

END THE ONE-PARTY STATE

For countless millions of people throughout the world, economic and social life is in crisis.

The rulers of the major capitalist powers are unable to end the deepest economic slump since the 1930s, which is wrecking the lives of masses of people in countries like Britain, the USA and Germany.

Poverty is growing on a vast scale in all parts of the globe. For many in Africa, Asia and South America it literally leads to starvation.

Bitter nationalist civil wars have broken out in Yugoslavia. This conflict was sparked off by Western recognition of states which disregarded the minorities living within their borders.

by The Editorial Board

Meanwhile, in Russia, where workers showed in 1917 that capitalism could be overthrown, the

Yeltsin government is impoverishing the people and trying to bring back the rule of big business.

And right across the planet, life is threatened by an accumulation of environmental disasters, leading to serious damage to the Earth's atmosphere and ecology.

Despite the advance of science, incidents such as the tanker wreck off the Shetlands, while entirely foreseeable, take place because profit is the only motive. ➤

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This crisis facing humanity is a revolutionary crisis. We say this because only a fundamental change in society can create the conditions for solving all these pressing issues.

The rule of bankers, big business, landowners and corrupt governments has to end.

In Britain, the crisis has produced a weak Tory government led by John Major that only survives because neither the Labour Party nor the TUC will lead a challenge to it.

Even when the courts declare the Tory decision to close 31 mines unlawful, the government simply ignores the ruling. It knows that neither Labour leader John Smith nor the TUC will say anything.

What we have in Britain is a one-party state, with a dictatorial government hated by the vast majority of people, staying in office by default.

As it grows weaker, so the institutions that make up the British state fall further into disarray and like the Monarchy become totally discredited.

This brings great dangers with it. The capitalist class will be forced into open and brutal dictatorship when the old institutions of rule fail to serve them any longer.

Far from feeling disheartened, the growing number of seemingly insoluble problems should tell us that the *existing* social and political systems cannot find the answers.

It means that the opportunities are ripe for revolutionary change; the developing crisis world-wide also



A US marine searches a Somali civilian

shows that left intact, the capitalist system will drag the world into barbarism.

The real difficulty is not in convincing the mass of working people that they and not a tiny handful of rich and powerful multi-millionaires should be in control of society.

The challenge is in developing the party and leadership needed to win the confidence of workers, young people, the unemployed and professional people to carry out revolutionary change.

For the more capitalism proves incapable of answering people's needs, the more it resorts to crude propaganda to tighten its grip on people's thinking.

Its media pumps out more and more rubbish each day, encouraging racism, self-interest, individualism and nationalism, dulling the minds of millions with a diet of TV soaps, Royal sagas and sensationalism.

The masses are led to accept that "there is nothing we can do about it", or become dependent on state benefits for their survival, encouraged by the Tories.

It is not possible to change the world, to end capitalism in the West and introduce socialist democracy in Eastern Europe and China, without combatting this reactionary outlook.

The way to do this is by building a party that develops the socialist principles outlined by Marx and Engels in the last century, and by Lenin and Trotsky in the 20th Century.

In Britain, the Communist League fights for these ideas. We call for the bringing down of the Major government and for power to pass to Councils of Action representing all those in the anti-Tory struggle.

SOCIALIST EUROPE

We reject the right-wing Labour and trade union leaders who say only protests and petitions are allowed in the fight against mass unemployment and the destruction of services. There is no point in waiting for Labour to lose yet another election!

We stand opposed to the Fortress Europe of the capitalist European Community, and against nationalism and racism. Instead, we advocate a federation of socialist states throughout the whole of Europe.

Imperialism is imposing its "New World Order" by armed might in Yugoslavia, Somalia and Iraq. Having stoked up civil wars and armed military regimes, the Western nations plan to impose exclusive control on behalf of capitalist monopolies.

We oppose the carving up of the world by the big powers. All nations must have the right to determine their own future, free from outside interference and invasion.

If you agree with these ideas we invite you to join the Communist League. Fill in the form on this page today.

Join the Communist League Today!

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Send to: Communist League, Box 942, London SW1V 2AR

Students caught in the poverty trap

by Paul Feldman

The public spending crisis engulfing the Tory government is certain to lead to even greater hardships for Britain's students.

A plan to make students pay course fees is being considered by the Tories, as they refine their policy of expanding higher education on the cheap.

This news comes at a time when many students, weighed down with debt, are abandoning their studies mid-way through their courses.

Poverty amongst students has grown rapidly in the wake of frozen grants, the scrapping of the right to housing and other benefits, the ending of the summer hardship fund and the absence of vacation jobs.

Many students have reluctantly taken out top-up loans, introduced by the Tories as a way of eroding the mandatory grant award. Yet even the loans - up to £830 a year in London - are not enough to make ends meet.

Some students have chosen prostitution as a way of supplementing incomes; less dramatic, but also humiliating, others run up bank overdrafts.

Barclays estimate that students need £3,000 above their grant to complete three years at college.

No wonder the banks inundate students with enticing introductions, encouraging them to run up overdrafts and use credit cards.

The National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (NACAB) says that students have to live on incomes which are below the basic income support levels - the official poverty line.

Thousands of students have turned to NACAB local offices for help after running out of cash altogether. A Bristol advice bureau told of a mature student approaching her final year. She started off with some savings to supplement her grant, but these are now exhausted.

She has taken out a student loan and has an overdraft. The student

commented: "Without the earnings of a full-time vacation job I shall be in a depressing situation at the beginning of next term.

"Although I am considering working during the term time, I do not know how I shall cope with my studies with the added pressure."

Particular difficulties are experienced by students who are unable to work, but still cannot claim benefit. For example, one student suffering from Hodgkinsons disease needed an extra term to finish her degree. But she cannot claim income support because she is a student; she has no finances and is in debt. She is not classified as disabled and does not fit the rules for students with disabilities.

LABOUR ADAPTS

The official response to the crisis in education funding from the Labour Party is to adapt to the Tories. Education spokesperson Jeff Rooker says students may have to pay

towards their courses to maintain the expansion of higher education.

And the National Union of Students, dominated by Labour supporters, has answered John Major's reactionary "Citizens Charter" with its own version.

The NUS declares that "our student's charter is concerned with the rights of individual students". On grant levels, all it proposes is a call for "student income which is adequate to meet reasonable living expenses". It says nothing about where this is to come from, leaving the door open for loans to continue and expand.

Reducing the problems of student and education finance to one of individual rights is playing at the Tories' game. It ignores the profound economic, social and political crisis which is dominating the capitalist system internationally. An analysis of this, and policies to overcome the devastating consequences of the slump, is the real task for students.

Our History

Revolution in Finland

On January 6, 1918, the workers of Helsinki seized the governor-general's palace, evicted him and, inspired by the Russian revolution which had started in nearby Petrograd, declared it the headquarters of the Finnish revolution.

By the end of the month, civil war had broken out between the working class and the Finnish bourgeoisie. Red Guards were formed and the main cities fell to the workers' insurrection. A socialist republic was declared and in March, a treaty was signed with Russia - the first treaty

between two socialist states.

The revolution had no clear perspective, however, as it was led, reluctantly, by the Social Democratic Party. The decisive intervention in the civil war came when Germany sent troops to help the White army,

The superior forces defeated the Red Guards in a sea of blood, and by May the revolution was over. Concentration camps were set up and an estimated 20,000 men, women and children perished in them that summer. Many revolutionaries fled to Russia, never to return.

The Constitutional Court of Russia came up with a compromise judgement last December on the lengthy hearing into the ban on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Most independent legal observers found no clause in the constitution to justify the ban imposed on the CPSU by Boris Yeltsin after the failed coup of August 1991. But the judges found that Yeltsin had the power to ban the party at national level. They also decided, however, that it was illegal to ban the organisation from operating at a local level. A similar decision was taken over the party's property.

Yeltsin had tried to justify the ban by declaring through his lawyers that the CPSU had been an illegal organisation from the very start - from the Russian revolution of 1917. This was unanimously rejected by the judges. Two judges voted against Yeltsin's decision on every ground. In this article first published in *Pravda*, BORIS SLAVIN, a leading member of the Russian Party of Communists, examines the political evolution of Alexander Yakovlev, a key supporter of Mikhail Gorbachev and perestroika, but who testified against the CPSU at the Constitutional Court.

A MAN FOR ALL SOVIET SEASONS

It's no news that usually the one who accuses others of immorality is a sinner himself. Recently we could prove this truth again, listening to the speeches of Alexander Yakovlev, former chief ideologist of the CPSU, and his evidence to the Constitutional Court.

Being invited to attend the tribunal as a witness, he did not testify to his own activity in the Party, so much as scold the CPSU, its history and policy. He convicted Lenin and Bolshevism of immorality, and praised himself as a perestroika reformer. And it is really strange that the Court listened meekly and silently to what was clearly a speech, not evidence.

But what is the origin of Yakovlev's ideological turn? I think it's in his psychology which was formed by his role as an ideologist, first in the period of stagnation and then the times of perestroika. We can get a clue to it from a phrase he used at the tribunal in response to a question: "We were saying something publicly and we were thinking other things and we were telling our families quite different things. We all are infected with hypocrisy in everything." Indeed, only the "infection of hypocrisy" can explain the many ideological disguises that Yakovlev has had during his life.

It's well-known that Yakovlev at first "adored and was loyal towards Stalin and Molotov". He counts this state of mind quite natural, although

many conscious communists of that time considered Stalinism as a vulgar perversion of Leninism. After the 20th Congress of the CPSU Yakovlev became a supporter of Nikita Khrushchev.

REPRESSION OF DISSIDENTS

When Khrushchev left the political arena and Leonid Brezhnev took his place, Yakovlev evidently didn't want to become "a block who doesn't change his opinions" (as Balzac says) and he, with neo-Stalinists, joined the repression of dissidents, such as Daniel and Sinyavsky, Roy Medvedev and others.

He lashes the ideology of the "country-style" writers; he takes the theorists of the Prague Spring down from their pedestals. However strange it might seem, Yakovlev himself made a lot of efforts to prevent Soviet people from coming under the "corrupting" influence of Eurocommunism and Herbert Marcuse.

Then, when Mikhail Gorbachev ruled the country, Alexander Yakovlev became the universally recognised ideologist of perestroika. However, "August 1991" brings its own corrections, and now we see a new Yakovlev. Having forgotten Mikhail Gorbachev's favourite phrase about the correctness of the "socialist choice" and his own appeals to "amend and reform socialism", he now says discussions

on the subject "what is socialism and what is capitalism" are anachronisms, a mere display of inertia and dogmatism. In his opinion only "democracy" and "radical reforms" can save Russia at present. Nevertheless, when the reformers threaten to break up the Gorbachev Fund of which Yakovlev is one of the founders, he calls it a plot, or a "breach of elementary human rights".

However, this initial anger soon passes away to be replaced by servility: "The fund's premises are not closed. We have got a thousand square metres left," he announces.

Despite everything, it would be a mistake to undervalue Alexander Yakovlev. This thought came to me when I listened with great attention to his speech at the Constitutional Court. Not a man of yesterday appeared before us. No - here was a new ideologist of Yeltsin's regime, sitting behind the prosecutor's desk and quietly reasoning. His conclusions did not contradict the line of Burbulis-Shakhray at the Court, but they gave the line a well-thought out foundation.

If we compare the official Yeltsin ideologist, Gennady Burbulis, with Yakovlev, then the former will look much more naive. This is not only because the former was just a beginner at Marxism-Leninism whereas Yakovlev was an academician. In fact, neither the former nor the latter were true Marxists. Analysis of their speeches

and published works shows that their development never went beyond Stalin's "Short Course".

The difference consists in this: Alexander Yakovlev may be, if you please, more experienced and clever than Gennady Burbulis. Burbulis, for example, does not recognise that there was a struggle between democratic and conservative tendencies inside the CPSU throughout its history. Yakovlev recognises it, and even follows it from the historical point of view.

For Burbulis Marx's doctrine is a Utopia which does not differ much from Bolshevism. For Yakovlev, Marx is a scientist who was recognised in the West, and is not responsible for the bad treatment of his ideological heritage.

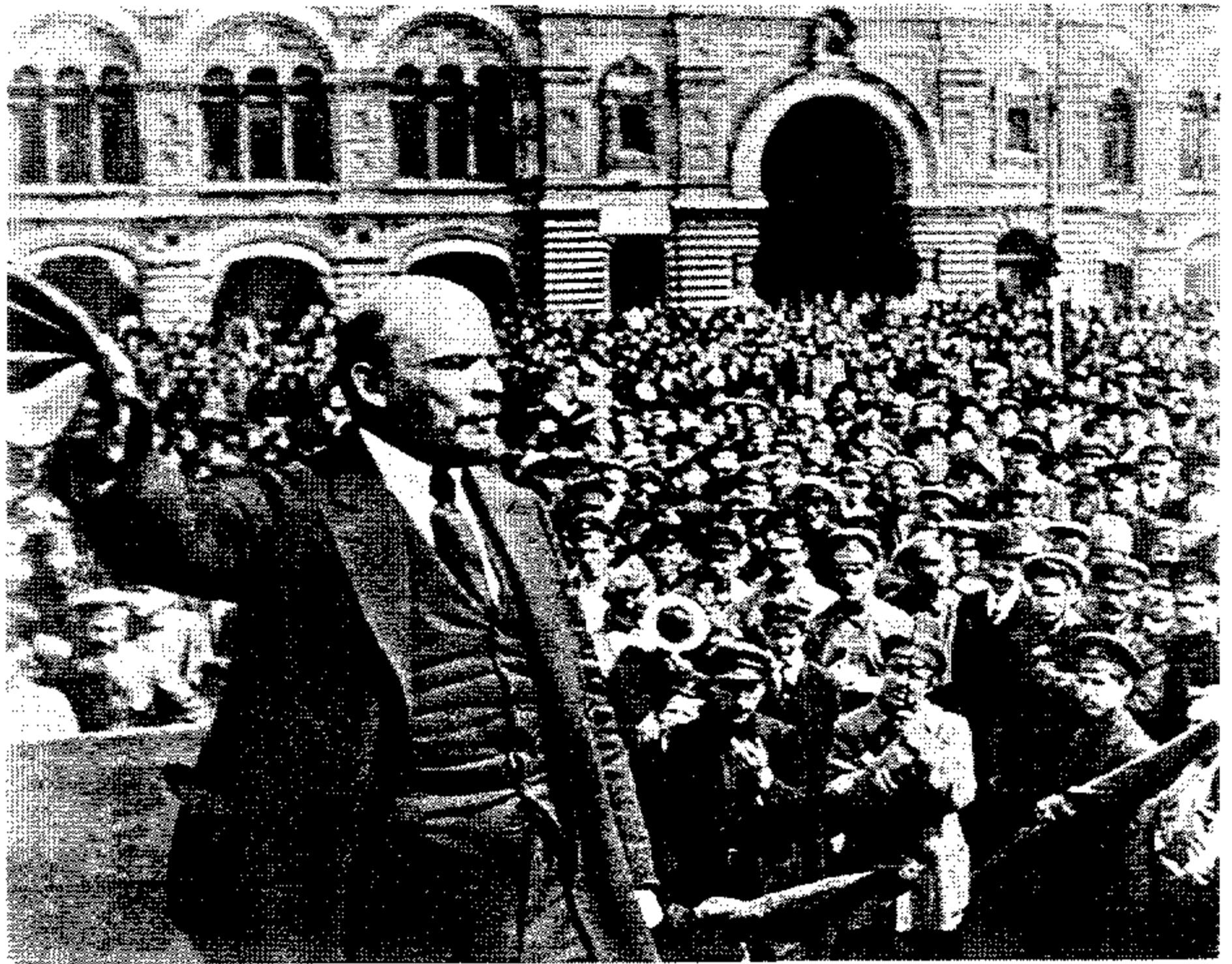
When Gennady Burbulis argues with Communists, he prefers to speak rashly and uses the stereotype "red-brown" (communist-fascist) as a substitute for political analysis.

Alexander Yakovlev does not agree with the pure lie or political stereotype. He is the man of half-truth, which is, as everyone knows, worse than any lie. Just like Burbulis, Yakovlev draws the conclusion that the CPSU's activity was unconstitutional, but he offers a smarter foundation for it.

In his speech at the Constitutional Court Yakovlev tried to refute the main arguments of those who are against the banning of the CPSU – that it is wrong to equate Stalinism with communist ideology; that the Party has changed during its history: it censured the cult of personality, it began to restore Lenin's traditions; in the last few years it made some democratic processes of reconstruction happen in its own sphere and in society. Yakovlev agrees that all this happened, but says it was a kind of "subjective intention" which in the main did not produce any results.

He does not refer to facts, but only to the experience of the democratic movement within the Party, which had a clear bourgeois evolution, as nobody now can doubt.

Not saying everything is the core of Yakovlev's nature, his intellectual charm. For example, contrasting freely Lenin and Plekhanov he proves that Lenin based his Bolshevik tactic on the following moral principle: "Whatever is in the interests of the proletariat is fair."



Lenin addresses the revolutionary workers, soldiers and peasants

What he conceals is that in putting forward this idea Lenin was actually quoting Plekhanov. Likewise the former CPSU ideologist tries to prove the immorality of Bolshevism with references to Lenin's words about the "mass form of terror" during the civil war.

WHITE TERROR

Underlining the Bolshevik's adherence to violence, he consciously keeps silent about the fact that this was in response to the "white terror" which, if authorities like Denikin are to be believed, excelled the "red" terror greatly. Yakovlev puts an equals sign between Lenin and Stalin; between the forced necessity to use violent methods during the civil war and Stalin's terror in peaceful times.

Yakovlev needs Stalinism to dethrone communist ideology and to prove that the CPSU is unconstitutional. According to his words, the origin of all our troubles is not in Stalinism, but in Bolshevism, with its apologies for violence. To Yakovlev's mind, everything was "recorded, thought out, polished and moulded" long before Stalin. Stalin "only took the available dogma".

What dogma does he mean? It turns out that this is just the well-known thesis: "Violence is the midwife of history". But the state as

dogma? It is enough to look without prejudice at contemporary international conflicts. Communist ideology does not build a cult of violence, on the contrary, it shows us ways to be released from it. It can't be responsible for Stalinism and from Marx's times it has always been the doctrine for building real, not abstract humanism.

Yakovlev's hypocrisy is particularly evident when he blames communists for internationalism. To his mind this has led to the present international conflicts. It is his wish to absolve the "democrats" from responsibility for the growing poverty of the masses, lawlessness and international conflicts and to place it upon communists.

He depicts Russian national psychology as "apt to lumpenism, anarchism and violence". However, it is not Marxism which is the "ideology of demagogic immorality", as he asserts today. It is the turning away from Marxism of its former leaders.

The CPSU spokesman at the Constitutional Court called Yakovlev's speech "the confession of a renegade". But a renegade is a person who has changed his former position. This can't be said of Yakovlev, who simply shifts his ideological disguises. People say he's a professional ideologist. He is, rather, a professional at the ideology of hypocrisy.

'Academic cleansing' by the dollar

A *Socialist Future* special report on the activities of the Soros Fund in the former Soviet Union

Senior members of Russia's Academy of Sciences and higher education establishments fear the government will use American funding to carry out an academic purge, especially in social sciences.

The dollar is in a powerful position in a country devastated by hyperinflation. The highest professional salaries are now about 5,000 roubles a month – which is a little over \$12.

Apart from their financial problems, lecturers and scholars are also concerned about academic independence, which is only just recovering from the long winter of Stalinism.

Their most urgent fear follows the signing of a secret agreement between representatives of the Russian Ministry of Education, the Committee for Higher Schools of the Russian Federation and George Soros, the American billionaire financier.

A NEW ÉLITE

The Soros Foundation was established in 1988 and initially provided \$25 million to support plans for private universities in Eastern and Central Europe. Soros says the aim is to "educate a new elite that would be inured to the pitfalls of both communism and nationalism".

Soros admitted in a founding statement that "this idea was not universally shared by those who opposed the Soviet regime, and it is far from certain that it will prevail".

Many Russian academics believe the aim of the Soros project is "academic cleansing" - to shed a large proportion of the 20,000 lecturers in the humanities and social sciences, most of whom are considered sympathetic to Marxist ideas.

The Central European University, already established through funds

provided by US financier George Soros, has an office in Moscow run by Teodor Shanin from Manchester University and Dan E Davidson, whose function is to implement the agreement made with the Russian government.

Distinguished scholars and members of the Academy of Sciences have privately and publicly expressed their concern over the agreement, which has not been made available to the press.

Academics throughout the Russian republic, from Siberia in the north and cities such as Rostov on Don feel their jobs are being threatened.

One professor, Vladimir Makarenko from Rostov State University in southern Russia, sent a letter in December to the Moscow press condemning the agreement as a "large-scale all-Russian washing of social science brains".

He claims that the \$5m allocated by Soros for the "reform" of the education system is motivated by the desire of "Western services and the democrats who have power in Russia" to end the influence of scholars and lecturers who are sympathetic to Marxism.

Makarenko quotes sections of the agreement to lend weight to his view.

The final goal, the agreement states, is "to change the old communist orientated model of humanities and social and economic sciences education in the institutes of higher education of Russia for a new one in order to create a completely different system of education and to free it from the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism, and so to cleanse its lecturing staff from those who are influenced by 'communist ideology'."

The agreement adds that the objective is to "accelerate the reform of Russian education ... under the

"\$5m will not suffice for what is being planned" because ideas cannot be bought and sold."

control of the Soros Foundation, to write completely new programmes, to prepare, edit and publish not one but a whole series of textbooks and study guides".

It is noted that it will be essential to replace in time the old lecturing staff with new.

To police this "restructuring", a commission is being established for each social science discipline which is to act as an "ideological tribunal". It will be led by, Makarenko writes, "a self-styled chief sergeant major of science" or a censor: "Lyubimov for science, Yuri Afanasiev for history, Yadov for sociology, Styopin for philosophy and Ponarin for political science."

Makarenko demands to know what the academic credentials of the Soros Fund are. Having had the opportunity to travel to Moscow, and hear both Soviet, Russian as well as Western professors, he feels that open exchange of ideas, "not spying through the keyhole", is essential.

He insists that Russian social sciences are far from having exhausted their creative potential, "as the state pedagogues and chief censors obviously think".

Makarenko concludes that the whole project is dominated by bureaucratic thinking and that "\$5m will not suffice for what is being

planned" because ideas cannot be bought and sold.

The issue is so sensitive that several academicians who oppose the Soros project, were too nervous to be quoted.

One eminent member of the Academy's philosophy department, an author of a wide range of textbooks, was so disturbed by the proposals that he immediately terminated the conversation when Soros was mentioned.

B.F.Slavin, Professor of Political Science at the Pedagogical University in Moscow, is convinced that the aim of the agreement with Soros is to "get rid of Marxism and to get rid of those people who are connected with Marxism – and we had a lot of such people".

Slavin also claimed that Yuri Afanasiev, formerly Rector of the Institute of State Archives, was in charge of vetting the changes in the educational system:

"He is now the main anti-communist here, although he says he is in favour of pluralism. But this pluralism does not include Marxist ideas."

Some academics feel, however, that funds from any direction are welcome at this particular time. It is clear that funds are no longer available for theoretical research, only for work with immediate practical applications.

Much of the scientific research previously carried out within the defence establishment had also come to a halt.

It is perhaps significant that the eminent mathematician, Boris Rauschenbach, has lent his name to the Soros project. Rauschenbach's work on space research is badly affected by the government's spending crisis.

A highly-respected 20th century historian, Victor Danilov, feels that the lack of textbooks is so serious that any money was welcome to pay for new books to be written and produced.

"All the old textbooks have been scrapped, and teachers are forced to use newspaper cuttings, which are not serious material for history teaching. They present the history of the Soviet years as entirely negative and repressive."

Victim of Stalin terror holds fast to Communist principles

In 1990 a foundation was set up to assist the victims of Stalin's repressions. *Socialist Future* spoke to Yury M. Teslenko, a member of the board of the Leningrad Charitable Relief Fund for Victims of Stalinism, and himself a victim of the Stalin purges:

"Our aim is to help people who spent years in the concentration camps of Stalinism, and their relatives, and to keep the memory of those victims of Stalinism alive," he explained.

The foundation gets no assistance from the Yeltsin government, and Yury Teslenko explains: "Our situation has worsened in recent months, as it has for all citizens of the former Soviet Union. We have some support from abroad and also from different organisations in Russia and other republics in the former Soviet Union."

Although he spent many years in the Stalinist prisons, Yury Teslenko remains a dedicated communist. Both his father and mother, a doctor, fought with the Bolsheviks in the Civil War. His mother's two brothers were Red Army commanders. But in the 1930s both his uncles, his father and mother were denounced as counter-revolutionaries. "My father was imprisoned in Butarskaya prison in Moscow in 1938 and after just two months died in jail, before he was brought to trial.

"My mother and myself spent the



Yury M. Teslenko

years from 1937 to 1945 in exile in Siberia. I was just ten years old in 1937, but my father was arrested and that was enough. He refused to sign any confession when he was in prison.

"I myself joined the Communist Party in 1947, and I will never reject my parents. When people ask me how I can still be a communist, I tell them my opinion, that Stalin never was a communist."

The foundation's address is: Leningrad Charitable Relief Fund for Victims of Stalinism, Rimsky Korsakov Prospect 85-84, St Petersburg (Leningrad) 190008, Russian Republic.

'X' marks the spot for hard-edged rappers

The release of Arrested Development's double-A sided single *Revolution/Mr Wendal* follows the phenomenal worldwide success of their debut album *3 Years, 5 months and 2 days in the life of...* The single is included in the soundtrack of Spike Lee's film, due for release in Britain in March, about Malcolm X, the militant black leader murdered in 1965.

Speech, the writer of most of AD's lyrics makes the connection: "I see black people getting shot, getting killed, crack babies, the terrible statistics on black people in jail, the fact that 50 per cent of women in America with Aids are African-American - these are the same things that were experienced by the people Malcolm X was preaching to 25 years ago. So in the song we say, 'Let's talk about revolution', because this is a serious and timely moment to discuss it. In many ways, a lot hasn't changed."

Much of the direction taken by AD, from Atlanta, Georgia, guided by their 60 year-old spiritual adviser Baba Oje, is however, for a softer, sanitised, liberal, almost mystical approach to their material. This makes AD more acceptable to the record companies and therefore more marketable than many of the harder edged rappers such as Ice Cube, a former member of NWA, whose earlier records predicted the eruption of rage in LA in 1992. Or Ice-T who bowed to political pressure in withdrawing *Cop Killer*, or 25 year-old San Francisco black activist Paris, obliged to release *Sleeping with the Enemy* on his own label after it was blocked because it contains a track *Bush Killa* which imagines the assassination of George Bush.

Ice Cube surprised many in the USA by encouraging young people to vote in the Presidential elections, though without supporting any of the candidates specifically. "No matter who's president, I think there's a certain amount of people that run this country, and even a certain amount that always control the world," he said recently. "With



Hair statement

things that big, the cries of the people are not heard. No President has ever had black people's interests in mind, they never tell blacks what they'll do for them specifically. It's just, 'Yo! Elect me and you'll be all right' and nothing gets done.

"The riots in South Central, LA were just the tip of the iceberg. Minorities that had been dumped on for years finally said 'No more!', and in the scorching heat, the city exploded. If the politicians thought that what happened there last summer meant the frustrated outburst would help the people calm down, they're sorely mistaken. Now there's talk of revolution"

He continued: "Every four years we have hopes and dreams, but nothing ever gets done because we have to do for ourselves and I don't think a political candidate is going to help out our situation. We have to be willing to sacrifice to do it.

"This country is on the threshold. You see these things happening in more and more cities more and more frequently. America is heading the same way as Babylon and Sodom and Gomorrah. When wickedness over-powered the good, the nation always fell. And it's happening here.

"People are going to get really mad and want to know why they can't have food or money, when there's more than enough to go

around. They're going to look to the politicians and see them as big fat cats feeding us bullshit. We are on the threshold of something."

The positive side of the uprising was the coming together of two of LA's most notorious gangs: the Cripps and the Bloods. In the truce, the two sides have stopped killing each other and are concentrating on rebuilding the riot-torn city. Cube, alongside some of the west coast's finest rappers, has recorded *Get The Fist*, an anthem with a message so inflammatory that the Mercury record label are only releasing it on the quiet.

"It just shows the unity between the gangs. We're trying to keep it going and it shows we're really trying to do something. All the money from the record goes to the gang truce. The message to America is that if you fuck with us, we ain't layin', it ain't about picketing and marching with us no more."

Censors haven't noticed *Get The Fist* yet, but with the new presidential administration about to be installed, rappers and champions of free speech are worried. Tipper Gore, wife of the Vice President Al Gore, heads the Parents Music Resource Centre (PMRC), the organisation which seeks to ban any material it deems offensive. The most recent victim of the censors (and long time Gore foe) is Ice-T with his Body Count LP track *Cop Killer*.

Next in line for suppression is Paris with his track *Bush Killa*.

"I wrote it because we're just not being heard. I knew it would take something pretty extreme to draw the attention of the powers that be. Once I have their attention, I intend to ask some very direct questions, the basic one being: Whose record is scarier - mine or George Bush's?"

"I'm not blind. I look around me and see the crack epidemic, the disproportion of blacks with Aids, the deepening poverty in the black community, the media bombardment of negative stories about blacks, the exclusive targeting to black folks of dangerous products like malt liquor

and all the rest. If there is no actual, formal government plan to eliminate black folks in America, there might as well be."

With lyrics like:

So don't be tellin' me to get the non-violent spirit

Cause when I'm violent

Is the only time ya devils hear it "

critics have said the track is an incitement to violence.

Paris is quick to dispel the notion. "It's a record, not an assassination attempt. Very few people are as literal minded as George Bush or Oliver North, who are much more violent in real life than I've ever dreamed of being. The people who buy my record will understand it just as I meant it – as an expression of my outrage, not as a blueprint for violence."

Paris expects *Bush Killa* to face demands for its suppression – even perhaps for prosecution under civil or criminal laws. However, he has the full backing of the American Civil Liberties Union. As ACLU Censorship Director Marjorie Heins points out: "Under our legal system, we hold criminals responsible for their acts, we do not blame songs or other forms of artistic expression."

Malcolm X was murdered on February 21, 1965, only months after the 'long, hot summer' of riots swept



Uprising, Los Angeles, 1992

American cities. As one of the most outspoken advocates of independent action by black people, for 12 years as a Minister in the reactionary, racist Nation of Islam, Malcolm X was targeted by the American Press in an attempt to hold him personally responsible for the uprising, much as rap artists were blamed for the uprising in 1992.

His response to the charge is relevant today: "It takes no one to stir up the sociological dynamite that stems from the unemployment, bad housing, and inferior education already in the ghettos. This explosively criminal condition has existed for so long, it needs no fuse; it fuses itself; it spontaneously combusts from within itself....".

Malcolm X broke with the Nation

of Islam, and its sectarian Black Muslim membership, and began to move away from Black Nationalism towards a more internationalist stance. In doing so he incurred the anger of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims who hunted him down.

Although Spike Lee's long film opened in the US to mixed reviews, sales of the 1965 book *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* written by Alex Haley in close collaboration with the subject, have increased dramatically as young blacks seek political guidance.

It remains to be seen how far the film goes in explaining how Malcolm X came to break from nationalism; the same challenge facing political rap bands today.

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Woodcuts with music



Prints by Liu Hai Ming at Godfrey Far Eastern Art, 104 Mount Street, London, W1Y 5HE. Tel 071 409 2777. Open weekdays until February 19. Admission free.

*Above: Emotion for the South Sea
Left: Going down the mountain*

Liu Hai Ming's woodcuts show traditional views of village life, based on his time in the Shanxi province, in north east China.

He considers himself first and foremost a Chinese artist, having spent most of his life in Shanxi and Beijing.

His prints show the lives of peasants, fisherman and coal miners, as well as crafts such as pottery.

In his woodcuts, etchings and lithographs as well as his watercolour paintings, Hai Ming has developed a variety of expressive techniques.

He wants his art to be on a high artistic level and to encourage people to understand it.

The experiences of his life, including trips to Britain and Europe, have changed his art. And the changes which have taken place in the world naturally have given rise to different styles.

"Every period has its own style," he says. "But art cannot tell you which style is best, because art never stops developing. If it stops developing, the artist has died."

"All my pictures show my feelings as well as my printing and woodcutting skills. I am also concerned with composition. Sometimes, you cannot know what is in your mind when you make a picture."

"I bring in musical qualities through soft lines. I feel images like music. When you look at the whole picture, it is like listening to music."

Looking at a scene from a distance gives forms a musical quality. His woodcut called "Emotion in the South Sea", for example, shows sailboats arranged on water like musical notes.

"Some pictures have no music, such as village scenes. When things are closer, more comfortable, they have no music."

"Artists know some things better than ordinary people because of their training. Some people who like my pictures share my understanding, others do not, because they have their own education in life," he explains.

He has a sensitive feeling for his native landscape, shown in works such as "The Storm", made in 1989. Through a huge mountain in stormy weather Hai Ming allows the mind to make connections with the events which are marking the transition of China from a peasant country to an industrialised one.

All art has feelings inside, the artist says. "Art is imagined by the mind, which thinks from its feelings from nature."

"First you must have the idea, you are thinking something, you feel an experience. If the idea is a good one, you get an inspiration, and a new picture comes out."

How the state sabotaged Wilson

Smear: Harold Wilson and the Secret State

by Stephen Dorril and Robin Ramsay, published in paperback by Grafton.

In their introduction, the authors of this ground-breaking book observe that: "Somehow most British contemporary historians and political scientists had managed not to notice that their accounts of our history and our society encompassed everything except who was actually running much of it."

This observation sets the scene for a well-researched account of the interventions by the security forces and the permanent government – the "secret state" – in the labour movement, focusing on the political career of Harold Wilson, during his eight years as Prime Minister.

The term "secret state" encompasses the security service MI5, the Special Branch of the police, and the secret intelligence service MI6. It also includes the "permanent government" – the Cabinet Office and upper echelons of Home and Foreign and Commonwealth Offices, the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence, the nuclear power industry and its satellite ministries; and the so-called "Permanent Secretaries Club", the network of very senior civil servants. This network also has numerous satellites,

- MPs, particularly Tory MPs
- "agents of influence" in the media, ranging from actual agents of the security services working for newspapers, to senior journalists merely lusting after official praise and a knighthood
- former security services personnel
- front companies of the security services, usually private security firms comprised of former secret state employees used to provide "deniability" for the security services and the Ministry of Defence
- think-tanks and opinion-forming bodies such as the Ditchley Foundation, Royal Institute for International Affairs, Royal United

Services Institute and so forth.

The whole network is integrated and co-ordinated in the traditional British manner through the informal networks centred round the London clubs, especially Whites, Brooks, the Army and Navy, the Carlton Club, Travellers Club and Special Forces Club.

Wilson first attracted the attention of the security forces and the Conservative Party right wing in the late 1940s when he made several trips to the Soviet Union as President of the Board of Trade. Wilson was appointed President in 1947, when he was 31, the youngest-ever Cabinet Minister. The talks, subsequent trade agreements, and Wilson's attacks on the United States COCOM list of controlled exports, marked him out for a campaign of smears, lies and plots which were rehashed for use in the MI5 interventions including those in the election campaign of 1974.

In addition to the activities of the British institutions, those of several American agencies were (and no doubt still are) influential in promoting the anti-socialist right wing within the British trade unions and the Labour Party.

During the 1950s Ian Mikardo MP was a member of a left-wing organisation within the Labour Party known as 'Victory for Socialism'. "What we didn't know at the time," Mikardo recalls, "was that our leaders were using the National Agent's Department at Transport House (Labour Party Headquarters) and the regional organisers of the Party out in the country to compile MI5-type dossiers on us." When the dossiers were discovered by chance they were "an eye-opener" said Mikardo. Additional material was prepared by the trade union anti-communist front, the Industrial Research and Information Service (IRIS). There was also, as Mikardo

suspected, input from MI5 and the flow of information went both ways.

IRIS was active in 1966 against the national seamen's strike. It also played a part in the preparations for a coup in 1974 and 1975.

The authors add a useful guide to how such a coup can be established in Britain. The prerogative power of the Crown, via the secret Defence Council can bypass Parliament and direct the use of troops. The "Manual of Military Law" defines the situation in which the military might be called to aid the civil powers. These include unlawful assembly, riot and insurrection, if this was in general defiance of the government of the day. This would include a General Strike. The 1964 Emergency Powers Act allows troops to be used in industrial disputes with authorisation of only two members of the Defence Council.

Smear is essential reading, and should be an eye-opener for those who retain illusions of a parliamentary road to socialism. For those who have felt the attention of the state, there is a wealth of evidence to confirm their experiences.

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Deportations expose the U.N.

by Aileen Robertson

Israel's decision to deport 415 leading Palestinians from the occupied territories has exposed the United Nations as a puppet of US imperialism, and thrown the current round of Middle East peace talks into deep crisis.

Accusing the men of being members of Hamas, an Islamic group which has a leading role in the Palestinian Intifada against Israeli occupation, the Labour government has conducted the biggest mass deportation since 1948. Then over one million Palestinians were driven from their homeland at the founding of the Zionist state. At that time, the United Nations acquiesced in the expulsions, forcing four generations of Palestinians into exile.

A spokesman for the PLO office in London denounced the United Nations Security Council for again failing to take steps to force Israel to permit the deportees to return to their homes.

"The UNSC permits US troops to go to Somalia, uses sanctions against Serbia, but does nothing more than 'ask' the Israelis to 'please reconsider' their decision to deport 415 people from their homes, in breach of every international law and treaty," he said.

There are some in the Palestinian camp who think that the activities of Hamas could be used to force the Shamir government to talk directly to the PLO. The PLO could be cast as the "moderate" voice of the Palestinians, as against the "extremist" Islamic fundamentalist Hamas. Voices are also being raised within the Israeli parliament saying the same thing.

But Hamas has now been officially invited to join the PLO, despite its opposition to the current peace talks. The PLO spokesman explained: "The PLO is a national liberation movement. There are many groups already within it, from Muslim to

Marxist, and these include groups like the PFLP and DFLP which also oppose the peace talks. It should be possible to work out a joint platform with Hamas that they could accept."

The peace talks themselves have reached stalemate, with divisions now in the Palestinian camp as to how to proceed. Some, including the leading delegate Faisal Husseini, argue that the deportations mean the Palestinian delegation should pull out. Others take the cautious view that the Palestinian side should not be provoked into being the side to end the talks.

The real question is what exactly is on offer for the Palestinians at the talks. Shamir won last year's election on a platform of support for the peace talks. He spoke of "land for peace" and promised to halt building of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

NO LAND OFFERED

But the promised "new proposals" have never materialised, and the Palestinians are offered nothing more now than very limited autonomy in a handful of towns and villages. No land has been offered, and settlements continue to be built, particularly in the sensitive area around Jerusalem.

Shamir claims the men now freezing and starving in no-man's land are supporters of terrorism. But they are in fact some of the most important figures in the building of Palestinian self-government which was a main aim of the Intifada.

The popular committees set up by the Intifada have succeeded in providing independent social, educational and welfare services to the Palestinians under occupation. Many Israeli-imposed institutions have simply collapsed, as the Palestinians increasingly ran their own communities.

Among the deportees are post-graduates in, amongst other things, medicine, agriculture, engineering, and education. Many are directors of the self-governing welfare and education institutions. Their deportation is aimed at undermining the self-government of the Palestinians and weakening the Intifada. The Israeli government has announced it will now close down the health clinics, schools and other centres which they ran.

The Lebanese government's refusal to accept the men is very much appreciated by the PLO. "The problem is not Lebanon. It is Israel. We cannot have a situation where the Israeli government can deport our people, one hundred, or one thousand or one million at a time, as happened in 1948," said the PLO's spokesman. And he added that Arab foreign ministers at their talks this month must take a tough line, demanding the return of the deportees to their homes.

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