

The LENINIST

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Class action to stop the war

PEACE THROUGH
REVOLUTION!

BRITAIN... IRAQ...
THE MAIN ENEMY
IS AT HOME!



IN SPITE of Saddam Hussein's decision to release all western hostages, the danger of war in the Middle East is steadily growing. The 11th hour on-off talks between the US and Iraq will make no difference. Nor will pacifist peace camps or reformist pleas to let the sanctions work. The UN January 15 deadline is approaching with a sickening inevitability. Unless Saddam Hussein commits political suicide, and does a U-turn over Kuwait, as soon as it passes US imperialism will give up all pretence of jaw, jaw and immediately prepare to unleash its massive war machine.

Bush really has no choice. Having massed a half million strong army in the inhospitable deserts of Saudi Arabia it must be used quickly. Not only is it costing a nearly insolvent US imperialism \$1 billion dollars a month, but if it is kept hanging around much longer, demoralisation will set in, the anti-war movement will continue to gather strength and the international coalition that put it together and bank-

A war in the Gulf will be increasingly costly; it will be workers' blood for bosses' profits

rolled it will come apart at the seams.

As things look at the moment, the US led army can only but inflict a bloody defeat on the Iraqis. Saddam Hussein might have a far larger army in place: all the more to kill. The US has an overwhelming superiority in the air and in technology. The Iraqi troop and tank concentrations will be sitting ducks. Some experts talk of 100,000 Iraqi deaths within 10 days, ie, the same number of Iraqis who were killed during the eight years war with Iran. Losses on the other side will be far less, but they will still be in the tens of thousands. For what?

Not to liberate 'poor little Kuwait', that is for sure. The US is not fighting for the rights of small nations or democracy. Kuwait will be handed back to an autocratic Emir, to be run in the interests of imperialism. Nor is the US fighting to bring down a regional ver-

sion of Adolf Hitler; it has propped up all sorts of ultra-right dictators throughout the world. Saddam Hussein's regime itself received invaluable aid from the US during the course of its war with Iran.

The US is fighting to secure oil supplies, that is true. But it is fighting for much, much more. It is fighting to reassert its leading world role in the post-Cold War era. To achieve that it wants to redivide the whole of the Middle East, create a Pax Americana and refashion the region in its own image. Saddam Hussein provides a convenient excuse. Its war with Iraq is in a very real sense the first shot in its war against its more dynamic imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany.

But whoever wins, it will not benefit the working class. Saddam Hussein says he is fighting against imperialism

and for the liberation of the Arab, above all the Palestinian people. This is a cynical lie. If Hussein manages to hang on to his new Kuwaiti '19th Province', the Iraqi people will only be used as cannon fodder in yet another desperate attempt to join the imperialist club. Reaction in Iraq will be strengthened and the already grinding oppression of the masses will increase.

Because of this, workers must not take sides with their rulers. We must fight for our own interests, not theirs. In Britain that means building the biggest possible anti-war movement, a movement that is prepared to take the most militant action in order to scupper the imperialist war machine: blacking, strikes, appeals for mutinies, etc. On the basis of making the working class the centre of the struggle against imperialist war, the Internationalist Committee was set up, sponsored by

the Provisional Central Committee of the CPGB.

As well as supporting the Committee to Stop the War demonstration on Saturday January 12, the Internationalist Committee will therefore be mobilising its own, distinct, contingent to challenge the implicit pro-imperialist politics of its CND and Labour left organisers. No more advice to imperialism - we must fight it all the way along the line. And that is why, three days later - on January 15, the day of the UN deadline - the Internationalist Committee is calling upon all anti-war, anti-imperialist forces to join its picket of the US embassy in Grosvenor Square. US imperialism cannot be allowed to start a war unchallenged. Join us in making that challenge as big and as effective as possible. The hour is now.

● Saturday January 12, 12 noon Hyde Park. Stop the War demo. Join the Internationalist Committee contingent.

● Tuesday January 15: 5.30pm-7pm. Internationalist Committee picket of US embassy, Grosvenor Square, W1.



Central Organ of the
**PROVISIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN**

TO CYNICS, Christmas is an annual orgy of eating too much, drinking too much, and spending too much. It is much more than that though.

For the mass of the population it provides a brief interlude in what is otherwise a life of drudge and drabness. In the week up to Christmas, anarchy reigns in offices and factories across the land. The pace of work slackens and even grinds to a halt. In a moment of madness, authority loses some of its power and we exchange subversive good will.

However, the boss class does not tremble. Christmas is not only a time to rake in the profits. It has a tremendous ideological role; it is a perfect opportunity to reinforce the ruling ideas. Especially with 'our boys' out there in the Gulf, and with the help of countless junior school nativity plays, the population can be united round Queen, country and religion. Along with that the virtues of the nuclear family can be given a much needed boost. Those who object can easily be dismissed as kill-joys and Scrooges.

So how should communists respond to Christmas? A number of possibilities exist. There is the way of the *Morning Star*. That paper will have no articles explaining the heathen origins of Christmas, let alone the fact that the bible consists of one forgery on top of another and that Jesus was not an other worldly mystic born on December 25 AD 1, rather a Jewish apocalyptic revolutionary born sometime in July AD 7.

Instead of carrying out the duty of communists to make atheistic propaganda, the *Morning Star* will open its pages to the sanctimonious ramblings of bishops and other supporters of the Christian cult, in the name of dialogue. The *Morning Star's* own supporters are, in the main, fully sympathetic to this. They are, by now, more or less fully integrated into the mainstream of existing society. As well as organising a string of sad little Xmas socials and bazaars to raise cash for their crisis ridden paper, they will send each other Christmas greetings, not least in the paper's classified column.

Editorially too, the *Morning Star* will try and jump on the Christmas bandwagon. It will accuse Bush, Major, etc, of not acting in the spirit of Christmas over the unemployed, the sick, arms spending, Iraq ... anything. In other words it accepts that Christmas is, and should be, a special time, and that we should all uncritically join in.

Such an approach is totally unacceptable to genuine communists. But what about those who try and ignore the whole thing? Those who sit at home and wait for the revolution that will ban Christmas (incidentally Cromwell - god's Englishman - did just that; he suppressed it as a heathen abomination). This leaves the communist splendidly isolated, and we have seen in Albania what happens when this line is put into practice. You cannot abolish religion, but you can drive it underground.

Despairing of doing anything positive, at least at this time of the year, others dutifully eat up the turkey in the bosom of the family home, slump in front of the TV and do their best to close their minds to all the religious and state propaganda. That is the approach adopted by most of the left in Britain: again, though, clearly an inadequate, individualised, stance.

We on the other hand have consistently argued over the years that what communists should do is to take a leaf from the Christians themselves. After all, they took over the seven day Roman Saturnalia, which culminated on December 25 in the Brumalia. This annual festive binge had its origins in the mists of time, in a communistic celebration of the sun's resurrection after the winter solstice. It also contained a collective memory of that society; during the Saturnalia, the existing order was turned upside-down, slave owners waited on their slaves, men dressed as women, and women as men and it was fun and games all round.

Rather than try and compete, the Christians in the west decided, early in the 4th century, that their Jesus Christ was born on December 25 (a convenient discovery). We should do the same, only more honestly.

Even before the working class comes to state power and gives Christmas a new form and content, a beginning can be made. Our Red Christmas on December 22 and our new year's eve celebration on December 31 (see details in the action column) will contain echoes of the primitive communist past when there were no classes, money, wars of conquest or state. It will also look to the communist future when there will be no classes, money, wars of conquest or state ... and yes, there will be fun and games all round.

The Editor

LETTERS

CPT

We have learned with great joy that you have unanimously adopted a resolution to rename your organisation the Communist Party of Great Britain. This will be an important milestone in your struggle against revisionist liquidationism and in carrying forward the banner of Marxism-Leninism in the proletarian internationalist traditions of the communist movement.

We are confident that you will be worthy of this name and earn it truly in a short space of time.

With comradely greetings,
**Central Committee of the
Communist Party of Turkey**

IRSP

The Irish Republican Socialist Party sends revolutionary greetings to the CPGB on the occasion of their 5th Conference.

The CPGB is one of just a handful of groups on the British left that does consistent solidarity work on the Irish question. The IRSP recognises that such internationalism and comradeship are vital if the struggle against imperialism is to be won.

In Ireland, nationalism has retained the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement. Our aim is to destroy this hegemony and transform the anti-imperialist fight into an explicitly anti-capitalist struggle. The IRSP welcomes the assistance and solidarity of those on the British left as we strive to achieve this objective.

**Central Committee
IRSP**

Irish Marxist

Comrades, having read your declaration to the working class of Great Britain, we send our greetings to the Provisional Central Committee of the CPGB.

Over the past ten years, *The Leninist* has shown dedication, resourcefulness and discipline in maintaining Marxist-Leninist principles while the centrists and Euros have deserted and liquidated around you, in logical conclusion of their rejection of communist politics.

The *Irish Marxist* wishes your organisation and supporters well in its future battles with the bourgeoisie and in its primary task of reorganising the only party capable of bringing socialist revolution in Britain to its conclusion, the CPGB.

We too are engaged in a similar struggle in Ireland against the several forms of official communism, bureaucratic distortion, economism, opportunism and petit bourgeois socialism. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the *Irish Marxist* congratulates the CPGB on its achievements.

Long live communism!
**Editorial Committee
Irish Marxist**

Communist Labor Party

The Standing Committee of the Communist Labor Party of North America (CLPUSNA) extends its greetings to the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The current period is marked by the betrayal of the interests of the world's working class by revisionist and counterrevolutionary elements but bearing the name communist. Many of these elements have today abandoned the name communist. Yet the nature of the class struggle dictates that out of this process the revolutionary proletariat will assert its will and force on history. We stand firmly with those who are fighting today to build the broadest working class movement to overthrow international capital. Your success belongs to us all.

**Standing Committee
CLPUSNA**

Rahe Kargar

We write to congratulate the CPGB (*The Leninist*) for your new name and for taking up the red flag of communism after so many organisations both here and throughout the world have abandoned the name 'communist'.

In these times, with the crisis of the world communist movement, and the various attempts to deny the validity and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism by using the errors and deviations of existing socialism as a vindication of their liquidationist policies; at a time when the bourgeoisie and all its newly found adherents are proclaiming the 'death' of Marxism-Leninism and communism, it is more vital than ever to raise the red flag of October.

Today, it is more important than ever to stress the historic message of October, a message which promised, and continues to promise the end of exploitation of man by man and the death of that system which has brought misery, unemployment and poverty to the vast majority of mankind.

Today, it is more important than ever to point out the four fifths of mankind living in poverty, and to place the blame for this mass misery squarely on the doorstep of world capitalism. The transference of 300 billion dollars from the 'Third World' to the metropol since 1982 is just one indicator of the plunder of the planet which underpins the current 'success' of capitalism.

Today more than ever, it is vital to stress the vitality of the message of Marx and Engels, and the message of October, just as it is vital to criticise the errors and omissions of the last 70 years.

Today, all genuine communists, must examine and look critically at their history and at the problems of the time, exchanging views, experiences and interpretations. It is only through this that we can draw our ranks closer together, correct past mistakes, build on past successes and forge the united lines necessary to win the battles ahead. The red flag of communism cannot be laid down.

We, on our part, pledge to continue along the glorious path of October by fighting alongside the working class of Iran and the world proletarian movement.

Long live international solidarity.
Long live democracy.
Long live socialism.
**Organisation of Revolutionary
Workers of Iran (Rahe Kargar)
UK Branch.**

UWC

All Leninist members and supporters working in the Unemployed Workers Charter send their fraternal greetings to the Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The decision of the Fifth Conference to reclaim the name of our Communist Party from the Euro liquidators is an historic step for our working class in Britain. Working class struggles of the past decade or so have been char-

acterised by one defeat after another. The petty bourgeois pretenders to the mantle of the early Communist Party have shown themselves totally incapable of outlining a winning battle plan for workers.

In particular, the mass ranks of the unemployed - the invisible victims of the decline of British imperialism - have been criminally neglected by the Labourite traitors and even by organisations claiming to be 'revolutionary'. The UWC has raised the banner of militant anti-capitalist organisation among the unemployed; we have started the work of making the unemployed a reserve army of the revolution.

The fight to reforge the Communist Party - a battle in which the Fifth Conference marks an important staging post - is a vital one for the unemployed. It was the young CPGB that provided the backbone of the National Unemployed Workers Movement of the 1920s and 30s, precisely the type of movement we need to reconstruct today.

The fight to reforge our Party is a matter of life and death for the unemployed section of our class: we urge all unemployed activists and working class partisans to join it!

**Members and supporters of the
Communist Party in the Unem-
ployed Workers Charter
London**

HOI!

Our understanding of proletarian internationalism tells us that the best service we can render the oppressed peoples of the world is to make a revolution in our own country. This is the truth that informs the work of Communist Party supporters and members in Hands Off Ireland!

Our work in this solidarity campaign will be immeasurably strengthened by the decision of the Fifth Conference to reclaim the name and heritage of our Party. We send our revolutionary greetings to all participants in this historic conference.

Forward to a reformed Communist Party!

Forward to a mass working class Irish solidarity movement!

**Members and supporters of the
Communist Party in Hands Off Ire-
land!**

WTM

The decision of the Fifth Conference of the Leninists to reclaim the name of the Communist Party of Great Britain is a great step forward in the struggle to rebuild a genuine Communist Party.

Communists in the Workers Theatre Movement hail the Fifth Conference. It will greatly help the fight of revolutionary artists in this country to build a mass, proletarian art movement. We urge all artists who identify themselves as working class partisans, as partisans of human culture and progress, to identify themselves with the Communist Party of Great Britain, led by the Provisional Central Committee.

**Communist Party members and
supporters in Workers Theatre
Movement**

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 wish 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 071-431 3135.

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Marking Time

After the All Britain Anti-Poll Tax Federation conference, which way for the anti-poll tax struggle?

THE anti-poll tax fight is in a downturn. Attendance at the local unions is contracting as activists become infected with the demobilisation spreading from the top downwards. Many anti-poll tax campaigners regarded the ten or twenty thousand strong demonstration on October 20 (depending on whose figures you believe) - which had been consistently undermined and downplayed by Militant - as the 'last gasp' of the movement.

The November 26 second national ABAPTF conference, meeting in Manchester within a week of the downfall of Thatcher, did nothing to counter these feelings. It has to be said that it was not the serious council of war that our class needs. On one side, Militant attempted to turn it into a pre-election rally, claiming that it, not Howe or Heseltine, had 'got' Thatcher; on the other, the SWP 'opposition' had only one proposal - "organise a demo on December 8 to finish the Tories off".

Given such dimly narrow perspectives, it is not surprising that many activists are falling away. But the potential still exists to take the fight forward to victory. First, however, we have to understand concretely what the problems are. We say that the current impasse of the anti-poll tax fight illustrates that the British left - including those who call themselves 'revolutionaries' - is incapable of charting an independent working class line for victory.

Militant, for example, has clearly subordinated the fight against the poll tax to the electoral prospects of their precious Labour Party. Thus, in order not to offend the scab Kinnock, they deliberately kept their Peoples' March against the Poll Tax as low key as possible (see *The Leninist* No96) and fought - unsuccessfully - against the idea of the October 20 demonstration to greet the marchers into London.

The fact that they welcomed the downfall of Thatcher with a call for a general election underlines the fact that, for them, the mass action of the working class is not the means by which workers become aware of their own power. No, for them such action is the complement to parliamentary shenanigans.

More than that, this left reformist Labour Party organisation fully accepts the right of the capitalist state to tax the working class in order to finance the very institutions that oppress us as workers! The front page of *Militant* on December 7, 1990 has ABAPTF secretary Steve Nally reporting that ABAPTF has "written to Heseltine and Major demanding: '... any discussions on the future of the tax and its replacement must involve representatives of the ... Federation'".

In other words, Militant recognises the 'right' of the bourgeois state to rob and cheat the working class (they hope to be running it one day, after all). They simply have a quibble with the Tories on the method.

The other main organisation in the anti-poll tax fight - the SWP - is no more capable of charting an independent course than Militant. Its paper headlined "Gotcha!" when Thatcher took her tumble. But *who* 'Got 'er'? Undoubtedly, the mass pressure from the resistance to poll tax was an important contributing factor to her fall, but only indirectly. Howe, Heseltine and the parliamentary Tory Party actually gave her the 'Brutus handshake'. Yes,

the unpopularity of the poll tax was one factor - with the EC - in Thatcher's tumble; even then, for the left to claim victory on that score is a cheap point. The fears of Tory MPs in 'marginal' seats had more to do with it than the SWP's invisible leadership.

The poll tax movement has, despite one monster demonstration, conspicuously failed to mobilise the millions who hate the poll tax in anything other than a passive way. 'Non-payment' as a tactic was never wrong - it was, however, inadequate. It left workers isolated and atomised as individual poll tax refuseniks, rather than cohering them into something solid.

Recent opinion polls indicate that with Major at their head, the Tories have taken a lead over Labour. Of course, this will not last, but for the SWP and Militant it was more than a cause for disappointment; it was a call for even more strenuous efforts on behalf of Kinnock's Party. For us, it is a secondary question. What the working class needs is to start making its own impact on British political life, organised on its own platform and conscious of its own independent interests as a class. Until that happens, the antics of the bourgeois parliamentary chimps' tea party will continue to set the agenda.

There is still everything to fight for in the anti-poll tax movement, as long as we fight on a clear working class programme.

The promise extracted from the Tories to 'review' the workings of the tax as a result of the mass but passive pressure of non-payment and the potential electoral threat which it implies, is useless by itself. Heseltine may tinker with the levels and structure of the tax, but its anti-working class core will remain. However, the mere fact that the Tories are seeming to give ground on this will encourage continuing, if not swelling, levels of non-payment. If anything, however, this section of non-payers will remain even more passive and hard to mobilise than previously. Encouraged by the fatal narrowness of Militant, the SWP and the leadership of the Labour Party, many people will simply wait to see what the Tories do next.

With a convincing enough cosmetic job on the tax, the Tories could reestablish the social acceptability that was missing from the 'community charge'. A narrow focus on simply a particular piece of legislation is likely, therefore, to further deactivate rather than enthuse the campaign.

We have always argued for a broader approach. Clearly, the local APTUs must widen their remit to take on issues like social service cuts, which will be the inevitable consequence of the poll tax, in any of its guises. Initiating and coordinating the type of anti-cuts demonstration that recently shook Sheffield must become an important element of the battle plans of every APTU.

On Wednesday December 5, Sheffield council workers struck for half a day and over 3,000 joined a demo in the city centre. The Labour council is planning to axe nearly 4,000 jobs in order to avoid poll tax capping. The fight against these attacks is an important arena for APTUs. A limited focus on the poll tax will undermine the fighting capacity of the campaign: we should fight the poll tax as an attack on our class as a whole, and coordinate a fightback of our class against all its effects. Political strike action is the

order of the day, up to and including generalised strike action.

In order to facilitate this, local APTUs must set themselves the aim of becoming recallable delegate based bodies as soon as possible. Far from this limiting participation in these organisations, as some of our opponents have claimed, in fact the fight to make them delegate based broadens their franchise, widens their remit. If we have the perspective of actively involving hundreds of thousands, even millions of workers in the fight, how on earth can we structure our movement in any other way? The principle of recallable delegate type organisations is ideally suited to what the APTUs need to become - local councils of action!

Related to this, it is incredible that Communist Party activists used to encounter resistance to our call for the organisation of Workers' Defence Corps to defend our meetings and marches, and to counter the bailiffs. Meanwhile, the police attack our protests with impunity, the latest provocation being the systematic onslaught against the Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign picket of Brixton prison on October 20. Bailiffs have shown contemptuous disregard for the niceties of bourgeois law. Clearly, if we want our protests kept peaceful, and our estates free of bailiffs, we have to organise our own defence.

We certainly welcome the fact that the Manchester conference passed resolutions which commit the movement to organising defence squads - but if it is left with Militant - whose Steve Nally promised to 'name names' after the police attacked the Trafalgar Square demonstration - they will surely never see the light of day.

ABAPTF cannot be left in the hands of the Militant misleaders. Our Communist Party has fought consistently, in those APTUs in which we are active, to raise the eyes of activists above the day to day demands of the struggle, to start to pose a challenge to Militant, which is taking us on the road to nowhere. This is now more vital than ever. The opposition to Militant must take on board the type of broader political perspectives we outline here, if it is really to challenge the stranglehold Militant has over the movement.

The 3D oppositionalist platform, for example, while its calls for the democratisation of the Federation are justified, has neither the coherent strategy nor the organisation to challenge Militant. This must change. The opposition must equip itself with the politics to win.

The ABAPTF must be democratised; it must consist of elected and recallable delegates from the local APTUs, delegates who have the perspective of transforming this body into a nerve centre of opposition to attacks on our class, of changing it into a National Council of Action.

Organised on such a platform, the campaign against the poll tax will not only be able to beat this particular nasty piece of Tory legislation, it can also add something significant to the cumulative knowledge, experience and fighting capacity of our class as a whole, on every issue. No demoralisation! There is still everything to fight for!

Ian Mahoney

● Join the Communist Party contingent on the March 23, 1991 demonstration in London. Details to follow.

The TUC general council decision to endorse a swingeing package of cuts and increased affiliation fees at its meeting on Wednesday October 24 was hardly unexpected. The TUC was facing a £1.2 million deficit in 1990, and over £2 million in 1991. Something had to give, as far as the bureaucrats of Congress House were concerned. Typically, the TUC fat cats have moved to save their own cushy jobs at the expense of the movement they are meant to serve. Gone are the County Associations of Trades Councils, a measure that will increase the pressures on local trades councils and cause some to close. Gone are the annual conference of trades councils and the funding for regional organisers of the unemployed. Mark Fischer, National Organiser of the Unemployed Workers Charter, in an open letter to Britain's Trades Councils and the Unemployed Workers Centres about these cuts, points out that "if the TUC genuinely wants to cut costs, why not insist that all functionaries of Congress House, plus all the top brass of affiliated unions, receive no more than the average wage of an ordinary worker in today's Britain? Why not let the TUC regional organisers of the unemployed live on the income of an unemployed worker? Perhaps such a scheme would not only save money, but also get some fire into the belly of the apparatus of the official workers' movement". The Extramural Conference in Defence of Trades Councils met in Manchester on December 8, in an attempt to cohere some sort of resistance to the TUC's cuts. But given its *Morning Star* type politics, this could only take the form of technical objections to the TUC. *IM*

A number of fascists who imagined they were members of the 'master race' attempted to disrupt the joint Unemployed Workers Charter/Hands Off Ireland! picket of the Army Recruitment Office in the Strand, in Central London, on Wednesday December 12, the day before the government announced that official, ie fixed, unemployment had risen to 1,700,000. The 20 strong picket effortlessly saw them off. The action was to highlight the link between unemployment and the only growth industry in Britain today - 'British militarism plc'. Unemployment has acted as a type of informal conscription in the past. The UWC mobilising leaflet for the picket described the fatal cycle: "They then find themselves on the streets of Derry and Belfast, in the deserts of the Middle East, fighting ordinary Irish or Iraqi workers like themselves in bloody bosses' wars." The picket was followed by a meeting where speakers pledged to up their anti-militarist work among potential recruits to the British Army and, if we possibly can, among serving British soldiers. For details, ring (071) 431 3135. *MF*



■ Out and proud: For the IRA, Against the British army!

The second weekend in November saw a large number of Irish people living in Willesden arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The first to be released, after being terrorised in police custody in Paddington Green, were two women, held for 39 hours without charge. In an act of blatant state intimidation directed at the Irish community, four others were released after seven days detention, issued with exclusion orders and extradited to the north of Ireland. Eventually, two men and one woman were charged with conspiracy to cause explosions: Michael Docherty from Dublin and Siobhan and Willie McKane from Strabane, Co Tyrone. Despite the original police statement (not publicly revoked), no-one was arrested in the Willesden flats where explosives and weapons were alleged to have been discovered. This has all the makings of a Guildford Four or Winchester Three type set-up. The treatment meted out to those six people not charged is proof enough that this is a blatant attempt to beat down the Irish community and whip up a climate of anti-Irish fear and hysteria in Britain. The Birmingham Six, spending their 17th Christmas in prison, know all about that. We must not allow the British state to railroad more Irish people into British jails. There must be no seventeen year wait to free those being fitted up now. Class action is needed to focus the fight for the freedom of the framed prisoners and for the freedom of all political prisoners. *AM*

Serve the workers



Marxism Today's editor says he cannot manage on the income from 13,000 sales, generous advertising and a £30,000 per annum subsidy from the Euro organisation. So he's looking around for a new, rich, backer, to relaunch his failing journal at a cost of £500,000. Perhaps he will be lucky. After all, *Marxism Today* has served the capitalist class well; but then, who needs a convert from 'official communism'? One thing's for certain, though. *The Leninist* will neither receive nor seek support from the capitalist class. We will go forward as the working class goes forward, because we serve the working class and hence rely on ordinary workers for support, not media billionaires. Last month we ended with a small surplus in our £600 monthly fighting fund - in spite of our non-appearance due to typesetting/computer/printing difficulties - and so far, thanks to comrades OD, GH, LK, RT and AS, this month we stand at £256.

We stand to see them fall

Why we can't get socialism through parliament. Why we are standing candidates for parliament



The last gasp of the parliamentary road to socialism. Chile, 1973: president Allende hours before his death at the hands of Pinochet's soldiers

WITH THE Labour Party's promise to run capitalism according to the rules of the market and the official admission that Britain is now in recession, it is clear that Kinnock would just as vicious a prime minister as the one the Tories have just booted out. Yet, using the 'lesser of two evils' theory, the majority of the left inside and outside the Labour Party will, as usual, be calling for a Labour victory in the next general election.

Their justifications for this are manifold - from Militant's outright lie that "Marxism has always been ... an important part of the Labour Party" (*Militant: What we stand for*, p29) to the *Morning Star's* Communist Party of Britain's half lie that the Labour Party is "the mass party of the working class" - but all are based upon the same far bigger lie that socialism stands at the end of a peaceful, parliamentary road, a road guaranteed by laying hold of the ready made bourgeois state. 'First Kinnock, then us', these opportunists cry, their supposed 'tactics' revealing their lack of revolutionary principles.

We in the CPGB have no such illusions in bourgeois workers' parties like the Labour Party or in the democratic apparatus of the bourgeois state which it upholds. But that does not mean we fall into the opposite ultra-leftist trap of shunning intervention in bourgeois democratic structures such as parliament, for fear of tainting our revolutionary purity.

As long as the mass of the population has illusions in parliament, as long as their consciousness remains clouded by the fog of bourgeois democracy, it is the duty of communists to use the institution of parliament. Of course, there will be a wide variety of tactics. If, for example, the masses were being swept behind a Labour Party standing on a left programme, if they thought it would usher in the socialist epoch, then it might be tactically correct to help elect such a party, in order to expose it. But whatever the tactics, it has to be recognised that they flow from the necessity for violent revolution to smash parliament, along with the whole state machine.

It is the aim of this article to explain that position, the position taken by Marx, Engels and Lenin, regarding the state, parliament, democracy, and communist utilisation of the parliamentary apparatus. We will not deal specifically with the question of the Labour Party here, for lack of

space. However, the general principles we outline are the basis for our position on that question. In showing how and why socialism can only come through revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, we implicitly condemn all those revolutionary pretenders who prostrate themselves before Labourism and the Labour Party.

The bourgeois state must be smashed

As a starting point for discussing the role of the state, it must be understood that all states are, by definition, dictatorships, since they are all based upon the armed rule of one class over another. As Lenin said in *State and Revolution*, "The state arises where and insofar as class antagonisms objectively cannot be reconciled. And conversely the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable". Engels explains this point very clearly in *The Origin of the Family*, where he shows how the state emerged at the same time as the division of society into classes in order to preserve that society from its own internal contradiction - the conflicting economic interests of different classes which could not be resolved by that society. By placing itself above society and "alienating itself more and more from it", the state serves the function of seeming to unify those antagonistic contradictions, while in reality serving the interests of the dominant class, which must prevent the society it rules from being overthrown.

There have been historical exceptions to this; times of dual power when the state stood to some degree momentarily independent of each of the antagonistic powers, as did the Kerensky government after the February 1917 revolution. This expressed the transitory inability of either of the two major classes in society to exert hegemony. Nevertheless, though the state expressed this incapacity, it remained a bourgeois state, counterposed to the workers and peasants and their soviets. Such exceptions illustrate the capacity of the state to alienate itself from society. Even the proletarian state of the Soviet Union could still become a fetter on the development of the productive forces, although this inevitably involved it becoming the master of the ruling class rather than its servant.

The key to understanding why this was pos-

sible lies in the fact that the proletarian state contains elements both of the past (capitalism) and the future (communism). Socialism is, in essence, a society in transition, a society whose state still remains in part a sphere of experts, still remains alienated from the mass of the population, and at the same time contains the possibility, through mass democracy, of being what Marx called a semi-state, a state which came into existence to subjugate the bourgeoisie, but is in the process of negating itself.

Until world socialism, or at least the world predominance of socialism, these two aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat can obviously come into contradiction. Indeed, as we have seen in 1989 and 1990, this contradiction can be resolved in the negative; the film can be rolled backwards, as the alienated masses from below, and the bureaucratic caste from above, turn to capitalism and the market as a way out of the impasse of bureaucratic socialism.

Of course, the contradiction could have been resolved positively. If the world revolution had not been cripplingly confined to just one backward country for so long, if it had spread to advanced countries, not least Germany, the bureaucracy would never have emerged as society's master. Under such conditions, the transition to communism would have been relatively painless, relatively smooth.

As production and culture advance and classes merge, the working class state comes to truly represent the whole of society and becomes superfluous. Just as the state arose with class society, so it dies with the end of class society. It is not smashed violently, as the previous bourgeois state was; rather it 'witheres away' gradually, in one area after another, as society grows ever nearer the material and social basis for communism.

Clearly, for such a peaceful withering away, the kind of state needed by the proletariat has to be fundamentally different from the bourgeois state. Certainly it is impossible for the proletariat to turn the bourgeoisie's own state apparatus against it and into a vehicle for communism.

What all opportunists forget is that socialism really only comes onto the agenda in the midst of profound crisis in existing society, in the conditions of a revolutionary situation. What socialism needs if it is to break out of the womb of capitalism is a qualitative break (a revolution), not a quantitative increase in the number of working class

MPs. In a revolutionary situation, the bourgeois state will be turned as a weapon against the revolutionary proletariat, in all its horror and violence. It must be answered through the proletariat putting its organs of struggle onto a war footing and directly challenging for state power by smashing the bourgeois state and transforming these organs of struggle into the new organs of state power.

Historically, the bourgeois state played a vital role in crushing all opposition that stood in the way of the development and continuation of the profit system. But what was a blemish on the body of capitalist society has, in this last decadent stage of imperialism, become a cancer. Where the state and state spending were of comparatively minor importance 200 years ago, today the bourgeois state has become an all pervasive, all consuming monster which has millions working for it and tens upon tens of thousands armed to protect it.

In bourgeois society, the exploitation of the majority at the hands of the minority is maintained, in the last analysis, through the threat of a massive standing army and police force. This is the fundamental reason why the proletariat's political rule must be backed by the armed force of that class. As Marx pointed out, "The first decree of the Commune ... was the suppression of the standing army and its replacement by an armed people" (*The Civil War in France*).

The working class can therefore afford no illusions in the bourgeois state, nor in those self-proclaimed reformists such as Tony Benn, nor 'official communists' and Trotskyites like the CPB and Militant, who imagine that the bourgeoisie could (let alone would) peacefully submit to the will of the majority, if 'socialism' were to be decreed by the parliamentary wing of the bourgeois state.

If we accept that the bourgeois state must be smashed, there is no room for softness. To see why, one has only to look at the experience of the Russian revolution, or any other proletarian revolution to date. Unwilling, even in conditions of civil war, to execute 'white' political prisoners like General Krassnov, the Bolsheviks set them free after six months, on condition of 'good behaviour'. Krassnov went on to organise a white army that massacred thousands of Russian workers and peasants.

Those who want to introduce a society of compassion must not succumb to compassion. Engels pointed out that: "A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is ... the victorious party must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted for more than a day if it had not used the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie? Cannot we, on the contrary blame it for having made too little use of that authority?"

Parliament and democracy

Parliament is a democratic form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Such 'democracy' is therefore no more than a sham, an acceptable mask for the armed rule of the minority who own and control the means of production, a power which is worth a thousand general elections. Yet the bourgeoisie protests that one vote per person every five years makes for majority rule. After all, everyone - even a whole swathe of 'official communists' - now recognises that bourgeois democracy is more democratic than a socialist dictatorship!

It is essential to understand the relationship between form and essence. Capitalism's undemocratic essence, which is the exploitation of the majority by the minority, is not altered by taking on a democratic form. With this in mind, it is important not to confuse voting every five years for who is to misrepresent you - bourgeois rule by consent - with the actual rule of the majority.

Socialism too can appear as its opposite. Its democratic content, the ending of the exploitation of one by another, can take an authoritarian form; though, as we have seen, if maintained as some sort of permanent feature, eventually this can only undermine socialism.

Fundamentally, the word democracy means the rule of the majority over the minority. The word democracy cannot in any full sense be applied to bourgeois society at all, since this is a society of minority rule. Nor, of course, can it be applied to communism, since this mode of production serves the unequal needs of all. There is no minority class and therefore no need for a state to suppress it. However, communism only comes into being as democracy fully flowers, is extended to the point that it negates itself. As we have said though, this does not mean that the first stage of communism, the socialist state, will be fully democratic.

The extent to which active mass democracy characterises the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to put it the other way, the extent to which the state alienates itself from the majority, will depend upon conditions before, during and after the revolution. Recent events have certainly proved that when the gap between form and essence, between democ-

racy and socialism, are pulled wide enough (bureaucratic deformation), the bureaucracy controlling the means of production may seek to become its new owners. Without genuine democratisation, socialist society will always be prey to this.

This emphasis upon democracy is no luxury. The prime living examples of socialism quite visibly lacked democracy. The Cold War terminology of the bourgeoisie, placing bourgeois democracy against proletarian dictatorship, played a large part in the recent counterrevolutions in Eastern Europe, where the subjective desires of the masses for democracy became objectively equated with the parliamentary systems of the advanced capitalist states.

The historical reasons for that have and will continue to be analysed in the pages of *The Leninist*. Here, however, we will consider how genuine democracy under socialism (as put forward by Marx, Engels and Lenin) could determine the workings of the semi-state, setting it against the so-called democracy of our own bourgeois state, as seen in the much vaunted parliamentary system. For only when we realise what is possible do we truly recognise the primitive limitations of what exists.

As we have stated, at the end of the day the British parliament is controlled and used by monopoly capitalism. This is achieved concretely in many different ways; the logic of running a capitalist society is obviously the most powerful factor, it will naturally necessitate capitalist solutions from all pro-capitalist governments. But to ensure that there is no straying from the course there is the direct influence over the cabinet of banks, the stock exchange, monopoly industry, the CBI etc in the form of persuasion or crude bribery, as well as the simple fact that parliament is stuffed full of capitalists and their hangers on.

There are other safeguards too. Just in case the House of Commons was by some fluke to fall into the hands of Benn, Militant, the CPB and Co, the British state not only has a highly authoritarian army and police, it has all sorts of other counter-revolutionary possibilities. The House of Lords might be a feudal relic but it is firmly in control of the bourgeoisie. It can act as a block on legislation and cause endless problems for any left reformist government. Then there is the monarch, to which all MPs and governments swear allegiance. The monarch can legally make and break governments and would certainly, if need be, act as a powerful centre of reaction. Another fact worth mentioning about Britain is that our law might be written in parliament, but it is interpreted by deeply reactionary judges. From the high court judges to the local magistrates appointed for services rendered, the court bureaucrats will defend the property of capitalism to the hilt.

Even what we have achieved must never be taken for granted. Democratic concessions to the working class, in the short term (eg, changes in the poll tax, to avoid more riots and unrest) or medium term (eg, free health care, to ensure a contented and more productive workforce) are always in danger of being taken away if that serves the interests of capitalism. Now that the socialist states are one by one collapsing, it is probable that significant gains will be even harder to achieve, since there will be no living example of socialism with which to threaten the capitalist class.

So parliamentary legislation is no guarantee of the living conditions and rights of the working class, nor can it ever be a substitute for the masses first act of self-liberation - violent revolution. Reformist proposals, such as Militant's 'Enabling Bill' to nationalise the top two hundred monopolies in the name of 'socialism', can only foster illusions and divert the working class, placing parliamentary legislation as primary, and the role of the working class in a secondary, subordinate, position.

Equating nationalisation with socialism is in any case crass stupidity, ignoring, as it does, the crucial question of the state itself. It is true to say that nationalised industries would be the easiest to transform into socialist state properties after the revolution, and in this sense represent the seeds of socialism, emphasising in fact the proximity of and urgent need for revolution. Before the revolution, however, they remain the collective property of the capitalist class. We only need to look to the experience of Britain's own coal, electricity, gas, water etc, industries to see this, let alone countries like Mexico, where nationalisation has been used to speed up capitalism's process to the stage of monopoly finance capital.

A genuine socialist democracy, on the other hand, replaces the rule of the bosses with workers' democracy, not least in the workplaces. Concretely this means the election of immediately recallable factory/office/shop managers, and workers' participation in the decision making processes of administration and supervision. Trade union rights, (including the right to strike) would also be extended, and all information about the state of the economy would be easily accessible to all. The relationship between state control and workers' direct control over the means of production would

gradually change as outlined above, with the state playing a diminishing role.

Even the most democratic bourgeois state could not achieve the active mass democracy which the proletarian state must strive for, if it is to move towards communism. For once democracy becomes genuine, it undermines the very foundations of privilege and the state. Genuine proletarian democracy is a continuous process of forming ideas and taking decisions, which necessitates popular control at every level of society.

All of this will be born from real life. It will be the result of the creativity of the working class, not utopian writers of *British Road to Socialism*, or other drafters of constitutional socialist blueprints. We saw the truth of this in Russia in October 1917, when the soviets thrown up by the masses in their struggle were transformed into organs of state power. But there is nothing purely Russian about the phenomenon.

The miners' support groups, which sprang up spontaneously from the 1984-5 Great Strike, give us an indication, albeit in embryonic form, of what soviets or workers councils in Britain might look like. The Councils of Action of 1920s Britain, the workers councils of 1919 Germany, the factory committees of Italy in 1920, were all examples of more developed, if still embryonic, forms.

Without falling into the trap of crystal ball gazing, it is easy to imagine what a socialist state in Britain would look like. Tenants associations, workplaces, women's groups, trade unions etc would all elect immediately recallable delegates to local workers' councils, which would in turn elect immediately recallable delegates up to the highest level of state power. In a country like ours, with an advanced working class needing relatively few experts outside its own ranks, there is no reason why most state functionaries should not be elected in this way.

In a socialist state, laws would be made and carried out by state functionaries elected and recallable by the masses. This includes judges. To protect this state we would not aim for a standing army, rather a powerful workers' militia based on the workplaces. The working class would have the right to carry arms and organise its own defence with the most modern and advanced weaponry. Bribery of officials, and the establishment of a privileged bureaucratic caste would be guarded against by mass democracy and by keeping the wages of the highest ranking state official to the level of an average skilled worker.

Bourgeois law is continuously affected by contradictions arising from the direct translation of economic principles into legal principles, for it must always seem to be consistent to itself, rather than just an economic reflex. Consequently the law is rarely perceived as the blatant expression of the rule of one class over another.

Law within a genuinely democratic socialist state would openly reflect the will of the majority (in the case of particularly important laws and international agreements, this could be decided by popular referendum). With continuous discussion at all levels of society, minority groups would have a greater chance to prove that their interests are also in the interests of the majority.

The bourgeoisie is in the contradictory situation, in a bourgeois democracy, of having to use working class consent to legitimise its control of society; with the concentration of production into fewer and fewer hands, the size of our class increases correspondent to the inevitable contraction of the capitalist class, and this contradiction is further exacerbated. As the means of production becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, so the machine of the bourgeois dictatorship strengthens itself to resist attack and becomes increasingly centralised. Making revolution will be harder than in a more backward capitalist country, even if building socialism will be far easier.

The proletarian state would clearly have to use the bourgeoisie's knowledge and expertise in certain areas, but in an advanced capitalist country like Britain, we would not have the problems faced by the Soviet Union, for example. Our educated, sophisticated working class is ripe for rule; but it has been educated by the bourgeoisie to identify its interests with those of the state.

Changing that identification is our particular problem. Reformists such as Militant understand the need to infiltrate these servants of the state in a utopian way, believing that appeals to soldiers, for example, based upon the parliamentary election of a so-called socialist government (rather than the power of the armed workers) will be enough to stop the forces of counterrevolution. As we have seen, a few laws for social reform cannot change the bourgeois state machine, carefully organised and perfected as it is to serve the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie makes much of its multi-party system, as if somehow socialism inevitably means a one party system. Quite the reverse. Marx, Engels and Lenin were quite specific about the need for freedom of thought, speech and political organisation. Under socialism there will still be differences of class interest, just as there will be differences within the working class. Those differ-

ences within the working class will of course exist within the structures of a proletarian state, and most likely find expression in the existence of a number of different working class parties; other classes must also be given their rights.

We communists have nothing to fear from this, we do not fear open ideological debate or elections. We trust the working class, and know that we are the staunchest defenders of its interests. If by chance, or by our own mistakes, we lost an election within the workers' council state system, we would naturally bow to the will of the workers. That is proletarian democracy. It would not mean a reversal of socialism, but a change of direction within it.

Paradoxical duty

The thrust of this article has been to show the impossibility of attaining socialism through parliament and the necessity of smashing the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state, replacing it with new organs of proletarian power. We will now go on to show why, in spite of this, it is the duty of all genuine communists to use every legal opportunity, including engaging in work around parliamentary elections.

As we have seen, for the forces of social democracy, parliament is the apparatus of a relatively stable society, which can be peacefully transformed through a series of reforms. For revolutionaries, however, parliamentary representation is a means to hasten the destruction of that very institution. It is with this aim in mind, and only this aim, that we contest elections.

For us, mass action, whether organised through the mass organisations of the proletariat (trade unions, soviets, etc) or, even better, under the leadership of a genuine Communist Party, is the key to the future. To facilitate this the Communist Party will use every legal opportunity. Hence for communists, parliamentary activity consists of breaking working class illusions in parliamentary democracy, through using the parliamentary platform to expose class enemies and make propaganda for revolution. Our prime concern is not the number of seats we get, but rather our revolutionary impact upon the mass struggle, to which all parliamentary activity must be subordinated at all times.

Given the corrupting influence of the bourgeois parliament, the activity of any communist MPs or councillors must be dictated by the Party. Lenin, for example, wrote most of the speeches for Bolshevik deputies in the Duma, and between 1906 and 1914 fought hard to ensure the control of the party over the parliamentary group.

They were instructed to take up their parliamentary duties from the position of agitators who have no duty to parliament or to the legislators within it (this doesn't mean that communist candidates, under the direction of the Party, should not support, or put forward changes in legislation). It is for this reason that it is better to choose rank and file workers with a longstanding loyalty to the Party as candidates, rather than middle class elements more experienced in bourgeois law and political structures, who are more likely to be susceptible to careerism.

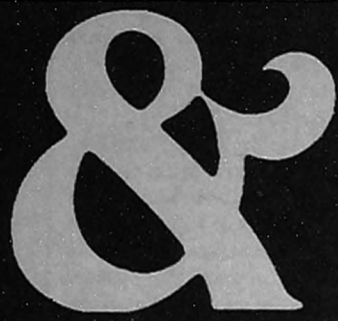
In the last general election we Leninists said that there could be no vote for Labour, that the working class would have to fight whoever won. This was a correct position, but tended towards boycottism. That is why, in the coming general election, we will be urging a more active approach: spoiling ballot papers by writing "communist" across them. For us, however, this tactic reflects not the strength of the working class struggle but the weakness of our own forces; we recognise their painful inadequacy, given what is necessary in present conditions.

In an effort to overcome this in the next general election - if it is not a snap election early next year - we will therefore also be standing a small number of candidates in carefully chosen constituencies in England, Wales and Scotland. Our object is not to convince the electorate that we have any chance of holding the balance of power in parliament. As we have stated, this is not the aim of communists (nor is it indeed realistic, given the present period). Primarily our aim is to agitate and propagandise, insofar as this relates to our primary task of re-forging the Communist Party. It is for this reason that, at this juncture, we have chosen safe Labour seats, where our politics can be debated unequivocally, without being centred around the accusation that a vote for us is a vote for the Tories.

In the sense that all communist tasks before the revolution are a preparation for that revolution, so our organisation of an election campaign is a new step towards revolution.

Our campaign will throw up all sorts of possibilities for developing our political skills. Fundamentally, however, it will strengthen our fight to put communism firmly back on the agenda, through exposing all parliamentary opponents of communism and the capitalist state which they represent.

Hannah Leigh



OUR HISTORY

Unity Convention

Remember Mick Costello, once Yawning Star industrial correspondent and blue eyed boy of the 'opposition' within the old 'official' Communist Party? He was destined, many thought, to be the leader of what is now the Communist Party of Britain, sometime reformist rump, sometime retirement home. Mick, though, had other ideas. He disappeared from the scene, never to be heard of again... Or so we thought. Now he has surfaced again to grace the pages of the FT as a trade consultant between British companies and the Soviet Union - "a former communist turned entrepreneur", as the FT put it. At least the man is consistent: he was parasiting on the USSR as a socialist state; now he's trying the same as it lurches towards capitalism.

"Has the RCP gone far enough?" asks one of its supporters in *The Next Step*, December 7. Following the downgrading of its activity, one Alan Denehy chastises the Revolutionary Communist Party for its lack-lustre public events. Bearing in mind the RCP leaders' judicious use of 'debate' in the pages of its publications, what does 'concerned from South London' propose? Upping the stakes and pitching once more into the fray? Dear me, no! Following the logic of his leader, Frank Richards - and echoing Marxism Today - he recommends dropping "these old styles of organising" and turning to more intensive debate. There is debate and there is navel-gazing. RCPers who take a long hard look at their organisation will be forced to conclude that the musings of Richards and Denehy are the latter.

In our last edition we pointed out the chauvinist stand adopted by Workers Power on the 'human bomb' tactic of the IRA. It seems that this tactic has set off other organisations with previously 'sound' positions on defence of republican resistance. In the Workers Revolutionary Party's Workers Press of December 6, in an article entitled "Contempt for workers", the WRP's "Letter from Ireland" column states that this marks "a new stage in the degeneration of the republican movement", and that calls by Gerry Adams for civilians to refuse to work for the occupying army in any respect are "insulting". Marx always said he 'sounded out' British socialists on Ireland. The WRP have been sounded out and rung hollow.

The formation of the CPGB and its early years: articles, documents and manifestos



Arthur MacManus: The CPGB's first chairman

THE Communist Unity Convention (later known as the First Congress) came together over the weekend of July 31 and August 1, 1920.

On the first day it met in the plush Cannon Street Hotel in the City of London, but on the Sunday shifted to the distinctly more proletarian surroundings of the International Socialist Club. The number of delegates varies according to different sources: James Klugmann's *History of the CPGB Vol 1* says there were 152; the launch edition of *Communist* puts the figure at 158; the CPGB's official account of the convention, lists 163 delegates, with 211 mandates. On top of this there must be included five of the eight strong Provisional Central Committee, who seem to have had speaking but no voting rights.

Of these, 102 were delegated from branches of the British Socialist Party, 25 from Communist Unity Groups and 36 from a wide variety of smaller organisations. These included branches of the South Wales Communist Council, two branches of the ILP (Barking and Glasgow/Carnad), one branch of the SLP (Birmingham), three branches of the Herald League (supporters of the *Daily Herald*), the Socialist Prohibition Fellowship, the Guild Communist Group, various unaffiliated local Socialist Societies and Communist Groups, Birmingham Shop Stewards and the City of London Labour Party.

They all accepted that attendance at the convention implied agreement with what the invitation to the convention called the "fundamental basis of communist unity: (a) The Dictatorship of the working class; (b) The Soviet System; (c) The Third International", and agreed "to abide by" the convention's "decisions on points of tactics, and to merge their organisations in the new Communist Party."

Bolshevik security seems to have been non-existent. Not only was every delegate listed by name and organisation in the official report, but members of the expanded Provisional leadership had their full addresses given. However, there can be no doubt that, with the convention, the process of forging a party of the new type had begun.

The day the convention began was the anniversary of the death of Jean Jaures (the leader of French socialism, assassinated in 1914), and the delegates rose and stood in silence as a mark of respect and esteem for him and all others who had fallen in the revolutionary cause. Albert Inkpin opened the proceedings by proposing that Arthur MacManus, chairman of the Provisional Committee, be invited to preside (MacManus was a leading Clyde shop steward and member of the CUG; he died in Moscow in 1927 and his ashes were interred in the Kremlin wall). This was unanimously agreed and, as the official report says, MacManus then delivered his opening address:

Chairman's address

He said it was a sad experience that it had taken three years of Russia in revolution, and two years of actual negotiating and deliberating, to bring into being a conference of this description. There were still people calling themselves Communists who were not represented at the Convention, and this fact indicated the nature of the obstacles and difficulties that had to be overcome [most notably the Socialist Labour Party and Sylvia Pankhurst's WSF, now illegitimately

renamed the "Communist Party - British Section of the Third International" - Ed]. He hoped that no word at that conference - and he was sure this was the feeling of those assembled at it - would be regarded as in any way calculated to widen the breach at present existing between those who were represented and those who were not. He hoped also - and here again he thought the Conference would concur - that in the near future pressure of circumstances might have power to persuade people outside that it was their duty to come in. He thought the Convention itself justified the most optimistic outlook of those who thought there was a need of a Communist Party in this country. The agenda before them contained items that would call for serious deliberations and might possibly call for animated contention; but if the Convention was taken in the spirit in which the invitations had been sent out, then, whatever else might also happen at it, after today there would at least exist in Great Britain one reliable, rigid, straight and determined Communist Party. Given a Communist Party he thought its membership could very well be trusted, and certainly had every claim to be responsible for deciding what attitude the party should adopt on different occasions. He wanted to make one or two general observations with regard to the effect of the birth of the Communist Party. The present Convention was a more effective reply to the solicitations of Russia than anything else that had emanated from this country since the Russian revolution up to the present time. In the past we had been content to respond to Russia with magnanimous resolutions and expressions of sympathy, but, except for one or two very small attempts, we had never yet, as an organised movement, responded to those appeals in the way that a Communist or revolutionary Socialist should be responded to. It was

a curious coincidence that the sitting of the Convention synchronised with the arrival of the Russian Commissars, who had now for the first time been openly invited by the British Government. Kamenoff and his comrades were expected that evening; it was humiliating to think that having triumphed in their own country the Russian delegation would have to submit to the arrogance and vainglory of the capitalist politicians here [LB Kamenov was the first president of the Soviet Republic, he was shot on Stalin's orders in 1936 - Ed]. Why should it be at this late date in revolutionary thought and action that, instead of the Russians being met with sympathetic kinship and comradeship, it should be left to Lloyd George, Churchill and the rest of the gang to be there with their hypocrisies and huxtering? There was something in that to regret. We ought by now to have made it so uncomfortable for these people that, instead of standing on a pedestal and dictating to the rest of the world as to how it should conduct itself, they would have enough to do looking after us here to prevent them having any time to worry about other countries. If the Communist Party did not fit that bill it would fail to respond to the spirit that had called it into being. He would ask the delegates to devote themselves to getting through the agenda and doing what the Joint Committee had felt themselves incapable of doing - the Committee could not arrive at a decision in connection with the tactical policy of the Communist Party. The discussion of fundamental principles had been the least difficult task that had been set the Joint Committee during the last two years; at a very early stage there had been general agreement that Communism was accepted as the objective and that the Soviet regime and dictatorship of the proletariat were indispensable precautions against counter-revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat was the principle on which we should have to meet most opposition for we had to meet something that possibly did not exist to the same extent in any other country in the world. When there was a question of a thing being done, if the process of doing it was likely to soil the coat or skirt of those participating, the Nonconformist conscience demanded that the thing be dropped however desirable it might be in itself. He hoped the spirit of the Convention would be in opposition to that. We believed that a social revolution was absolutely essential, and that it was our duty to get it however much we might be soiled in the process. Even if there arose a necessity for bloodshed, we could always remember that the lesson of history was that it was never the revolutionary who was responsible for the shedding of blood; it was invariably the counter-revolutionary. There was no subterfuge or intrigue that our capitalist class had not been willing to resort to rather than allow Russia to stand open to the world, justifying Communism as a social constructive force, and the fact that we saw them doing this with Russia at such a remote distance was an indication of what they would do to us.

The chairman concluded by appealing to the delegates to subordinate themselves to the work they had in hand. If the results he anticipated were achieved any self-effacement would justify itself. If they rose to the standard of responsibility he was setting before them this would turn out to be the most profitable weekend that the revolutionary movement had ever had in this country.

Tables

David Edgar (author), Jenny Killick (director), *The shape of the table*, Royal National Theatre

IT TOOK a mere three months for David Edgar to come up with the text of *The shape of the table*. It shows. There are too many examples of crudely lifted phrases and shop worn jokes. I grimaced when I heard Honnecker's wallpaper analogy used in the dialogue without the slightest hint of irony or attribution, and then again and again at the countless other second hand jokes. However, Edgar is no hack. He is a talented playwright. While Act I tends towards dull faction and is rather ploddy, for all its faults the play comes to life in Act II; with the help of good direction and some fine acting, the main characters stop being stereotypical, and anti-communist simplicities give way to something approaching real life complexity.

Edgar's play documents the collapse (the process of peaceful, democratic counterrevolution, as we would call it) of an unnamed Eastern European bureaucratic socialist state - actually an amalgam of the former GDR and Czechoslovakia. All the action takes place in a palatial hall around a table - a table that, like the break up of some huge iceberg, symbolises the disintegration of the regime with the melting of the Cold War.

We first see it as a grand piece of monolithic furniture meant to accommodate the entire central committee. But as the regime is itself fractured by internal schisms and slides into crisis, the table is effortlessly pulled apart and rearranged for tripartite negotiations between government, official social forces and 'Public Forum' opposition. After the counterrevolution triumphs, all that is left is a small, lonely table for one unrepentant communist, who faces a possible jail sentence for his supposed crimes.

There is yet further table symbolism. Karl Johnson's Pavel Prus - the Vaclav Havel type dissident leader - turns the tables on the 'official communist' party and state which has persecuted and humiliated him for 20 years. In Scene I he is brought from his prison cell by a regime worried by its Soviet ally's new 'Sinatra doctrine' and by the rising tide of popular protest (portrayed in a disembodied form over the sound system). The smooth minister of communications, Petr Vladislav, offers him freedom and a passport to the west - if he will sign a statement of repentance. He refuses, but quickly returns, not this time as a manacled prisoner. Instead he returns as the figurehead of the democratic counterrevolution, who ends by offering party hardliner, Josef Lutz (brilliantly played by Stratford Johns) freedom from prosecution - if he will sign a statement of repentance.

Lutz refuses to sign. This completes the circle, allowing the possibility that communism is not finished - that it was not an inhuman experiment and that it might rise and turn the tables again.

This is good stuff. Although the audience's sympathies naturally start out with Prus and Public Forum, Edgar subtly whittles away at it. Student leader Andrei Zietek is rude and arrogant, fair enough, but what about his speaking/skiing tour of the US, financed by dark right wing forces? Even when it comes to the party and government, liberal, witty and prime mover for compromise and negotiations, Vladislav (a cross between Modrow and Gorbachev) turns out to be no more than a Kremlin agent.

In fact, if there is a hero, it is not the new democratic bourgeois president Prus, nor the Dubcek type, Victor Spassov. Rather it is the former party secretary Josef Lutz. The intellectual Prus has no vision of the future or understanding of the present: he lectures Lutz that "in the US the police don't beat up kids". Pathetically, all

he wants is a return to "normality" (whatever that is).

Lutz is from a different mould. In his youth he built the party, worked for national liberation against Nazi occupation and went on to survive Buchenwald. He wanted to build a world fit for human beings, not the inhuman "normality" of capitalism. It is not a broken Lutz who surveys the failure of bureaucratic socialism, it is a man with deep humanity and humility: "It was not the working class's fault. We weren't up to the task. It was pilot error, not the machine, that was at fault" he defiantly says to Prus. Well that's one way of looking at it.

Of course, it is the mark of a good dramatist that their work is open to a number of different interpretations. Yet I suspect that Edgar did not intend his play to be open to this or any other pro-communist interpretation.

Edgar once thought of himself as a revolutionary, and as such produced some damning indictments of capitalism, such as *Destiny* (1976). Now he's a member of the editorial board of *Marxism Today* and a loyal member of Neil Kinnock's Labour Party. As such he has a past to live down, sins to be forgiven, a commodity to be traded.

Because Edgar has't any vision of the future beyond the "normality" of capitalism, his plea for sympathy for Lutz is a plea for sympathy for himself. Revolutionaries, you see, are nice, well meaning people; even though their efforts to produce heaven on earth turn into hell for everyone else: a variation on the old chestnut about communism being "all very well in theory, but it doesn't work in practice".

Maybe Edgar wants to be taken into the bosom of the ruling class, just like other former revolutionaries such as Tariq Ali and Howard Brenton. These types have sold their revolutionary past to a grateful bourgeoisie, like cheap prostitutes. 'What use revolution', the bosses' media is now able to say, 'when such prominent revolutionaries now mock the idea and trample on its fresh grave'.

Nevertheless, *The shape of the table* is no *Moscow Gold*. Within the possibility of giving it a pro-communist interpretation there lies a glimmer of hope that David Edgar will one day return to the camp of revolution. Here's hoping.

Jack Conrad

Good Start

The Irish Marxist, No1, November 1990, pp21, 50p; available from *The Irish Marxist*, 7 Winetavern Street, Smithfield, Belfast BT1 1JQ

THE LAST few years have seen the development of a heterogeneous current from Irish republican politics which identifies itself as revolutionary socialist or even Marxist-Leninist. Notably, we have seen leftist literature from republican prisoners, including the emergence of the League of Communist Republicans/Congress group.

Such developments have as yet to establish a clear Marxist perspective. Left trends within the republican movement do not seem to have gelled into a distinct voice. The last two editions of the *Congress* journal show a collapse into the disintegrating politics of 'official communism'. As to the IRSP, it has, so far, failed to take an unambiguous stand for communism, translating this into developing theory and practice. This, we feel, is illustrated by the paralysis of its paper, the *Starry Plough*, which over the last year has appeared only once.

What we see is at best only partially realised potential: questions posed, but no clear answers given. Yet Irish society - north and south - is ready to seize on such answers, were they clearly given and intransigently fought for. Clarity is the first condition of this: without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary move-

ment.

The appearance of *The Irish Marxist* as an attempt to contribute to this clarity is therefore most welcome. The journal is the new incarnation of the *University Marxist*, of which there were two issues last year. The changed format, the journal explains, "has been made possible by an increase in support, and made necessary by an expansion of our orientation outside the academic world, and towards the revolutionary movement and working class partisans in general" (p1).

This is a correct move. Correctly too, the journal concentrates on ideological clarity through struggle. It rips into the 'official communists' in the article "In defence of armed struggle", takes to task a whole range of opportunists in the articles "Gulf crisis: for the revolutionary defeat of both sides" and "For free abortion on demand", and re-elaborates central principles in part one of "The counterrevolution and the market", which focuses in on the process taking place in the Soviet Union. All in all, the journal has a good balance of national and international emphasis, with a clear position on the areas it takes up.

An orientation to ideological struggle has provoked responses from those on the Irish left, such as Workers Power's co-thinkers in the Irish Workers Group, who also show some interest in the vital task of ideological clarification.

In what is a vital question for all communists, the *The Irish Marxist* takes a four-square stance for the forging of a genuine communist party in Ireland, and stands with those who are fighting for the same aim internationally. In the present period of the collapse of bureaucratic socialism, 'official communism' and the pervading mood of reaction, this cannot be praised enough. All this is to the good, and bodes well for the future of the *The Irish Marxist*.

Of course, the key test is how these comrades confront the thorny problem of practice, made no easier by starting with only a few people from the student milieu of Belfast.

One facet of this is the relation of communists in Ireland to the armed struggle. Comrade Joe Flannagan's article defends those forces engaged in it. We agree. He notes - quite correctly, given their current situation - that it would be "foolish in the immediate instance" to throw themselves into the armed struggle in the north (p5). Yet this is a question of how practical limitations make themselves felt on questions of tactical emphasis.

The article makes it clear that it does not call for disarmament by the IRA and Inla. It calls for "workers defence units". The two, historically, are not divorced. The absence of a communist organisation two decades ago, able to transform such a notion into flesh and blood, produced a revolutionary nationalist alternative - the IRA. These are not new problems. Communists in Ireland were faced by a similar situation in the 20s and 30s, especially between 1921 and 1924. Their failure to provide answers conditions today's situation.

The comrades of *The Irish Marxist* have in the abstract a correct theoretical orientation. How this is translated into practice, though, is left begging and needs to be answered.

A start, however, has been made. It is an important start; one with potential. *The Irish Marxist*, whatever our criticisms, has started to advance answers which have long been lacking in the revolutionary movement in Ireland. Those answers, if they are to ring true must become concrete, giving a lead on the role of the working class in the national liberation struggle, on women's oppression, on partition and the role of protestant workers.

The unity of revolutionaries and the creation of new cadres can only be won through the publication of the sort of open debate which *The Irish Marxist* is attempting to initiate.

Alan Merrik

Communist Party

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December 30: The politics of the Thatcher decade.

New series of seminars begins January 6. Collective discussion towards drawing up the Draft Programme of the CPGB.

January 6: Introduction: The fight for a reformed CPGB and a Leninist Programme.

January 13: The nature of our epoch.

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Invitation Meeting: Which Way for Communists? 5pm Sunday January 20. Details: 071-431 3135.

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Sell HOI! paper No5. Bulk copies available at 5 for £1 including p&p.

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Saturday December 22: Red Christmas.

Monday December 31: Hogmanay Party.

Performers please contact Tam on 071-431 3135.

Rehearsals: Every Sunday in London. Phone Tam on 071-431 3135 or write to WTM, BCM Box 928, London WC1N 3XX for details of WTM activities.

Internationalist Committee

Britain-Iraq: the main enemy is at home! Peace through revolution!

Saturday January 12: Join the Internationalist Committee contingent on the Stop the War demonstration, 12 noon Hyde Park.

Tuesday January 15: Picket of the US Embassy, 5.30-7.00pm, Grosvenor Square, London W1. Nearest tube Bond Street

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London: activist meetings and anti-poll tax actions: For details ring 071-431 3135.

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Twin track to the grave

The Euro congress over the weekend of December 8-9 had nothing to do with communism

IT IS quite clear the Euro organisation is in the last stage of its drawn out terminal crisis; it is "down and very nearly out", according to its own Mark Perryman.

Faction ridden, moving rapidly to the right and disintegrating - paper membership is down to just 6,300 - it met in congress over the weekend of December 8-9 in an attempt to "renew" itself and stop the rot. It failed dismally.

The more the senescent Euros give the come hither to green, nationalist, church, liberal and feminist allies, the more relevance and influence slips through their cold fingers. The more they try and take on board 'new times' and last year's petty bourgeois fads and fancies, the more certain they make their inability to attract youth, and the more certain they make their organisation's eventual demise (60% of delegates were over 40, and out of the entire membership, those under 30 barely add up to three figures).

Whereas revisionism has gone at a gallop in Europe, here in Britain the conservatism of the 'new timers' means that it moves at a more sluggish Fabian pace, fitting to their time of life. Delegates agreed to put off dropping the pretence of being the Communist Party of Great Britain till their next, 43rd, congress in November 1991. Of course, this had nothing to do with some sort of 11th hour fightback by centrist forces, nor even rheumy-eyed sentiment for bygone days.

The vote to maintain the status quo was carried at the urging and advice of a Euro leadership which had taken legal soundings on the question. Lawyers feared that a quick name change would cause all sorts of technical problems with behests in members' wills. That is why the delegates voted as they did.

In other words, as they freely admit, the only reason the Euros still call themselves the CPGB is financial. The executive's resolution said that their "transformed party will not be called the Communist Party of Great Britain". The overwhelming majority of delegates and members of the new Euro executive committee do not any longer call themselves communists, and are looking forward to November 1991. Then at last they can give their sorry organisation a more appropriate title.

Any lingering doubts about all this were scotched by the decisive votes to instruct the new executive to "draw up proposals" for next year's congress, so that all reference to Marxism-Leninism can be dropped from their rules, along with democratic centralism. As even bourgeois media pundits would agree, without Marxism-Leninism and democratic centralism, a Communist Party ceases to be a Communist Party.

Party statutes are one thing, practice is another. It has to be said that the Euros never had anything to do with communism, nor Marxism-Leninism. Neither have they ever believed in, let alone practiced, democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is the organisational form which allows the maximum unity of communists around the

revolutionary tactics and strategies that flow from a Marxist-Leninist programme.

The Euros are an unstable petty bourgeois trend that is now in the centre ground of British politics and heading steadily to the right. They were always deeply hostile to communism and Marxism-Leninism, even though they once paid lip service to it. As soon as they secured a majority on the executive committee, they proceeded to impose a bureaucratic centralist witch hunt against opponents, while allowing their own supporters to do and say whatever they pleased - the very opposite of democratic centralism.

But where the Euros used to portray themselves as renewers of communism, the present period of reaction sees them scurrying around in confusion and into the arms of the bourgeoisie. In her opening speech moving the draft resolution, Euro secretary Nina Temple poured scorn on the militant history of the communist movement, and on socialism as it had existed since 1917, along with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

For Temple, this "moment of liberation" is epitomised by an eclectic pantheon of heroes: the Greenham Common women, the Beijing students, Mandela and Vaclav Havel. And it was in the name of eclectic "democratic, humanist, environmental socialism", delegates were told, that "there will never be a communism of abundance", that socialism "has produced some of the worst crimes of the 20th century", and that "1990 had seen the Bolshevik era end in disaster" (in that sense the Paris Commune ended in disaster, but that does not lead real communists to deny what was marvelously heroic, progressive and positive in it).

Rejecting all vestiges of class politics, Temple went on to openly embrace and laud the counterrevolutions that swept Eastern Europe in 1989. Referring to them as "revolutions", she said that "these are wonderful times for dreamers. It is people's conscious action that has dismantled the old order and is building the new".

She was not alone in welcoming the restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe and joining in the triumphal bourgeois carnival of counterrevolution. Delegate and Euro executive member Joe Marshall said "I long for the liberation of the people of Albania", and admitted that "I danced with joy on hearing of the overthrow of Ceausescu." Others lined up to agree.

As is usually the case with the congresses of 'official communism', the platform only allowed delegates token speaking time: four minutes, as it turned out. It hardly mattered. Most of what was said was the sort of anti-communist rot one would expect at a

meeting of the Adam Smith Institute. All sorts of shop soiled bourgeois ideas were regurgitated: the supposed incompatibility of the planned economy with democracy, the marvels of a PR parliament, the superiority of the market, the need to expand the European Community, etc.

That is not to say there was unanimity. Beneath the babble of anti-communist confusion, a number of just about coherent trends could be detected.

● Smallest, least organised and least influential were those who still sympathise with the *Morning Star*, but who did not have the courage of their own convictions to go with the Communist Party of Britain split. None of their candidates to the Euro executive - eg, Ben Fine, Winston Pinder, Jean Turner, Maggie Bowden - was successful.

The traditional Euro camp is now irreversibly divided into two parts. That around Martin Jacques, editor of *Marxism Today*, reckons that the "party is over". While still relying on a £30,000 subsidy to keep the journal afloat till September 1991, Jacques wants to break the link between *Marxism Today* and the Euro organisation (just as the dull grey bureaucrat, Tony Chater, did with the *Morning Star* a few years ago). Jacques succeeded in getting the agreement of congress for proposals to "broaden the ownership" of *Marxism Today*, which is in reality a code word for selling it off in the manner of Thatcher's privatisation of gas, electricity, BT, etc. Jacques is mooting a relaunch, possibly named *Agenda*, to replace the ailing *Marxism Today*. This will cost an estimated £500,000 - obviously something the cash strapped Euro organisation is in no position to deliver. But what about Jacques's *Sunday Times* billionaire boss Rupert Murdoch? What this wing of the Euros wanted was to wind up what they still, illegitimately, call the CPGB, liquidate it and its assets into a "broad association", which is meant to include greens, feminists, nationalists, etc. Showing what they were always worth, because they did not get their way, Jacques and a number of co-thinkers like former International Secretary, Chris Myant, as well as former executive members Dave Green, Paula Lanning and Vicky Seddon, refused to even stand for the new Euro leadership. Goodbye and good riddance at last!

● The other wing of the Euro camp is broader and now dominates the leadership. But it is far from homogeneous. It includes those who want to continue in organised politics under a new name - Red Party, Democratic Communists, Radical Socialist Federation - and elements who agree with Jacques, but who prefer to wait until the congress in November 1991 before they decide whether or not to

pack up their bags. This broadness was achieved through fudge. Faced with the prospect of a cleavage and possible collapse of the Euro camp, Temple and other full time functionaries 'discovered' what they call a "twin track" approach - or having your cake and eating it. They promise to both renew their organisation and seek to promote an entirely new political association. Clever stitch work, but a typically opportunist solution that will do nothing to stop the rot in the Euro organisation.

● Finally there was the Straight Leftist faction, which publishes the 'broad labour movement' paper *Straight Left* and the samizdat *Communist*. Compared with the others, this faction is relatively well organised and relatively well disciplined. By diplomatic bending over backwards, by doing the donkeywork in the branches, by being soft on all sorts of petty bourgeois 'isms', they have managed to win a number of allies formerly in the Euro 'renewers' camp, not least in London. Although their traditional centrist resolutions received short-sharp-shrift, reward came with the election of leading Straight Leftist, Steve Howell, to the Euro executive committee. Showing the weakness of the Straight Leftists, however, this was by the skin of his teeth. He came bottom of the list of successful candidates - with 67 out of some 221 potential votes - who were all elected without the help of an 'official' recommended list (the Straight Leftists obviously had their own).

For a number of the more paranoid Euros, this raises the worrying spectre of a Straight Leftist coup in November 1991 - very unlikely, but not impossible. Yet it has to be said, apart from the fact that the Straight Leftists might not be around in eleven months time - its own 'official communist' ideology is in an advanced stage of decomposition - such a takeover would be a pyrrhic victory.

The Euro organisation is not only cash strapped. It is a shell that is set to shatter. No longer bound together by bureaucratic centralism (what they used to call democratic centralism), the Euro organisation has already set itself on course "towards federalism", with separate "self governing" Welsh and, most importantly, Scottish organisations.

The Straight Leftists might be able to capture London, but never Scotland. There, a well entrenched tartan nationalist mafia still reigns. Besides that, as we all know, few of the Euro branches are active. Many do not even meet. The 6,300 1990 membership exists only on paper, and in 1991 far fewer than 5,000 are expected to recard. Most members are now very old and completely disorientated. A Straight Leftist regime over an OAP party might provide comic relief; it would, though, do nothing to save the Euro organisation, certainly nothing to serve the working class.

While the Euro congress had gath-

ered to bury communism, outside there was proof that communism was full of life and ready to fight. To illustrate the complete contrast between crisis ridden 'official communism' and genuine communism, to show that there is a real Leninist alternative, we organised a number of our London supporters to stage an aggressive picket of the Euro congress (at the TUC HQ in Great Russell Street).

As well as shaming and intimidating the more rightist Euros and Straight Leftists, we proved very successful in selling copies of *The Leninist* and confronting the despair of certain delegates. A number actually ended up expressing sympathy with us, one solidarity.

Naturally the bourgeois media did its best to downplay the significance of the immediately preceding announcement of the formation of the Provisional Central Committee of the CPGB and our picket. While teletext gave a more or less straightforward factual account, the Sunday press was determined to make light of it.

For example the *Sunday Telegraph* said that while what was "going on" was only a "congress of the Euro wing of the party", we were "one of many splinter groups". Nevertheless it confided to its readers that we were sending the "Euro organisation on its way". Likewise the *Sunday Times* announced our "version of the British Communist Party" was a "new splinter group". Again, though, it had to admit that the "Provisional Central Committee" will "keep the revolutionary spirit alive". It was *The Independent on Sunday* alone that had the honesty to report that the "Euro rump" was "selling out" and that we were "pledged to carry on arguing for communism, not capitalism in any of its guises."

The Provisional Central Committee congratulates its comrades on the disciplined picket of the Euro congress. It is clear that the Euro rump has no moral right to call itself communist. Only our organisation defends the militant history of our Party. Only our organisation, the Provisional Central Committee of the CPGB, stands on the principles of our Party when it was founded in July 1920.

Because of this, only our organisation looks forward to the future with confidence. Why? Because the future is one, not of capitalism, but of revolution, socialism and communism. Only this vision of the future offers real hope and real liberation to the world's people as they face environmental catastrophe, the threat of an inter-imperialist World War III and a new general crisis of capitalism.

The cause of communism will outlive the counterrevolutions in Eastern Europe, the collapse of the 'official' world communist movement and the disintegration of the Euro organisation.

While Euro cowards flinch and the bourgeois media sneers, the Provisional Central Committee of the CPGB will dare to fight for the future.

Jack Conrad