

A special reference supplement

What we mean when we say: ■ ■ ■

Why do we use Marxist terminology?

Socialist Press is a newspaper which presents a Marxist analysis of the events and topics that it covers.

Within the limited space available to us we present the most detailed possible examination of the class struggle both in Britain and on a world scale.

We attempt to bring into today's struggles lessons from the historical experiences of the working class movement and the long struggle for revolutionary politics.

But in doing so we are often obliged to use terminology which might strike the reader as unnecessarily complex and daunting.

Many words are used in

the pages of our press in a specific way, which may well appear to bear little or no relation to everyday language.

The reason for this is simple. Marxism is a *science*. Like any science, it needs a vocabulary to describe the forces, the processes and the changes it is analysing.

And, again like any science, it can only avoid using such a vocabulary and substitute more everyday words or phrases at the expense of brevity and precision.

We do not make a virtue out of using such terminology—which we know must present itself as a problem to many readers—and we keep it to a minimum in our

articles.

But to help even more we have taken the opportunity of this Christmas holiday issue to present a pull-out supplement offering brief explanations of some of the terms which you *won't* find explained in a dictionary.

The brevity of some of our explanations will mean that certain aspects of the terms defined will be left out. But the *length* of them compared to the term being defined will show why the use of a certain degree of scientific 'jargon' is necessary if we are to offer any serious analysis of the international class struggle!



COMMUNISM

A communist society is one in which class antagonisms have disappeared after the overthrow of capitalism by the working class.

Communism will be reached after the dictatorship of the proletariat where the bourgeois family unit has been replaced, and the wages system, the state machinery and the distinction between town and countryside have withered away.

Scientifically, then, communism would be a society where social relations are based not on exploitation but on true principles of progress that conform to the conditions of human nature." Lenin.

"The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence. Abolition of private property. By this is meant not the personal property of the wage labourer or even the petty artisan and peasantry, but bourgeois private property which exploits the many by the few." *Communist Manifesto*.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The theory developed by Trotsky after 1905, and subsequently adopted by Lenin, stressing the leading role of the working class in revolutionary struggles in backward, colonial and underdeveloped countries.

Trotsky showed in his book *Permanent Revolution* that in these countries even democratic demands such as national independence and land reform could only be carried out by a revolution led by the working class at the head of the peasantry.

In accomplishing these tasks, the revolution would then go beyond the limits of bourgeois private property and result in the completion of the socialist revolution.

Revolutionary defeatism

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 brought a profound split in the ranks of the Second International, as the social democratic party in each imperialist country declared itself for the defence of its "own fatherland" against foreign aggression.

Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and a tiny minority of the Second International stood out against this position, which they pointed out amounted to no more than support from these parties to their "own" ruling class.

In place of defence of the fatherland, the internationalists argue for a line of "revolutionary defeatism".

This stated that the primary question for the working class in any country is the revolutionary overthrow of its *own* bourgeoisie, and that such a struggle should be maintained even at the expense of a *defeat* in war of that bourgeoisie by a "foreign" rival.

Such a defeat, they argued, would be a far lesser evil to the working class than the formation of a political bloc between the workers' movement and the capitalist class.

Trotskyism

Leon Trotsky was, with Lenin, co-leader of the October 1917 revolution in Russia, and prominent in the founding and the first four congresses of the Communist International.

For his opposition to the growing bureaucratic power of the Stalinist clique in the Soviet Union and his outspoken criticism of their policies both within Russia and abroad, Trotsky, along with his supporters, was slandered, vilified, driven from leading positions in the government and the Party and eventually expelled and driven into exile.

But his consistent struggle for the principles of Marxism and the continuity of Lenin's fight for international revolution continued to attract the best and most tenacious fighters, and laid the basis for the formation of the Fourth International in 1938.

Trotskyism is therefore the general term for the system of ideas and the wealth of practical experience that today forms the continuity of revolutionary Marxism and the October Revolution.



Trotsky

LENINISM

Lenin's particular achievement was in taking the theoretical positions of Marx and Engels and wedding them to a particular form of the Bolshevik party, organised on a professional, centralised basis, and capable of the analysis and the sharp tactical turns necessary in

the long struggles prior to the October Revolution.

Lenin's basic positions on the party spelled out in the key 1902 book *What is To Be Done?* are summed up in the retrospective account presented in *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* (1920).

Dictatorship of the proletariat

Lenin

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a transitional period between capitalism and socialism, commencing with the seizure of power by the armed

working class led by the revolutionary party.

During this period it is necessary for the working class to establish its authority and begin the expropriation of the employers and lay the foundations for a planned economy and the social transformation of society.

While this social transformation is taking place, classes do not automatically disappear but continue to exist.

Lenin also extended and developed Marx's analysis of the capitalist state, the capitalist economic crisis and the struggle of nations for self-determination.

His lifelong commitment to internationalism was demonstrated by his fight for the foundation of the Third (Communist) International in 1919.

But his death in 1924 marked the consolidation of the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which usurped Lenin's name in the pursuit of their own reactionary nationalist positions.

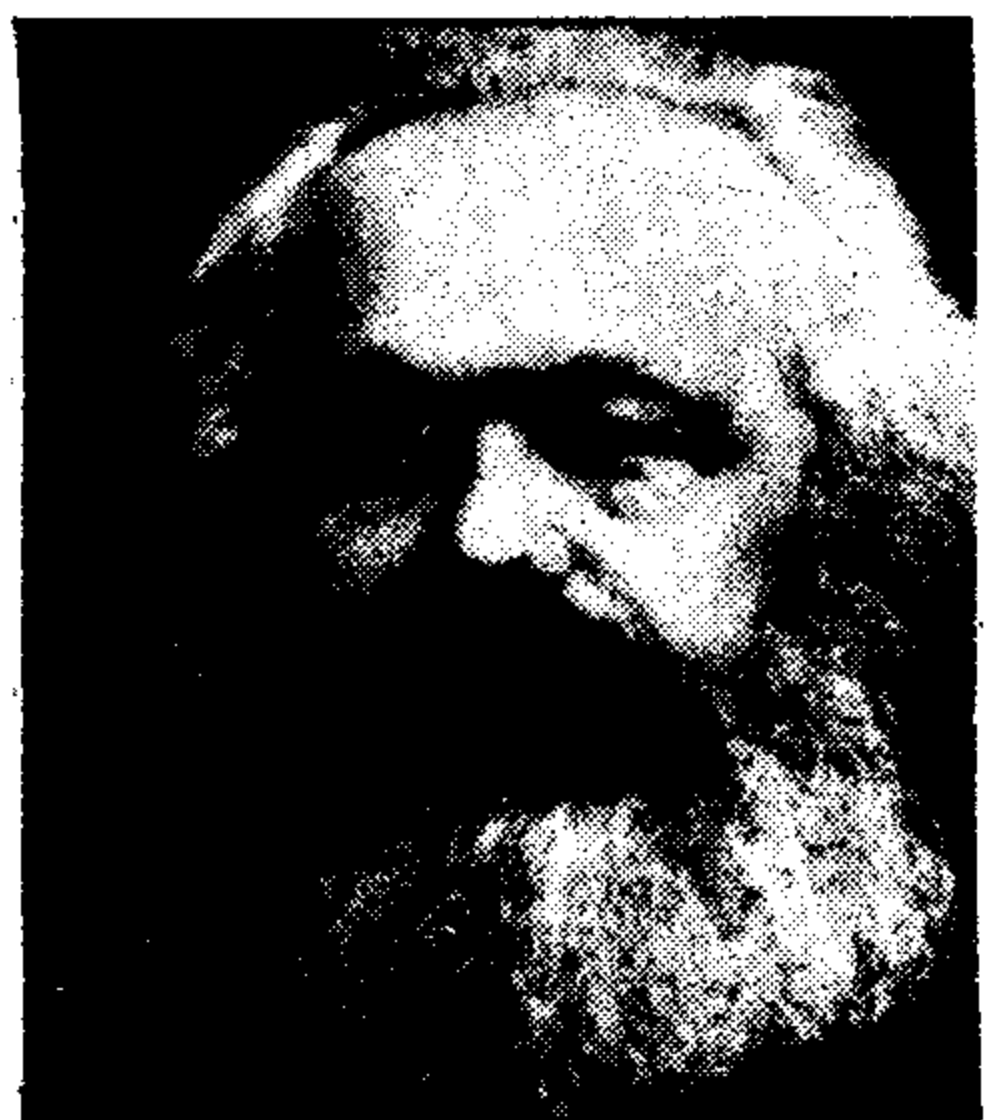
Dialectical materialism

The Marxist theory of knowledge and world-view, which understands the universe as composed of *matter in motion*.

Material reality is the product of continuing movement and change brought about through the conflict and interaction—the *dialectic*—of opposite forces.

People's ideas too, produced by the material processes of their material brains, are only one of the infinite forms of the expression of changing matter, reflecting the social, historical and economic reality of the day.

Once the world is grasped as a *process* of opposed material forces in conflict and in movement, dialectical materialism offers to revolutionary Marxists



Marx

the tools for probing beneath the surface appearance of the class struggle and analysing the

forces and laws of motion that drive it forward.

Trotsky points out: "The fundamental flaw of vulgar thought lies in the fact that it wishes to content itself with motionless imprints of a reality which consists of eternal motion . . .

"Dialectical thinking is related to vulgar thinking in the same way that a motion picture is related to a still photograph. The motion picture does not outlast the still photograph, but combines a series of them according to the laws of motion." (In *Defence of Marxism*, p.65-6).

See also Engels *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

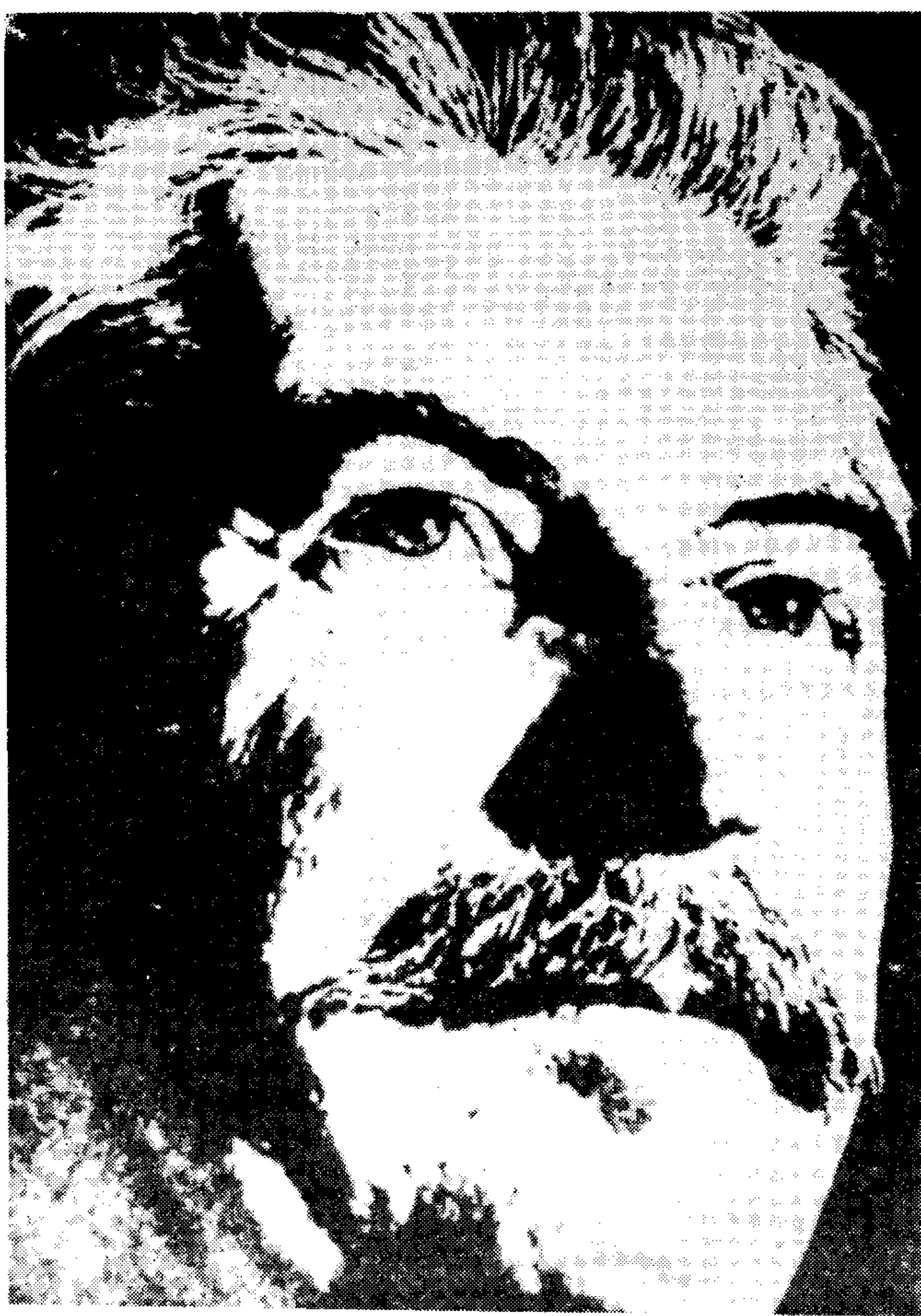
The method of organisation fought for by Lenin in the Bolshevik Party, maximising democratic discussion in the making of decisions, and then ensuring full, centralised discipline of the party in carrying out decisions.

Under the Stalinist bureaucracy democratic centralism was perverted to *bureaucratic centralism*, in which the party became simply the tool of the

leading bureaucrats.

The Fourth International in 1938 restored Lenin's form of organisation:

"Without inner democracy—no revolutionary education. Without discipline—no revolutionary action. The inner structure of the Fourth International is based on principles of democratic centralism; full freedom in discussion, complete unity in action."



STALINISM

Popul

Stalinism is the term to describe the politics of the bureaucratic caste headed by Josef Stalin, which rose to political power in the acute economic dislocation of the Soviet Union in the 1920s, and which remains there to this day.

"The Soviet Union emerged from the October Revolution as a workers state. State ownership of the means of production, a necessary prerequisite to socialist development, opened up the possibility of rapid growth of the productive forces.

But the apparatus of the workers' state underwent a complete degeneration at the same time: it was transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class, and more and more a weapon for the sabotage of the country's economy.

The bureaucratisation of a backward and isolated workers' state and the transformation of the bureaucracy into an all-powerful privileged caste constitute the most convincing refutation—not only theoretically, but this time practically—of the

theory of socialism in one country.

The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains a degenerated workers state." (Trotsky, *Transitional Programme*).

This bureaucratisation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led directly to the transformation of the Communist International and every one of the national Communist Parties from instruments of world revolution into the tools and mouthpieces of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinists' privileges and position rested increasingly on balancing between the nationalised property relations of the Soviet Union on the one hand and deals with imperialism on the other—rationalised through Stalin's 1924 "theory" of building "socialism in a single country".

Conscious opposition

This drove the bureaucracy by the mid 1930s to a position of conscious opposition to revolutionary movements within the international working class which might disrupt this

delicate balance of forces.

When in 1933 the crushing of the German working class by the Nazis failed to raise a flicker of interest or life from the Communist International, Trotsky declared it completely bureaucratised and 'dead for the purposes of revolution'.

He called for the building of the Fourth International.

Stalinism, however, lives on in the various national Communist Parties, still reflecting the counter-revolutionary politics of the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy.

In the post war period this bureaucracy has ensured that even the collapse of imperialist control over Eastern Europe, parts of Asia and Cuba has not led to independent proletarian revolutions.

In fighting Stalinism, we as Trotskyists start out from the defence and extension of the gains of the October revolution—the still-intact nationalised property relations in the USSR and the degenerated workers states.

We argue for the building of Trotskyist parties in these countries for the political overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and for world revolution.

In the wake of the 1933 defeat of the German working class by Hitler, the Stalinist movement reluctantly abandoned its catastrophic ultra-left policy, and in 1934 adopted the strategy of the all-inclusive "People's Front" against fascism.



EPIGONISM: Epigones are corrupt the teachings of their leaders for the Stalinist bureaucracy, w

Revisionism

Quite simply, 'revisionism' is a general term meaning the revising, and therefore the abandonment of basic propositions, principles and concepts developed by the revolutionary movement.

Under this general heading go a wide variety of deviations

from the positions developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, many of which are explained in more detail below.

When we attack revisionism it does not mean that we regard Marxism as an unchanging, wooden dogma.

But in trying to understand, respond to and intervene in today's struggles, it is necessary to start from and to defend the methods and principles established in the past by revolutionaries who have drawn on their wealth of practical and theoretical experience.

Opportunism

Within the bureaucratic leaderships of workers' political and trade union organisations, opportunism means exploiting the strength of the working class not to secure its demands, but to secure the position and privilege of the leaders themselves.

Such leaders effectively balance between the two main classes of society, but remain, in the last analysis, committed to preserving a "peaceful coexistence" between the working class and the capitalists.

But certain would-be 'revolutionaries', taking the occasional left wing speeches of such leaders at face value, seek through political compromises with them to find a short cut to the mass membership of their organisations.

Such behaviour, dropping both principles and programme in the hopes of easy pickings, is also opportunism.

Empiricism

Perhaps the most common failing of would-be revolutionaries, empiricism is an approach to the class struggle based not on any depth of analysis but on the superficial appearances of events.

The empiricist sees history as a succession of "facts" and single "exceptional" events, and not in the Marxist manner as a process unfolding as a result of internal laws of motion.

Engels summed up the empiricist approach:

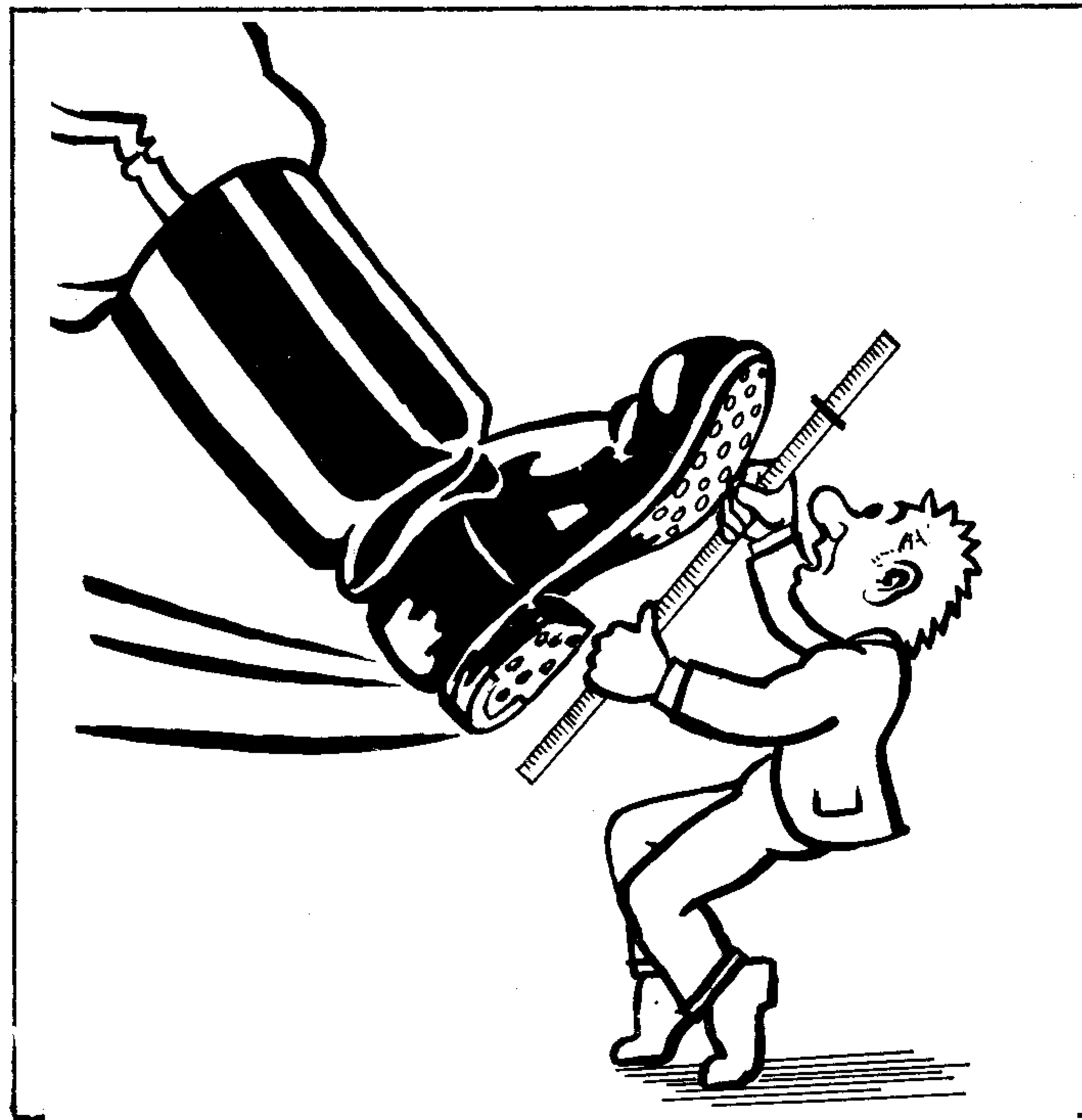
"In the contemplation of individual things it forgets the connection between them; in the contemplation of their existence it forgets the beginning and end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their

motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees." (Socialism, Utopian and Scientific).

Empiricism therefore produces in those groups which follow this method, repeated, abrupt and apparently arbitrary shifts of policy with each turn in the political situation, since for them, policies are based not on the fundamental processes of the class struggle but on surface appearances alone.

The empiricist consistently claims to recognise "reality"—but is in fact consistently surprised by events, and left chasing after them.

Pabloism, state capitalism and rank and fileism are among the most obvious empirical tendencies.



Workerism

A vague, comparatively new term, coined and generally used by petty bourgeois revisionist groups, to describe movements that are thought to be obsessive-

ly orientated towards the working class. Since it lacks any serious content, the term is not used in the pages of *Socialist Press*.

State capitalism

One of the currents that argues that the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union in the mid 1920s amounted to a reversal of the gains of the October 1917 revolution and the establishment of the bureaucracy as a new ruling class in what was now a "state capitalist" regime.

This superficial analysis—which sees the Kremlin bureaucracy in a one-sided, a-historical way—is now most often encountered in the British Socialist Workers Party (formerly the International Socialists).

The founder of IS, Tony Cliff, was correctly expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for his refusal to support either China or North Korea against military attack by US imperialism.

For an examination of the class nature of the Soviet Union and an answer to the "state capitalist" position see Trotsky's books *Revolution Betrayed* and *In Defence of Marxism*.

Pabloism

Michel Pablo was secretary of the post-war Trotskyist Fourth International.

Under the pressure of acute isolation and the continued survival of the Kremlin bureaucracy, Pablo was taken in by the appearances of a break from Stalinism by the Yugoslavian Communist Party under Tito in 1949.

Pablo developed the theory that the YCP had ceased to be a counter-revolutionary party, and had evolved, under pressure of its mass membership, into a centrist, even a revolutionary party. If this were true in Yugoslavia, why not in the mass Western CPs?

Seeing this as a short cut to the building of revolutionary parties, Pablo insisted on Trotskyist groups throughout Europe turning towards "entry" into the mass Communist Parties, in the hope that this would speed up their "evolution" towards revolutionary politics.

This policy led in 1953 to a split in the Fourth International.

Of course no CP did evolve in this way, and every one of Pablo's impressions was proven false.

Nothing daunted, and still seeking a short cut to the building of a mass movement, Pablo then turned towards compromises with the various nationalist forces leading colonial revol-

utions,

His method of approach to building the party was copied by many fellow leaders of the Fourth International.

Pabloism, the eternal search for a ready-made revolutionary party, and the avoidance of the principled struggle for the Trotskyist programme, thus lives on today in the opportunist politics of the various groupings calling themselves the Fourth International and is carbon-copied by the politics of the present day leadership of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International under Ernest Mandel.

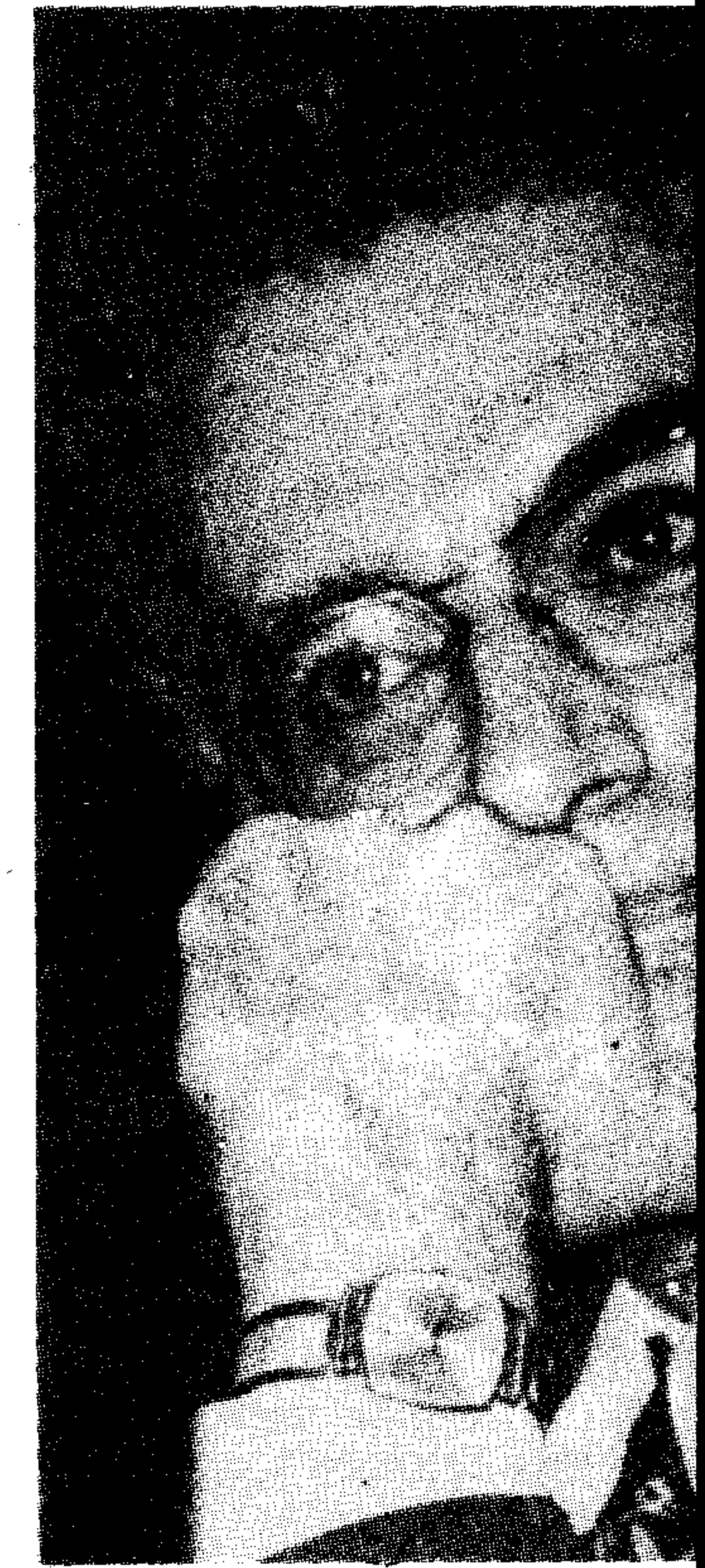
Hence *Mandelism* equals *Pabloism*.

Abstentionism

A conscious refusal by a self-styled "revolutionary" group to involve itself in the struggles of the working class.

Electoralism

Preoccupation with involvement in elections, creating the illusion that such elections in themselves offer a way forward for the working class.



HEALY

Brand of revisionism associated with Gerry Healy, currently a leader of the British Workers Revolutionary Party, and the "International Committee of the Fourth International" of which he is a founder member.

Healy's politics combine sec-

ULTRA-LEFTISM

Ultra-leftism amounts to a refusal to use bourgeois parliaments, elections or any tactics or manoeuvres in the struggle for socialism.

In particular it signifies a wrong position (Third Periodism) on the fight against the reformist leaders.

In the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Third International it was recognised that the task of breaking workers from social democracy could not be achieved by proclamations.

The tactic of the *United Front* was adopted, involving calls on the social democratic leaders to engage in joint struggles alongside the Communists, so that the treachery of the social democrats could be exposed in practice.

Ultra-leftism rejects such tactics, and attempts to substitute shrill denunciations of the

social democrats, and even the building of alternative "red" unions, for patient struggle among the mass of the working class.

The most catastrophic example of such a policy was in the period 1928-34, defined by Stalin as the *Third Period*—the final period of capitalism, heralding its collapse and its replacement by soviets.

In line with this forecast Stalin directed the Communist International on a course which involved branding social democratic parties as social fascist parties and a complete rejection of the *United Front*.

This produced a disastrous split in the powerful German labour movement, which eventually facilitated in 1933 Hitler's rise to power.

For the Marxist position on bourgeois elections, the use of Parliament, and the reformist

leaders, see Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*.

SECTARIANISM

The substitution of fixed formulas and abstract propaganda for a constant study of objective conditions and active intervention and participation in the class struggle.

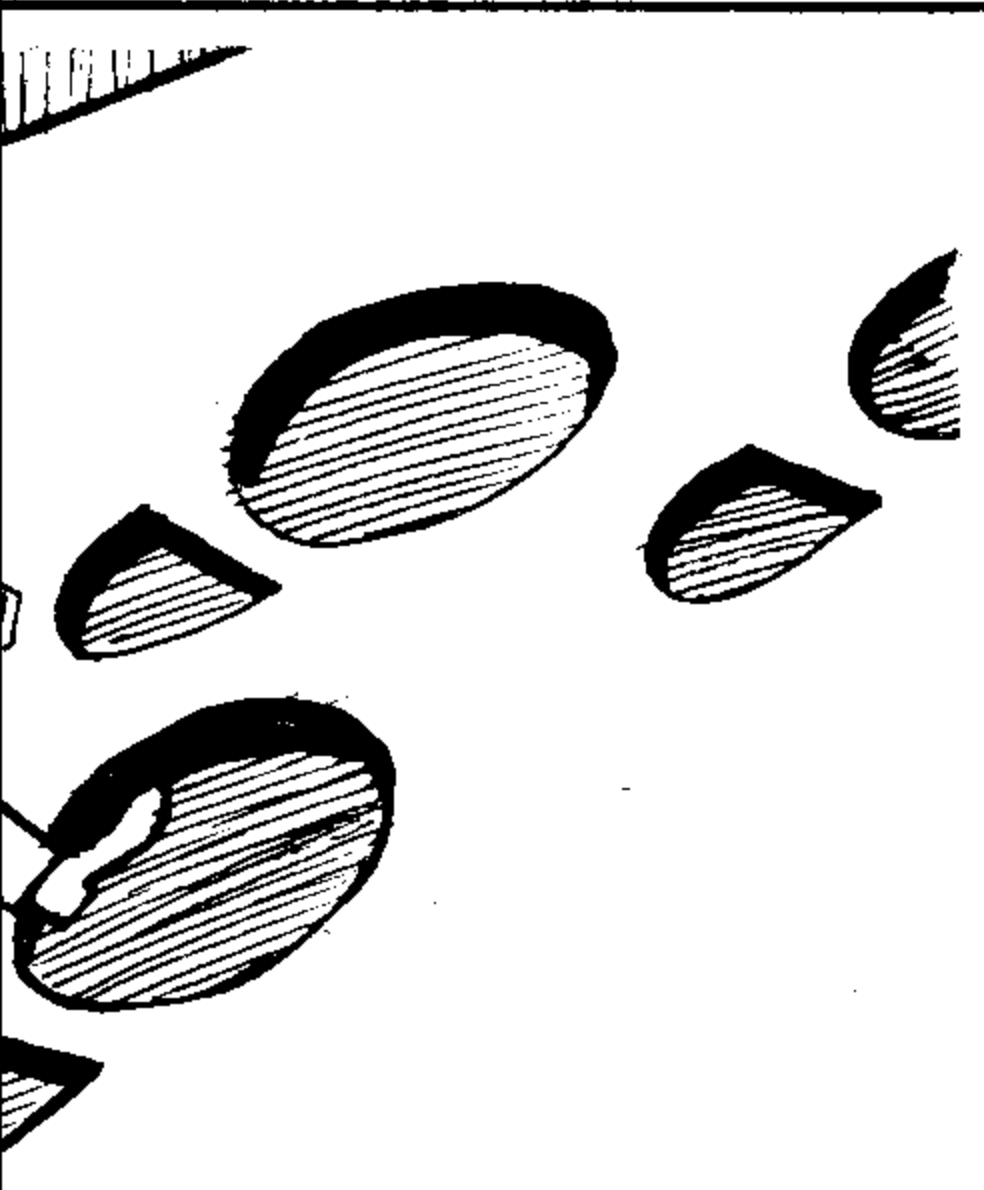
Sectarianism separates the creation of a revolutionary programme from the need for the working class to accept it, and sees political discussion, not as a functional instrument, but as a goal in itself.

Contemporary expressions of sectarianism can be seen in opposition to the tactic of voting for Labour in elections.

Sectarianism is often accompanied by a haughty and arrogant manner and a pronounced tendency towards intrigue, gossip and hysteria.

Populism

These "fronts" included not only the other mass workers' parties—the social democrats hitherto branded as "social fascists"—but also so-called "Progressive sections of the bourgeoisie", who were supposedly allies of the working class in the struggle for democracy



followers who falsify and leader. Trotsky used the term to pose as "Leninists".



ISM

arian abstention from the struggles of the working class with an ultra-left refusal to fight for transitional demands, and an opportunist adaptation to petty bourgeois nationalist leaders such as Yassir Arafat, Libyan dictator Gaddafi and the Iraqi Ba'athist regime as well as the Vietnamese Stalinist regime in Hanoi.



Healy

against fascism.

In order not to alienate such parties, the Popular Fronts were built on a programme which excluded socialist policies of nationalisation or any independent mobilisation of the working class. As a result the Spanish Popular Front paved the way for the victory of Franco in 1939.

This same policy of subordinating the workers' movement to bourgeois parties re-emerged in the post-war period, and is now the predominant policy of the Communist Parties of Western Europe and internationally.

The policy has been raised to the level of a "theory" in the work of Italian, Spanish and French Stalinist leaders and their 'theory' of Eurocommunism, in which verbal criticisms of the degenerated workers' states is combined with support for bourgeois governments and political blocs with bourgeois parties.

Liquidationism

The term liquidationist is now applied to political groups and tendencies which seek to dissolve the independence of the revolutionary party of the working class in an opportunist relationship with another, broader, often politically hostile or non-proletarian formation.

Thus Pabloism in the 1950s threatened to liquidate the forces of Trotskyism into Stalinist parties, and, later, into petty bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonial countries.

Liquidationism does not necessarily result in the organisational loss of membership; but it does, invariably mean an abandonment of the independent programme of Marxism.

Propagandism

While any revolutionary movement must argue the case for revolutionary socialism through the distribution of propaganda material—leaflets, newspapers, pamphlets, books—this is only part of the work necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

The Trotskyist *Transitional Programme* adopted in 1938 clearly states that the task of the Fourth International is to carry out a combination of "agitation, propaganda and organisation" in the fight to build parties in each country.

Lenin defined agitation as conveying few ideas to many people, as opposed to propaganda work which consists in conveying a whole complex of ideas to a comparatively few people.

Propagandists are those groups which get so immersed in the production of abstract propaganda that they are unable to relate to the working class.

Guerrillaism

Seeking to substitute armed guerrilla struggle by small groups based in rural areas for the necessary mobilisation of both workers and peasants around a programme of transitional and democratic demands.

Guerrillaism in relation to Latin America became a majority trend within the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International in the 1960s, in the aftermath of the Cuban revolution.

The very document on which the 1963 'reunification' took place talked of inserting the 'strategy' of guerrilla warfare into the Trotskyist programme.

The policy, enshrined in the 1969 9th World Congress, led to wholesale confusion and to tragic losses among the USFI forces in Latin America, but has only recently been formally discarded by the USFI leadership.

Centrism

A general term for a party, political current or an individual vacillating between reformism and revolutionary politics.

As Trotsky points out, the centrist hates all precise characterisations, and is "unable to understand that principles are not dead ballast, but a lifeline to a revolutionary swimmer".

MENSHEVISM

The opportunist wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party which split with Lenin in 1903 over the issue of party rules.

Lenin wanted a strongly centralised party with discipline over its membership: the Mensheviks wanted a party which would accept "any striker" as a member, without obligation to act under the party's control.

The Menshevik politics reflected their view that the working class should combine with the liberal bourgeoisie to overthrow Tsarism and establish a "democratic republic" as a stage prior to social revolution, and eventually opposed the October 1917 revolution.

REFORMISM

The view developed by Bernstein and others in the German Social Democratic Party (2nd International) at the turn of the century that the ultimate goal of socialism could be achieved by the "gradual", "peaceful" and "democratic" reform of the capitalist system.

The material basis on which the ideas of reformism came to dominate the European labour movement—leading to the degeneration of the Second International—was the increasing prosperity of European capitalism as a result of the huge drive to colonise the world in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The crumbs from the super profits were made available to, in particular the organised skilled sections of workers thus strengthening the view that gradual reform could lead towards socialism.

In reality the reformist leaders, for example, of the Labour Party and the TUC, have no intention of fighting for socialism and are only concerned with preventing conflict between the working class and the capitalists through their "skills" at negotiating



Healy

higher wages and better conditions for the working class.

As capitalism enters a crisis the objective needs and requirements of the working class come into increasing conflict with the needs and requirements of the bosses.

Unable to win further reforms from crisis-ridden capitalism, the reformist leaders are forced to turn to a defence of the capitalist system against their own members and supporters.

Such actions inevitably provoke conflicts between the cratic reformist leaders and the

reformist ideas that they peddle.

This conflict brings with it the possibility of a complete break by whole sections of the working class from reformism.

At such a point the role of the left reformists is to try and head off such a movement with their left wing rhetoric.

But these spineless talkers (e.g. the Tribunes) are completely unwilling and indeed unable to lead a consistent fight against the right wing.

They are just as wedded to reformism as the most die-hard right wing reformist.

Maoism

The particular brand of Stalinist politics linked with Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, which had ridden to power in the wake of the collapse of the imperialist-backed Chiang Kai-shek regime in 1949.

Mao remained a diehard defender of Stalin and of "socialism in a single country", but from an even weaker material base than the Kremlin bureaucracy in the Russia of the 1920s.

Economism, spontaneity

Trade unions have historically been built by workers who lack any depth of political awareness.

They arise from the spontaneous desires of the working class to fight back against the attacks of the employer, and to improve

their working conditions and living standards.

As such, therefore, trade unions are reformist organisations fighting for concessions within the framework of capitalism.

These struggles are for this

reason in general not political, but economic, in that what is at stake is seen not as the ownership of a particular factory or industry, but the wages and conditions meted out by the owners to the workforce.

Such an approach leaves political control firmly in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the labour bureaucracy.

utionaries was merely to support and "link up" the spontaneous, trade union struggles of the working class, and "lend them a political character".

Lenin referred to these daily trade union struggles of the working class as "spontaneity" and stressed the need for the scientific method of Marxism to be fought for within such struggles.

The anti-political approach of the Economists, and their pandering to the most elementary levels of trade union consciousness are today aped by the British Socialist Workers Party.

Their political method—sometimes referred to as *rank and fileism*—avoids any fight within the working class for the programme or methods of Marxism, substituting in their place militant trade union demands.

Syndicalism

Here, trade unions are seen as sufficient ends in themselves. The syndicalist argues that politics should be kept out of the trade unions and in fighting for this opposes revolutionary politics.

This can lead militant workers completely away from becoming revolutionary because it plays on their hostility to bourgeois, parliamentary politics and, using this progressive feeling, turns workers away from their only source of development, i.e. revolutionary

politics.

This is basing itself on the backward consciousness of sections of the working class and attempting to limit the development of revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Revolution will not come through trade unions alone, it will only come through the development of a revolutionary party that fights within the trade unions but also in all spheres where capitalist oppression takes place for soviet-type organs of power that include all the oppressed sectors of society.

Trade unions are defensive organisations that are not designed for state power.

Within them the forces can be developed that take state power and they should be the educational training ground for the working class.

But the working class needs to develop new organs for its dictatorship over the capitalist class.

The syndicalist wants to limit the working class to defensive, reformist struggles within the trade unions; but the revolutionary wants the working class to learn within those struggles of the necessity to take state power and so he struggles for a communist perspective in those struggles.

Subjectivism Individualism

The objective processes of the class struggle and the necessary response by the revolutionary movement can only be understood if the individual is prepared to subordinate his/her personal moods, feelings, preconceptions and prejudices to the task of analysing the conflicting forces at work.

If this is not done, then the subjective feelings of the individual can distort the analysis or cut across the necessary intervention by the revolutionary party in the given situation.

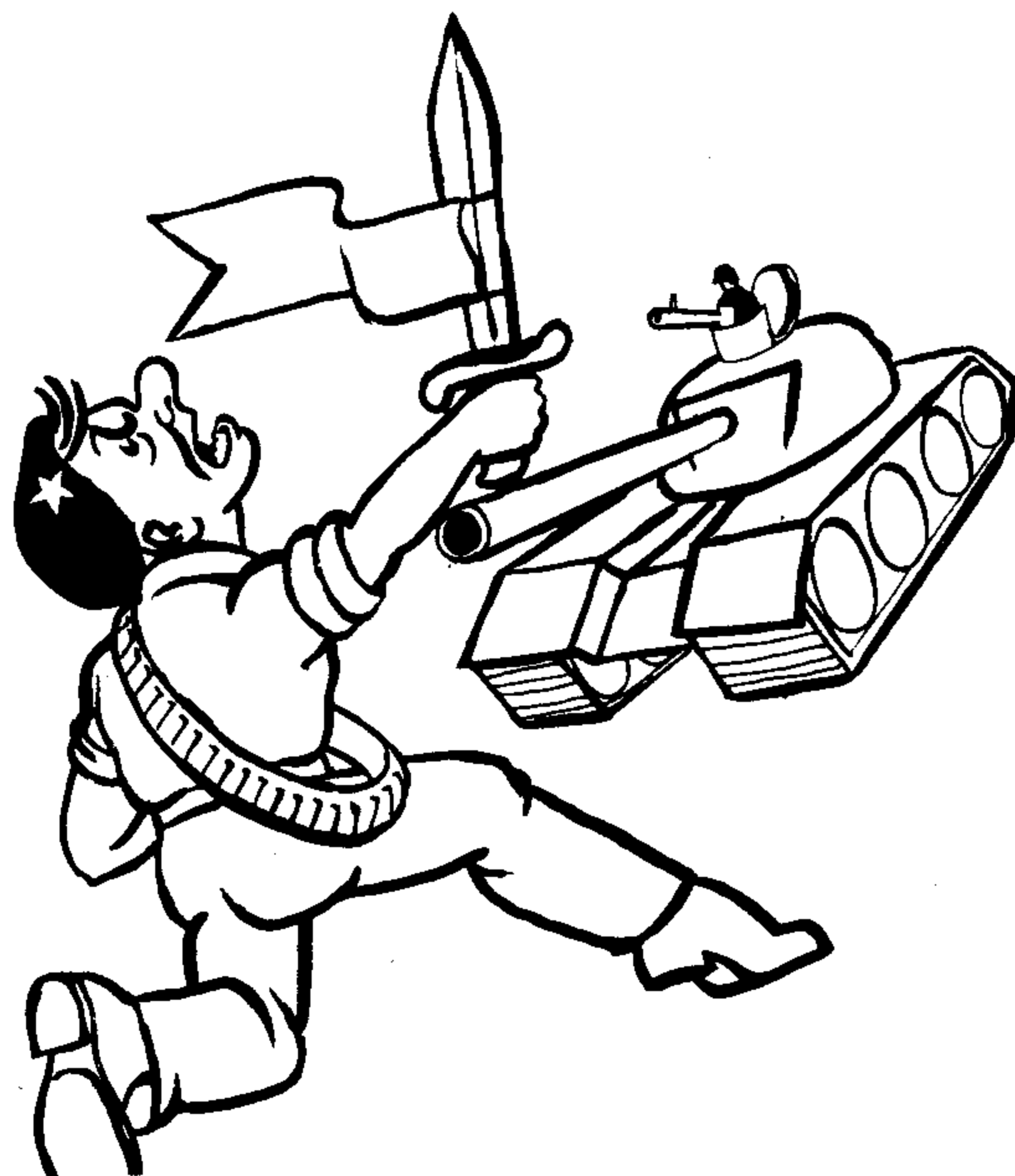
Subjectivism, this failure to engage dispassionately in political analysis, is particularly hard to overcome in the case of people with a professional or petty bourgeois background, whose entire educational and social training has taught them to value themselves as individuals and their personal prestige.

Individualism, an expression of subjectivism, arises when individual members of the revolutionary party seek to act not under the discipline of the party, drawing on its strength and assisting its work, but on their own personal whims and decisions, thus cutting themselves off from the party's experience and often sabotaging its actions.

Bourgeois ideology, which portrays everyone as "individuals" and fails to recognise the class divisions of society, reinforces this tendency, and ensures that it is a continuing problem to be fought within the revolutionary movement.

Lenin, in *What is to be Done?* pointed to the need for revolutionaries to wage a fight against this, the existing level of consciousness of the working class, if a leadership is to be built capable of leading the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

Those who took the opposing view were termed 'Economists'—since they believed that the task of revol-



ADVENTURISM: Willingness to enter into major struggles without political preparation or adequate forces to protect those involved. Ill-conceived actions in response to provocations by the forces of the state.

FEMINISM

Militant advocacy and struggle for women's rights. Bourgeois feminist movements seek such rights within the framework of capitalism, whereas socialists recognise that the full equality of women is unachievable without the socialist transformation of society and the elimination of the oppression of the bourgeois family unit.

politics and single-issue campaigning put forward by the bourgeois feminists.

This leads them into the swamp of "autonomous" women's groups excluding men.

Taken to extremes, radical feminism winds up as active hatred of men.

While revolutionary socialists see the struggle for women's rights as part of the overall struggle for socialism, the bourgeois feminist movement is a class struggle in its own right.



Trotsky

BONAPARTISM

"The decline of capitalist society places Bonapartism—side by side with fascism and coupled with it—again on the order of the day . . . It suppresses civil war, or precedes it, or does not allow it to rekindle." (Trotsky)

The scientific understanding of Bonapartism was developed by Marx and later Trotsky when they analysed the dictatorships of the emperors Napoleon Bonaparte and Napoleon III in France.

Bonapartist regimes can appear in various guises—headed by bureaucratic cliques

(Tunisia), military juntas (Pakistan), or fascist parties, or emerging from within parliamentary democracy (the process under way in Sri Lanka).

In his writings on Germany in 1932, Trotsky showed the conditions under which such regimes are created, and the historical task they are required to perform.

"Two mighty camps are locked in irreconcilable conflict. Neither side can win by parliamentary means. Neither would

willingly accept a decision unfavourable to it. Such a split in society foreshadows a civil war.

"The threat of civil war creates a need in the ruling class for an arbiter and commander, for a Caesar. That precisely is the function of Bonapartism . . ."

" . . . a Bonaparte is by no means indispensable for Bonapartism. The existence of two irreconcilable camps is enough.

The role of the all-powerful arbiter can be filled by a clique instead of a person . . ."

"Every regime claims to stand above classes, safeguarding

the interests of the whole. But the effects of social forces cannot be so easily determined as those in the field of mechanics.

The government itself is made of flesh and bone. It is bound up with certain classes and their interests.

In peaceful times a democratic parliament seems to be the best instrument for reconciling conflicting forces. But when fundamental forces veer off at 180-degree angles, pulling in opposite directions, then the opening for a Bonapartist dictatorship appears."



ZIONISM

A reactionary doctrine invented in 1895 by a Hungarian-born Jewish journalist called Theodor Herzl.

Herzl, who was an admirer of Cecil Rhodes and other nineteenth century colonialists, wrote in his pamphlet *The Jewish State* that anti-semitism should be opposed not by fighting those responsible for it or by changing the economic and social conditions that brought it about but by setting up a state for Jews, from which all other nationalities would be excluded.

The Zionist movement has always operated by obtaining support from the chief imperialist powers and anyone else available.

Thus in the early period, it convinced the British government that it would be in their strategic interests to set up 'a new Ulster' in the Middle East against the development of Arab liberation movements.

So in August 1917 the

Conservative-Liberal coalition published the 'Balfour Declaration' supporting a Jewish state—though not, it should be noted, at the expense of the local inhabitants.

The Zionists later turned against the British and won the support of Stalin's Russia and of the US imperialists for the setting up of the racially exclusive state of Israel in 1948.

This state has never occupied merely the territory set out for it by the United Nations in 1948, but has expanded its frontiers by a series of predatory wars in 1948, 1956 and 1967, carried out in alliance with various sections of imperialism.

The development of a militant movement of the dispossessed Palestinians since the 1960s and the setback of the

Zionist military forces in the 1973 war have brought the Zionists to concentrate on establishing friendly relations with those sections of the Arab bourgeoisie, notably Sadat of Egypt who have little chance of getting support amongst the masses in their own countries.

The Zionists have won the firm support of a number of British reformist leaders—from Ramsey MacDonald to Harold Wilson and a number of Tribune 'lefts' today.



Fascist dictator Franco

FASCISM

Desperate 'last card' of crisis-ridden capitalism whereby the most prosperous section of the capitalist class mobilises a rabble of ruined petty businessmen, backward layers of workers, and other reactionary currents around racist, nationalist and anti-union agitation and uses them as a battering ram to attack and destroy the organisations and democratic rights of the working class.

Against fascism, Trotsky argued for a united front of all

workers organisations, the establishment of workers' defence squads, and a programme of socialist demands designed both to defend past gains and to lead on to the socialist revolution which alone could put an end to the fascist menace.

NATIONALISM

The working class, as Marx and Engels said, "has no country".

It is an *international* class, the first class in world history, capable of creating a society without class or national antagonisms.

Revolutionary Marxism, therefore, is hostile to nationalism in general since it is an obstacle to world socialism.

Lenin, however, pointed out that in its imperialist epoch capitalism "formerly the great liberator of nations had become the great oppressor of nations".

So although the nationalism of the imperialist nations is unambiguously reactionary, the struggle of the oppressed nations for national liberation can play a temporarily revolutionary role.

Marxists *always* oppose national oppression and support the right of the people of all nations to self-determination.

The objective of proletarian internationalism is the *voluntary* union of nations in a United Socialist States of the World.

Internationalism is rejected not only by the nationalist bourgeoisie, but also by even 'left' reformism (e.g. the Tribune group's cherished import controls) and by Stalinism in its pursuit of alliances with the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries and "socialism in one country" in the degenerated workers' states.

Imperialism

Marx showed how all class societies passed through two stages—the first, in which they were historically progressive and developed humanity's forces of production; and the second,

retrogressive, stage when the class relations became a *fetter* on further development.

"Imperialism" is the term which Lenin gave to this second

retrogressive stage of capitalism, which began around 1900.

His book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, analysed the characteristics of this stage: monopoly, the dominance of money over industrial capital; the growing export of capital by the advanced (imperialist) countries; and the division of the world market among the capitalist monopolies along with the completion of the territorial division of the world.

Politically Lenin's *Imperialism* was the theoretical foundation of the Third (Communist) International.

It showed how the First World War (in which most of the parties of the Second International had supported "their own" bourgeoisie) was the result of the destructive rivalries of the advanced capitalist nations.

Imperialism was, therefore, the age of capitalism's decay; the age in which capitalism had achieved all it was capable of for humanity—it was rotten ripe.

Imperialism to revolutionary Marxists, therefore, is also the age of a new social revolution—the socialist revolution.



'Imperialism' a mural by Diego Rivera

CHAUVINISM

This term is derived from the legendary Nicolas Chauvin, a Napoleonic soldier of obsessive patriotism and devotion to his general.

Marxists use the word to describe support, particularly by

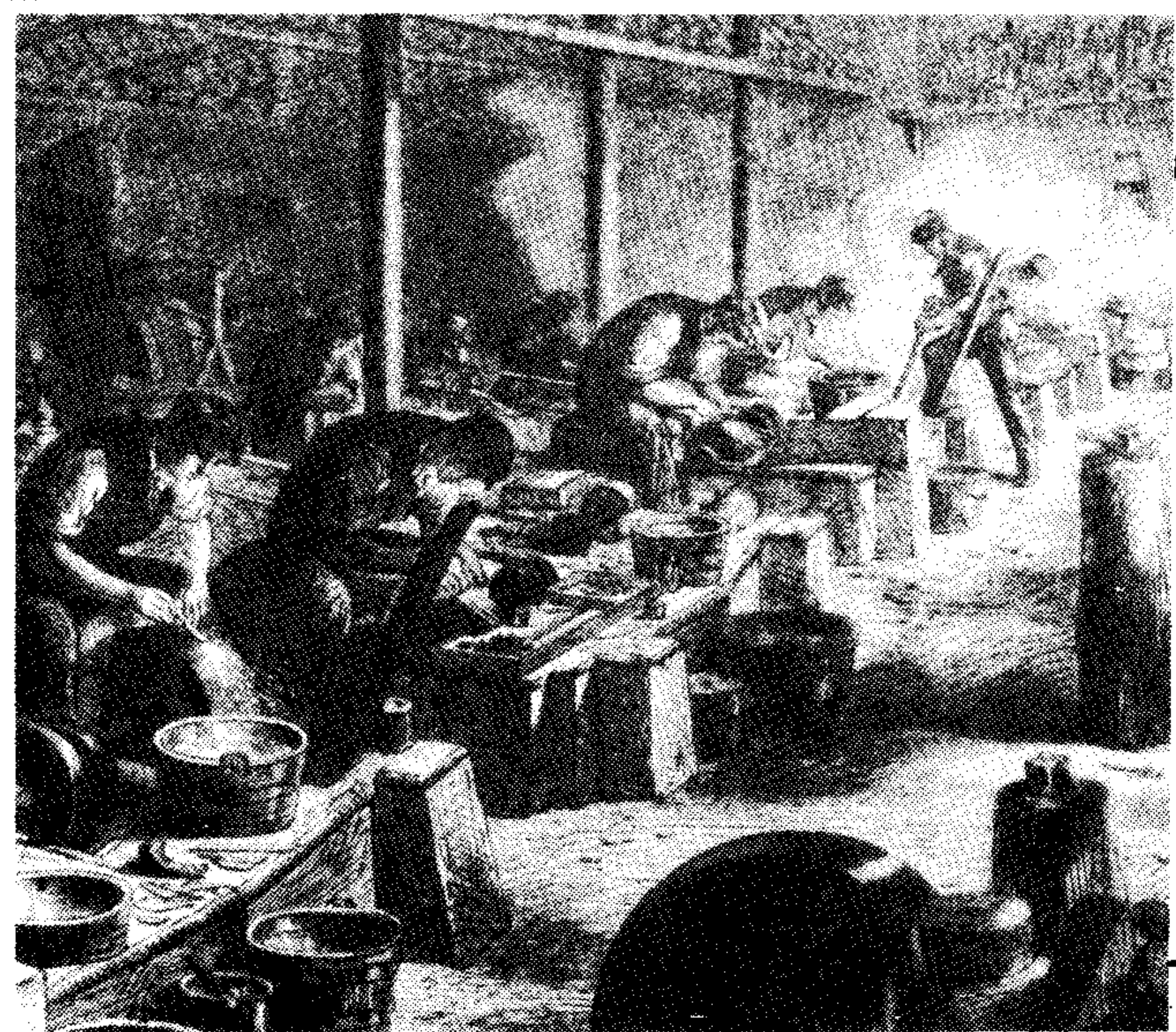
Sexism

Insistence on maintaining rigid stereotype views of the role of either women or men in society—leading to discrimination, inequality, or anti-gay propaganda.

The sexist attitude towards women brands them as inevitably a 'wife', a 'mother', a 'home-maker' and a sex-object, whereas men are pressured to conform to the bourgeois notions of masculinity—aggressiveness, dominance, virility and unquestioned heterosexuality.

Particular victims of such views—which are promoted on every side by the press, the media, the arts and the education system as well as by the existing social system—are women and gay men.

Sexism and male chauvinism are particularly rife within the bureaucratic leadership of the Labour and trade union movement.



Early capitalism

bureaucratic leaders of the workers' movement for the war efforts by imperialism, or for nationalist economic policies pursued by a section of capitalists at the expense of "foreign" competition (e.g. import controls).

Male chauvinism

In the sense of "support for the oppressor", chauvinism has also been extended to the arena of the struggle for women's rights, where "male chauvinism" describes support for the continued oppressive role of men in relation to women.

Unfortunately in the hands of the women's liberation movement the term has been so slackly, and frequently incorrectly, used that its real content is often obscured.

Capitalism, bourgeois

A historically-evolved mode of production in which the *means of production* (factories, tools, raw materials, etc) are

privately owned by a minority capitalist class—the bourgeoisie, which uses them to accumulate *surplus value*, profit, through the exploitation of a propertyless *working class*—the proletariat, which owns nothing but its ability to work.

It is an anarchic system in which each individual capitalist competes against each other concern for a share of the market in which the supreme issue is the accumulation of capital, not human need.

Between the two main classes, lies an ill-defined *petty-bourgeoisie*, which ranges from professional and managerial workers, through intellectuals, self-employed and small farmers and businessmen.

The petty bourgeoisie in backward capitalist economies overlaps with the peasantry—small holders on the land.

Both the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry can and must be won to the side of the working class in revolutionary struggles, given a firm leadership and a correct combination of democratic and transitional demands.

If this is not done, then this unstable social stratum will fall under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, providing the raw material for reactionary and even fascist movements designed to smash the working class movement.

Bourgeois ideology is the term used to refer to the system of laws, customs, ideas and philosophy elaborated by the bourgeoisie in defence of its class interests—its private ownership of the means of production and other property, and its "right" to exploit the working class.

Also within the scope of *bourgeois ideology* are those



Fascism—a last resort for imperialism

political currents within the workers' movement that seek to liberate the working class

without changing the fundamentals of the capitalist system—reformism.