has done much to propel the issue of gay rights to the fore in the last couple of years. Clause 27 of the government's Local Government Bill, which will ban the 'promotion of homosexuality', and the bigoted proclamations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, have been two 'newsworthy' items of late, and gay bashing is becoming an ever more popular past time with lumpens and their blood brothers in police uniform.

Leading figures in bourgeois politics and the medical profession have, among other things, gone so far as to advocate the establishment of 'quarantine camps' (their words, not ours) for Aids sufferers.



Straight Leftist Nick Wright takes on a militant gay activist in October 86

Now, the parallels here to the methods of Nazi Germany are often made in radical circles. 'Fascist' has always been a good insult for concerned liberals to hurl against right wingers in authority. Neville Chamberlain, Harold Macmillan and Ted Heath have all, in their time, been 'fascists'.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake of equal magnitude to view the attitude taken both by the state and bourgeois society in general as 'more of the same' against homosexuals. Social attitudes and government legislation and repression are quite clearly moving against gays and lesbians.

Gone is the sneery, patronising 1970s image of gays, as personified by the twee Mr Humphries of *Are you being served?*. In is the sinister character of conspirators not only against the family, 'morality' and 'decency', but also against the life of every man, woman and child on god's good earth.

One gay activist, anti-body positive for HIV, was charged with attempted murder for spitting at an assaulting policeman. Irrational anti-gay hysteria is taking a grip as never before. This does not constitute fascism, indeed it would be the grossest form of panic-mongering to dress it up as such.

But the complacency of the left in championing the issue of gay rights within the working class as a whole leaves gays, lesbians and other sections of the oppressed open to the attacks that the bosses must make to divert attention from the crisis that increasingly grips their society.

Plant's text graphically illustrates the situation in Nazi Germany where this scapegoating was taken to its extreme, obscene conclusion. The author is a homosexual

German Jew who escaped the repression, and who now resides in the US. His descriptions of gay repression under Hitler are harrowing, especially the accounts from the SS concentration camps, where homosexual inmates were branded with the badge of the pink triangle. He also recounts the unsympathetic attitude of the Federal German authorities after the war ended, with gay survivors of the concentration camps being refused any compensation. The Nazi's anti-homosexual laws of 1935 were even kept in force there until 1969.

The book, though very readable and well researched, is from a left liberal perspective. There is more than a sniff of the potty-training theory of history here. The conclusion that World War II and the extermination of millions of European Jews, gypsies, homosexuals and others was because Hitler and Himmler were twisted bigots (as indeed they were) is not very helpful in understanding how such individuals with such ideas could dominate world history for over a decade - unless you reconcile yourself to accepting that the world is a sick, incomprehensible place, that is.

Marxists, however, do not. The escalation of reaction and bigotry in the Weimar Republic was a product of the intense crisis of German capitalism. German finance capital required the total defeat of the workers' movement to hike up the rate of exploitation and to prepare the country for the expansionist war which the crisis demanded.

To do this required not only a physical assault - through Freikorps, police, military and Nazi street gangs such as the SA - but also an ideological assault to exacerbate divisions within the working class, turning it in on itself and on sections of the oppressed. Instead of workers looking to capital as the source of its misery, the German capitalists were able to bring decisive sections of the working class to the belief that it all stemmed from "corrupters of the German nation": communists, Jews, homosexuals and many others.

The reason that German capital was able to ensure its survival in this manner was not so much the strength of fascism (the Nazi's electoral support was in decline when Hitler became Chancellor, with the communists of the KPD still gaining support), but the ideological weakness of the revolutionary forces, represented by the KPD. This has been illustrated in more general ways by other writers, such as EH Carr in *The Twilight of the Comintern*.

Though it is not his 'brief', Plant illustrates this in the case of the KPD's attitude to the defence of

gay rights against the swelling tide of reaction in the Weimar Republic. The Party always formally defended and sought to extend gay rights but, as the Comintern came under the dead-handed grip of centrism, this became ever more formal.

For instance, KPD propaganda tried to score points off the Nazis by doubting their 'masculinity', and pointing out the known homosexuality of the SA's leader, Ernst Roehm. *Die Rote Fahne* even went so far as to urge the bourgeoisie that "the police be purged of monarchist, sadist, homosexual and fascist elements." (cited on p48). Gay supporters of the KPD and anti-fascists may have been understandably chagrined by the company that the Party placed them in.

A similar attitude is today prevalent among centrists within the communist movement in Britain. Many a beer-gutted macho centrist has bemoaned the supposed prevalence of "queers" in the Eurocommunist camp as providing some kind of political indictment.

There can be no doubt that their press, whether it be the *Morning Star*, *New Worker*, *CC Review*, *Straight Left* or *Communist*, is most backward in taking up the fight for gay rights. This is unpardonable in such a political climate, and once more illustrates the reactionary and bankrupt nature of their politics.

As the reforms initiated with the October Revolution illustrated, it is only socialism that can guarantee the rights of gays and lesbians. That is, providing Stalin is viewed as an aberration, not a natural outcome of a socialist revolution. Why? Because only socialism can unfetter the productive forces, initiating progress to an inherently crisis-free mode of production - communism. Capitalism, with its cyclical crisis each time ever more vicious, must scape-goat and repress in an ever more vicious manner if it is to survive.

The revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism is inseparable from the most resolute defence of the rights of the oppressed, be they women, blacks or gays. The slaughter of tens of thousands of gay men at the hands of Himmler's SS, and the anti-gay backlash of today, pose point blank the question put by Marx over a century ago: socialism or barbarism? It is not a question of hanging on for socialism for gay rights, in the manner of *Militant* or the CCG. This way only leads to more debacles of the Germany '33 variety. The only way to prevent this is to struggle for the defeat of such trends which bow down before bourgeois bigotry. It is the struggle for a communist party.

Sean Quinn

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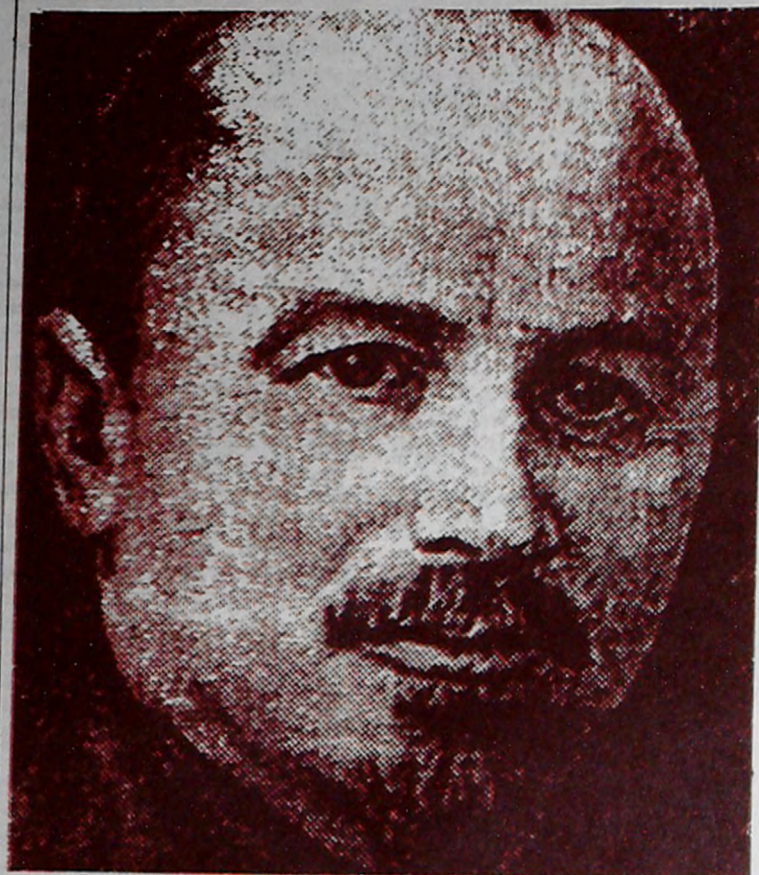
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## "And the Dead Shall Rise ..."

### The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has set up a commission to "comprehensively" investigate "abuses" committed in Stalin's time. Reportedly at the top of the agenda is the rehabilitation of Nikolai Bukharin



The "Party's favourite" - executed as a "Nazi/Trotskyite spy"

**T**HE "HYPOCRISY and perfidy of this man exceeded the most perfidious and monstrous crimes known to the history of mankind". This is how he was described by Vyshinsky, the Soviet state prosecutor at his trial in 1938. The *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) (Short Course)*, in the style of a fire and brimstone preacher, branded him as a "fiend", a "double dealer" and eternally damned him as "a Whiteguard assassin and spy".

Yet Lenin, whom he was convicted of attempting to murder, praised him as "a most valuable and major theoretician" and "the entire Party's favourite." He is, of course, Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin, executed half a century ago by a firing squad after a sordid and sick show trial.

After Khrushchev's 'secret speech' to the CPSU's 20th Congress in 1956 and the ensuing post-Stalin thaw, Bukharin and other prominent victims of Stalin's terror were shifted from the category of 'criminals' to that of 'anti-Leninists' in official Soviet accounts, although the charges against them were never formally revoked and their writings were still off limits (ironically, the list of unobtainable Old Bolshevik authors was lengthened by one - Joseph Stalin).

Although Khrushchev rehabilitated many communists persecuted and murdered under Stalin, leading oppositionist Bolsheviks such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Trotsky and Bukharin were left in purgatory. When Brezhnev succeeded to the post of CPSU General Secretary, the lid was well and truly slammed down on the Party's history. Of late, however, there has been renewed interest in Bukharin. Is Gorbachev's much vaunted glasnost once more prising it off?

Certainly, if a younger generation of Soviet citizens had not heard the name Bukharin before, they have now. Articles are appearing in the Soviet press eulogising Bukharin, along with appeals by his widow, Anna Mikhailovna Larina, calling for his rehabilitation by the Party and Soviet society.

The Soviet writer Lev Voskresensky had a sympathetic account of Bukharin reproduced in the *Soviet Weekly* of December 19 1987. And although Gorbachev's speech to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution did little more than reiterate the tired old phrases about his and other Old Bolsheviks' "anti-Leninism", there are expectations, east and west, of his imminent rehabilitation.

In Britain, the opportunist lickspittles to whoever occupies the general secretary's chair in the Kremlin - those around the *Morning Star* in particular - have discovered the merits of a man who their political trend once vehemently denounced as a fascist agent, a man whose execution they gleefully revelled in.

In the late '70s these same opportunists were totally contemptuous of the international campaign - fronted by the Eurocommunist Italian Communist Party - to rehabilitate Bukharin. Now, it seems, every one is a 'Bukharinite'.

What kind of a 'theory of history' do these feeble-minded centrists possess, that human history should be transformed in accordance with every change of person in the CPSU Politburo? Communists with a less cavalier approach to history, indeed anyone who claims a semblance of a scientific world view, should demand from the likes of those centrist sages Photis Lysandrou, Fergus Nicholson and Eric Trevett, a true account and justification of what they really believe on these questions, and not what they feel obliged to believe - that which is handed down by the all-knowing oracle of god, *Novosti*.

So who was Bukharin exactly, and why are many Soviet writers now advocating his rehabilitation and a reappraisal of his views? Why are the theories of this man, rather than those of other anti-Stalin oppositionists like Preobrazhensky, Radek, Zinoviev, Trotsky or Pyatakov, taking centre stage in Gorbachev's reassessment of Soviet history against the conservative Brezhnevites within the bureaucracy?

Bukharin was the leader, first of the Left Communists in the early 1920s, and then of the so-called

Right Opposition in the late 1920s. He wrote many important theoretical works, including *Imperialism and the World Economy*, *Economics of the Transition Period*, and *The ABC of Communism* - books which, whatever their mistakes, repay study even today. He played an active and leading role in the Comintern, eventually succeeding Grigory Zinoviev as Comintern president in 1926.

There are, *prima facie*, two Bukharins. Firstly, the Bukharin of the left; architect of the 'theory of the offensive', resolute opponent of the Brest-Litovsk peace, the united front tactic and unflinching advocate of world revolution. Opposed to this stands the man who provided the theoretical justification for communism in one country. The man who urged the kulaks, "enrich yourselves", as the advocate of the New Economic Policy who had less and less faith in both the socialist plan and the world revolution.

In reality they are one and the same, both not only occupying the same body but utilising identical methodologies. Lenin's criticism that Bukharin had never properly understood nor studied dialectics cuts right to the heart of the matter. In a one-sided, non-dialectical manner, Bukharin had placed absolute religious faith in the immediacy of world revolution, neglecting national conditions, peculiarities and demands.

When, after the defeats of the proletariat in Europe in the early '20s, Bukharin no longer saw immediate revolution as the order of the day, he swapped this first one sided approach to a given set of circumstances for a second suiting, as he saw it, the new conditions.

Now, instead of the working class in the west, Bukharin rose in praise of the Russian peasant, particularly the kulak, constructing Narodnik-style theories of how the method of agricultural production employed in the NEP period would "grow into socialism", with national boundaries and interests now paramount - superficially the very antithesis of his old views.

It was his defence of NEP against Stalin's policy of enforced collectivisation from 1928 which brought the two, until that time allies against the Left Opposition, into conflict. Bukharin's standing within the Party dictated to Stalin that he must be liquidated.

It is not the Left Communist Bukharin that elements of the Soviet intelligentsia now put pen to paper to praise, but the Right Oppositionist. He is seen "as the intellectual forerunner of perestroika" (*The Guardian*, December 1) and as playing a major role "in the intellectual routing of Trotskyism" (Voskresensky).

With the nature of the Soviet economic reforms and the NEP-mimic, NEM, although Gorbachev

may claim to have been immersing himself in Lenin's *State and Revolution*, my money rests on him perusing Bukharin's *Notes of an Economist* and the like. Certainly, bourgeois commentators with an eye for historical parallels have dubbed him "a latter day Bukharinite".

Many Soviet ideologues have been quick to point out that such parallels are of little use, if not dangerous, and there is a certain truth here. But what Bukharin's view of NEP and Gorbachev's perestroika share is a theoretical squaring of the circle between advancing socialist production and an increased operation of the law of value and attendant market mechanisms.

In the late '20s this brought the Soviet Union close to the precipice, with anarchy and economic collapse. Today, back-tracking to market economics in a well established socialist state with a highly socialised industrial sector bodes little better than the transformation, by Bukharin, of Lenin's tactical retreat with NEP, into a principle of socialist construction during the late '20s.

That, briefly, is the role which Bukharin's limited 'rehabilitation' plays today in the hands of the bright young 'Gorbachevites'. After all, how can they carry out Bukharinite reforms when Bukharin is denounced as a Trotskyite-Nazi agent? So the possible rehabilitation of Bukharin has little to do with historical justice or openness.

But the truth must and will be known, with the carefully sanitised half-truths and outright lies that pass for official Soviet history swept aside. Life demands it. Unfortunately the approach of the CPSU leadership shows that the impulse will not come from there. It has no intention of voluntarily ending its political monopoly let alone severing the arteries of red tape and censorship which ensures the life blood of its leached privilege.

Lev Voskresensky says he would like to see Bukharin works published in the Soviet Union. We agree. But what of the other Old Bolsheviks? Their writings too must be placed in the hands of Soviet workers and the charges against them dropped.

Instead of Soviet workers having to rely on Gorbachev's word that Preobrazhensky, Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, and (for now) Bukharin, were 'anti-Leninists', they should be able to judge for themselves. In addition, they must have the freedom to advance their own views, to organise for themselves - to make their own history. Real access to the true Soviet history can only be achieved against those forces which have a material interest in leaving it shrouded, the dead buried and silent.

A leadership that refuses to trust

the working class, after 70 years of socialism, does not deserve trust.

If the leadership of the CPSU really were concerned with 'openness', why are the works of left opponents of Stalin not available to Soviet workers? If in the name of openness certain Soviet intellectuals, such as Voskresensky, favour re-publication of Bukharin writings, surely in the name of openness the writings of Preobrazhensky, Rakovsky and Trotsky and the Left Opposition should be at the disposal of all Soviet citizens.

The fact is that the new Party leadership has great problems here. How can it admit that those who opposed Stalin - from the left - were not traitors. It can reject Stalin's show-trials, imprisonment, exile and murder of Red Army generals and loyal 'Stalinists'. It can even rehabilitate the rightist Bukharin. But it cannot rehabilitate those who fought the consolidation of a privileged bureaucracy at the head of the Soviet Party and state.

The reason for this is simple. Gorbachev stands at the head of this very same regime which ruthlessly murdered and terrorised in order to consolidate its power.

It was absolutely vital for the nascent bureaucracy to settle accounts with those who had led the October Revolution around slogans of soviet power and who established the 'Partmax', which stipulated that no Party worker or state functionary in the Party could receive more than the average wage of a skilled worker. They had to be eradicated, the revolutionary spirit quelled. No wonder Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya, remarked in the mid-'20s that if Lenin were alive he would be in jail.

The elimination of all internal democracy, the centrist revision of Leninist theory, the abandonment of proletarian internationalism, transformed the nature of the CPSU from the party of the whole of the working class to one which championed the needs of only a section of the class; ie, its privileged bureaucracy.

Gorbachev is a technocratic product of this bureaucracy. Has he, echoing many purged Old Bolsheviks, called for the restoration of the 'Partmax'? Quite the reverse; instead he advocates a widening of wage differentials, a turn to the market and greater freedom for enterprise management to sack 'surplus' labour.

Real democratisation, instead of the sops now proffered, will of course mean an end to this state of affairs. Gone will be the special Party shops, the fleets of shiny black Zils and the luxurious country dachas for state and Party functionaries. Real democratisation will mean the bureaucracy will be made into the servant, not the master of the working class.

Alan Merrick