



CONCLUSION

We realize the inevitable inadequacy of such a short text in establishing a critique of Bolshevism but we hope that it will combine with your own experience as an incentive to construction of a new revolutionary praxis. We don't doubt the sincerity of revolutionary desires among cadres. It is primarily a desire "to do something" that makes people join a Party. But we believe that the "something" that these Parties do works against communist revolution and rests on a bankrupt ideological basis.

We do not offer THE ANSWER, all such claims are the stuff of ideology, mystification and posturing. We cannot offer a new Party to join in opposition to the Bolsheviks.

Broadly we believe that history has shown again and again that the proletariat is capable of consciously rising and suppressing the wage-commodity economy. This doesn't mean that revolutionaries have no use, that we can wait for the spontaneous uprising. We are part of the proletariat and we will actively participate in the growth of communist resistance.

"The essence of communism is the passionate transformation of the world and of ourselves, in the creation of a world human community."



"Meaningful action, for revolutionaries, is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the egalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the proletariat and whatever assists in their demystification. Sterile and harmful action is whatever reinforces the passivity of the proletariat, their apathy, their cynicism, their differentiation through hierarchy, their alienation, their reliance on others to do things for them and the degree to which they can therefore be manipulated by others - even those who claim to be acting on their behalf." point 7, Solidarity 'As We See It'.

We would recommend the books below, and include the addresses of two groups who are, broadly speaking, left-communist/libertarian socialist. These groups are separate from us and may disagree with much of this text. If anyone wishes to correspond with us on any point we would gladly reply:

- AUTONOMY, c/o Box A, 34 Cowley Rd, OXFORD.
- 'Workers Councils', A. Pannekoek, published in 4 parts, 50p (20p p&p) each from Echange et Mouvement, BM Box 91, London, WCLV 6XX.
  - 'Workers Councils and the Economics of Self-Managed Society', P. Cardan, £2 (50p p&p) from Solidarity.
  - 'As We Don't See It', 60p (inc) from Solidarity.
  - 'What is Communism?', J. Barrot, 50p (inc) from Wildcat.
  - 'Revolutionary Self-Theory' £1; 'The Skeleton Keys' 60p.
  - 'The Bad Days Will End' 50p; 'Cities Of Illusion' 50p; 'Bigger Cages, Longer Chains' 90p; (all inc) from Spectacular Times, Box 99, Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1 7GX.
  - 'The Eclipse and Re-emergence of the Communist Movement' J. Barrot, published by Black & Red, may be hard to obtain.
  - 'Revolution of Everyday Life' R. Vaneigem, Rebel Press.
  - 'Situationist International Anthology', various, £8.

SOLIDARITY : 123 Lathom Rd, London, E6

WILDCAT : BM CAT, London WCLN 3XX  
N.B. Do NOT write 'Wildcat' on the envelope or your mail will not be answered.

Thanks to Catalyst, and especially to Larry Law. 6

And 10/10/16 (1864)

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# SOCIALIST OPPORTUNIST

INCORPORATING "WORKERS THIS, THAT & THE OTHER"

## GENERAL STRIKE!

We are here today naturally because we support the cause that is being struggled for. Nevertheless we are also here to lead people away from the illusions which they hold and which are shown by their presence here today not in the ranks of our Party.

What is needed here is a Marxist-Leninist analysis with just a hint of Trotsky. Through this process we can plainly see that this cause can only achieve success through joining the Party, whose analysis alone, historically, has been shown to suffer from no illusions.

ALTON'S BILL

We argue for voting for the Labour Party with no illusions while constantly criticising Labour for its betrayals and sellouts. Some have said that it can only betray us or sell us out if we were expecting anything from it in the first place - and so having illusions in it. We say this is adventurist illusion. We must accept that the Labour Party and Trade Unions do exist and contain a lot of people. They are crap organisations, granted, they do exert social control over any outburst of genuine revolutionary enthusiasm, granted. Nevertheless they do claim to be the labour movement. Some have suggested that all this implies is their promise to manage our labour better for the ruling class. Maybe, but we have no illusions here.

CLAUSE 28

So build a fighting socialist alternative! What does this involve? Voting Labour with no illusions. It also involves forming rank-and-file groups within unions. With these we can put pressure on union bureaucrats and leaders, with no illusions, and complain that they have sold us out and betrayed us when they inevitably do.

Some have said that instead of pressuring leaders we should kick their teeth in and kick them out. They point to the Spanish dockers CO-ORDINORA which operates on an assembly system with every docker involved in every decision and the executive doing no more and no less than carrying out the wishes of the assembly or being instantly recalled. This sounds like anarchist adventurist illusions. Leaders and hierarchies exist and so must be accepted, so you see we have no illusions.

DEFEND THE NHS

Over the years there has been much talk about workers councils. We have no objection to these, after all Lenin once said "All power to the soviets!" Of course what he meant and we mean is "All power to the soviets until the Party, objectively and historically embodying the interests of the working class, takes over the State!" but this has never proved so popular as a slogan. The workers councils are simply stepping stones for the Party. They couldn't run things, they have far too many workers and not enough Party cadres. This is obvious to those who have no illusions.



Hungarian proletarians show their burning enthusiasm for Leninism. 1956.

FIGHT THE CUTS

It is easy to spot the only real socialist alternative among the myriad counter-revolutionary deviationists because real socialism always can offer at least 10% more wages than the competition. Under socialism everyone will have a good job, a nice boss, a fair wage and educational television programmes. All this murmuring at the back about 'love', 'real human community' and 'alienation' is symptomatic of those with terrible illusions.

TROOPS OUT

Remember to behave on this demo so as not to upset anyone but nevertheless conveying, by your radical posture, your complete lack of illusions. Chants of "We hate Thatcher, we hate Botha! Come on comrades sell your quota!" or "One solution - vote Labour with no illusions!" are acceptable. "Fuck the Unions! Fuck the Left! We want the whole bakery not just a larger slice of bread!" is not.

And remember: WE NEED A DISCIPLINED VANGUARD PARTY BECAUSE NO ONE WILL INVITE US TO THEIRS! LONG LIVE HYSTERICAL MATERIALISM!

# LENINISM/TROTSKYISM A COMMUNIST CRITIQUE

It is undoubtedly still true today, although getting less so, that the dominant notion of what it means to rebel against the status quo of modern capitalism is Bolshevism. By Bolshevism we mean here the numerous varieties of LENINISM and its TROTSKYIST variant espoused by the myriad 'revolutionary' groupings. While their differences are many it is their substantial similarities which we are concerned with here.

Bolshevism rises to dominance as THE ONLY anti-capitalist model is historical, a result of the triumph of the Russian revolution in 1917 and the construction of the Third International very much under the leadership of the USSR. Lenin has become the figurehead of revolution for almost all communists, with Trotsky for those more critical of later USSR development. Bolshevism is perceived as the only model of revolution that has succeeded and hence the only one to follow.

## PARTY AND PROLETARIAT

The foundation of Bolshevism is primarily the separation of revolutionary and labour movements. The proletariat is seen as incapable of developing anything beyond a 'trade union' consciousness and cannot develop a revolutionary consciousness without the intervention of the revolutionary Party. This vanguard Party is seen as external to the proletariat, injecting revolutionary consciousness into it. Crudely put, the Party is seen as the intellect of the proletariat just as the State is the executive committee of the bourgeoisie.

The separation of revolutionaries (the Party) and proletariat has several consequences. A rigid fetishism of the Party builds up where it is only within the Party that revolutionary potential lies. Any attempt to recreate or transform our world made by workers outside the Party is, by definition, counter-revolutionary since it is not within the boundaries of the single organisation which is historically, objectively and scientifically correct. This contempt for the proletariat leads to a vicious paternalism which represses any show of initiative. Thus the Russian Bolsheviks opposed workers self-management or participation, even when these demands were made within the Party (1). They carried out the wholesale massacre of the soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt, labelling them as counter-revolutionary (an accusation which even Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer and apologist, cannot uphold (2)). The result

is substitutionism, as the Party becomes what is being struggled for (as the embodiment of the proletariat) even against the proletariat itself. Communist Parties again and again have thrown their weight on the side of counter-revolution because the revolutionary initiatives of the proletariat have not conformed to the narrow restrictions of Party control (3). This is justified as the sole group embodying the real interests of the workers sadly repressing misguided and mystified lumpen-proletarian reactionaries. So often it is sections, even the vast majority of the proletariat superseding the mystifications and ideology of Bolshevism itself.

Bolshevism becomes an ideology, where the Party becomes the active subject in the historical process and the proletariat, become passive object, is led by the Party to the goal of replacing the bourgeois apparatus with a Leninist one. This process, where the Party becomes an abstraction of all that is 'objectively' and 'scientifically' correct, is reflected daily in the language and behaviour of the Bolshevik.

The ultimate importance of the Party is obvious in the hard-sell recruitment tactics of the modern day Bolshevik. The cadres are obviously sincere in their desire to destroy capitalism, and as communists we obviously sympathise. For them, since the revolution can only occur under the leadership of the Party (whichever one they are in) it is therefore imperative to build up the influence and membership of the Party. Build the Party and only the Party. This leads to a narrow fanaticism, a reification (4) of the Party and a separation of the cadre from everyday life and the rest of the proletariat, a move into the specialised world of the revolutionary-politico. It also leads to the absurd situation of cadres trying to sell papers while pickets, who know full well the nature of society and the desire for its destruction, battle with the police. Attempting to teach or enlighten people who have long since surpassed the content of the teaching.

"The Party in the last instance is always right, because it is the single historic instrument which the working class possesses for the solution of its fundamental problems... I know that one cannot be right against the Party. One can only be right with the Party, and through the Party, because history has created no other road for the realisation of what is right."  
Trotsky, speech to the Communist Party, May 1924.



(1) See 'The Workers Opposition' by A. Kollontai, £1.50 (40p p&p) from Solidarity; 'From Bolshevism to Bureaucracy' by Cardan, 60p (inc p&p) from Solidarity; 'The Bolsheviks and Workers Control, 1917-21' by M. Brinton, £1.40 (40p p&p) from Bolton DAM c/o Socialist Club, 16 Wood St, Bolton.  
(2) "The Bolsheviks denounced the men of Kronstadt as counter-revolutionary mutineers, led by a white general. The denunciation appears to have been groundless." Deutscher 'The Prophet Armed' p511. See also 'The Kronstadt Uprising' by Ida Mett, £1.50 (40p p&p) from Solidarity.



(3) Far too numerous to list in full (unless you write to us) but see reports of CGT activity in France '68 and during the rail strike '86-7, reports on Spain '36-7, 'Hungary '56' by A. Anderson and 'Poland 1980-2' by H. Simon, both published by Black & Red and found in good 'alternative' bookshops, also 'Autonomia' about Italy in the 1970s, published by Semiotext(e) for £6.  
(4) Reification: the act of converting people, abstract concepts, etc into things (commodities); also .to attribute power or permanence to that which is abstract, transient or socially constructed.

The concentration on Party building also leads to blatant opportunism, an attempt to intervene in any and every campaign with the sole purpose of recruitment. The Fight the Alton Bill campaign is only the most recent (and won't be the last) in a long line of campaigns which mobilised many people but which collapsed as more and more became annoyed, frustrated and alienated by the constant attempts at manipulation and recruitment and the vicious sectarianism. It is precisely the obnoxiousness of Bolshevik practice and the contempt it shows for people which destroys these campaigns which they profess to support.

The setting up of front organisations as an attempt at increasing the credibility of the Party also serves mainly to disillusion those who become involved. Entryism and its attendant subterfuges show nothing but contempt for proletarians, who become mere pawns in the political process of gaining power for the Party. The reality of Bolshevik practice only serves, in the end, to discourage people from cooperating against the status quo.

"... 'politics' has become a mystified, separated category of human activity. Along with all the other socially enforced separations of human activity, 'politics' has become just another interest. It even has its specialists - be they politicians or politicos. It is possible to be interested (or not) in politics just as it is possible to be interested in (or not) in football, disco music or fashion. What people see as 'politics' today is the social falsification of the project of collective self-realisation - and that suits power just fine."

### Revolutionary Self-Theory.

Politics, revolution, becomes a world separated from the everyday life of the proletariat - the "ordinary people" - one with its own language, rules, roles and rituals. To achieve revolution it is necessary to lead enough people into this world of politics, lead them to realize the 'objective' vanguard position of the Party and so enable it to seize power on behalf of the proletariat. Unfortunately for this schema the mentality and practice of those within this alienated world serves only to deter the working class from any attempt to cooperate. The hierarchy (of specialised knowledge), dogma and sectarianism and the contempt which Bolshevism shows for proletarians is clearly perceived and rejected, often physically, by those the Bolsheviks have come to enlighten. This rejection is characterised as 'false consciousness' and, in a vicious circle, merely confirms the self-image of the cadres as the enlightened elite who must covertly manipulate the stupid masses.

# LEFT-COMMUNISM VS. BOLSHEVISM

One consequence of the dominance of Bolshevism is its assumption of the authority of Marx, as the sole legitimate descendant. It is this assumption of the identity of Marxism and Bolshevism, and the unattractiveness of the latter which has discouraged many from investigating Marxism. But there is another strand of Marxist praxis which emerged in opposition to Bolshevism not as a result of the liberal tendencies of Western bourgeois academics but out of the concrete revolutionary praxis of the proletariat. Early groups emerged from the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, Germany 1918-23, Turin 1920 and these events were later followed by Spain 1936-7, Hungary 1956, Algeria 1960, Portugal 1974 and numerous smaller initiatives (5). This strand became known as Left- or Council-Communism.

Most Bolsheviks will know of this strand only in Lenin's pamphlet "Left-wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder" where he portrays left-communists as merely impatient, wanting to achieve communism straight from capitalism, without an intervening phase of socialism. This is inaccurate. Left communists did see the need for a transitional stage but disagreed as to the form it would take, arguing that means cannot be separated from ends. While there are obvious differences in analysis within this strand their common basis is that the emancipation of the working class can only be accomplished by that class itself. Revolution occurs not as the result of a revolutionary party injecting class consciousness into the class but as a result of revolutionary consciousness already possessed by the proletariat as a result of processes inherent in capitalist production. Through the daily experience of alienation and struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat come clearly to perceive the class nature of society and the desirability of communist revolution. Revolutions such as those listed above are examples of the proletariat spontaneously and consciously rising to destroy capitalism and attempting to build a communist society.

The form these revolutions generally adopted was that of soviets or Workers Councils (hence Council Communism), sovereign general assemblies of producers and neighbourhoods that elected mandated delegates to coordinate their activities. These delegates were not representatives but carry out decisions already made by the assemblies and subject to instant recall if they fail to carry out such tasks satisfactorily. This form bypasses the State as a nucleus of power and has no need of a vanguard to seize State power on their behalf. The council is a "dictatorship of the proletariat" (6) in that only the proletariat are in the councils, but, as opposed to the substitutionism of Bolshevik models power is in the hands of all the proletariat. This form makes it far more difficult (although it is never impossible) for a new ruling class of Party/State bureaucrats to develop. These revolutions reveal that Bolshevism is ahistorical in its refusal to recognise that the proletariat is perfectly capable of carrying out the communist revolution without the hierarchy of the 'vanguard' Party.

Unfortunately these revolutions have never fulfilled their communist potential (often crushed by Bolshevik manipulation or repression). The council form is not without problems. But the stock Bolshevik objection that this form has always 'failed' whereas the Bolshevik model has 'succeeded' is insufficient unless we define what it is to succeed, to move towards communism.

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(5) See other footnotes and booklist at end.  
(6) This phrase, and others like 'democratic centralism' often become meaningless through abuse, misuse and lack of explicit definition. Always make mystifiers explain their jargon. We take 'dictatorship of the proletariat' to mean that all the proletariat and only them hold power.

# THE CONTENT OF COMMUNISM

"Communism is the positive abolition of private property, of human self-alienation, and thus the real appropriation of human nature through and for man. It is, therefore, the return of man to himself as a social, i.e. really human, being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development. Communism as fully developed naturalism is humanism and as fully developed humanism is naturalism. It is the definitive resolution of the antagonism between man and nature, between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence and essence, between objectification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and species. It is the solution to the riddle of history and knows itself to be this solution."

Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts.

Despite the somewhat Hegelian presentation of history as self-realisation through a dialectical process (the supercession of two-sided conflicts) and the dated nature of the language (prior to the womens movement and the analysis of language as an expression of power relations) this quote admirably brings up the oft-neglected question of the content of communism, what communism is.

Communism is often misrepresented, by 'communists', as merely the equal distribution of those commodities produced by society. This false representation wasn't helped by Trotsky's attempted militarisation of labour (7) or Lenins eager advocacy of Taylorism and 'scientific management' - both claiming that their campaigns were in the interests of socialism. Likewise the dichotomy of Bolshevism against Left-communism is often presented merely as a problem of choice between two competing systems of management. It is vital that we understand that is not a more equal management of the world as it is. It is the total transformation of social relations through the destruction of capitalist relations of production.



I would like further details of the Communist Party's Democratic Policing Strategy.

At the heart of what distinguishes capitalism, in its various guises, from communism is the concept of ALIENATION. The alienation which Marx talks about, alienation from ourselves, each other, nature and creativity ('self-affirmation') is a product of how production is organised under capitalism, the social relations of production (8). It is, crudely, a separation of ourselves as human beings from what we produce/create, the part of ourselves involved in production (which we are forced to sell to survive) and from each other as human beings. The mystery of commodities invades every aspect of daily life as everything, including ourselves and other humans, becomes commodities to be bought, sold and used. It is not an increase in the commodities to be consumed that the revolution will be fought for but a qualitative transformation of daily life where we can fulfil ourselves through the development of all, as human beings and not as commodities. This involves the conscious suppression of the wage-commodity economy and the establishment of social ownership and social management of society. This simply cannot be accomplished without the conscious participation of all. The alienation of the proletariat's power into a hierarchical State structure, by its very nature, continues alienation and is incapable of ending it. A communist State is a contradiction in terms.

(7) See footnote (1) or Ch 12 of 'Sabotage' by Geoff Brown, published by Spokesman books.

(8) See the section in 'Capital' on commodity fetishism, or, for a simpler presentation see Ch 5 of 'Karl Marx's Theory of History' by G. Cohen. The best summary of alienation is probably in F. Perlman's 'Reproduction of Daily Life', originally printed by Black & Red or available from us for 80p (inc p&p), photocopied individually!

Alienation is experienced everyday by proletarians under capitalism and it is this that gives rise to the desire, the perceived necessity for communist revolution. It is the result of a system of social organisation and production that cannot be 'scientifically managed' in the interests of the working class since it is precisely these forms that enslave us. Working for the State, or an elected factory manager will not and cannot achieve the liberation of the proletariat from alienation and cannot achieve humanity's domination of production instead of our enslavement by it. What is necessary is the destruction of the reified (4) economy, not merely its management to ensure our equal alienation.

Since alienation is experienced by all proletarians it is not necessary for a vanguard to show them the desirability of communism. The false image of communism as the monolithic State corporations of Eastern Europe, where the proletariat so obviously still suffer alienation and exploitation, has contributed much to the belief that there is no better alternative to the misery of capitalism. The hierarchy, dogma and theoretical and practical poverty of the myriad 'socialist' and 'communist' groupings have contributed to the widespread belief that communism doesn't offer a meaningful alternative. It would be foolish in the extreme to attribute the lack of revolution to the influence of Bolshevik groups, there are obviously powerful mechanisms within capitalism that militate against revolution (9). Nevertheless we can characterise Bolshevik praxis as counter-revolutionary.



Once it is recognized that communism offers a qualitatively different life we can understand that we do not offer an abstractly more just world but a world of passion and excitement. Not just the material necessities of life for all, although this is implicit, but a world of infinite possibilities, where the full development of each necessarily involves the free and full development of all. We make the revolution against the miseries of material poverty but also against the miseries of alienated existence. As Emma Goldman put it: "If you can't dance then its not my revolution!" Thus we reject the grey puritanism of Bolshevism, the call to sacrifice our human desires to a political abstraction. Communists will destroy capitalism with an angry joy, with a fighting, laughing humanity. Those who equate communism with the repression of our humanity to an abstract good are precisely those who are preventing the concrete establishment of communism.



(9) This is obviously a crucial point but beyond the scope of this text (please write for more details). Basically the answer lies in ideology, see Althusser and the work of the Situationist International (see booklist at end).

"People who talk about class struggle without referring explicitly to everyday life, without understanding what is subversive about love, what is positive in the refusal of constraints, such people have a corpse in their mouths."

Raoul Vaneigem, The Revolution of Everyday Life



"The desire to play has returned to destroy the hierarchical society which banished it."

Vaneigem

## MARXISM AS IDEOLOGY

"All ideologies are evil." Karl Marx.  
"I am not a Marxist." Karl Marx.

Marx and selected Marxists have contributed much analyses of our world, and his description of the underlying mechanisms of capitalist society are invaluable. Nevertheless, any -ism tends to become dogma, to become ideology (10). Many Bolsheviks and left-communists feel it necessary to trace their theories back to Marx not only because his analyses were often correct but also because he has taken on a stature which lends a mantle of authority to those who can claim orthodoxy. This is a harmful tendency. Communists must be in the business of destroying churches and mystifications, not building them. Marx's analyses were inevitably historically limited and there have emerged within capitalism new mechanisms, structures and tendencies which he could not have predicted. Not the least of these has been the development of feminism, whose insights Marxists have usually tried in vain to ignore or simply subsume to a purely economic class analysis. There are still conferences where women are told that Marx, or Engels "Origins of the Family" is quite adequate for an analysis of sexual politics. The fact that an analysis of sexual politics which goes beyond this often leads women away from Bolshevik groupings (as the SWP discovered when they dissolved 'Women's Voice', which had been set up to bring women into the Party but had the opposite effect) does not show the 'bourgeois individualism' of feminism but the theoretical and practical poverty of groups who cling fearfully to a narrow economic monism.



(10) Theory: when you have an idea; Ideology: when an idea has you. As noted earlier, a world view which makes the thinker a passive object and attributes the active subject to an abstraction.

As revolutionaries we are engaged in a process of discovering the truth about the world, the better to transform it. We must be careful not to impose a rigid theoretical construct onto reality, a reality that is flexible and changing and where 'scientific laws' can at best be expressed as tendencies, not inevitabilities. We must be prepared to recognize the inadequacies, mistakes and contradictions in our analyses, and above all recognize that theories are useless unless put into practice and so tested against the real world.

We should also be prepared to look outside the self-defined limits of Marxism, and examine what is authentic in the insights of anarchists (not all 'bourgeois individualists' or ahistorical chaotic by any means) and the descriptions of capitalism's development into a Spectacle for mass passive consumption and mystification, descriptions developed from Marxism by the Situationist International.

## Marx on Wage-Slavery:



BELLBOY: We haven't been paid in two weeks and we want our wages!  
GROUCHO: Wages? Do you want to be wage slaves, answer me that.  
BELLBOY: No.  
GROUCHO: No, of course not. Well, what makes wage slaves? Wages! I want you to be free. Remember, there's nothing like Liberty, except Collier's and the Saturday Evening Post. Be free, my friends, one for all, and all for me, and me for you, and three for five, and six for a quarter.



"Any journey towards self-demystification must avoid those two quagmires of lost thought - absolutism and cynicism... Absolutism is the total acceptance or rejection of all components of particular ideologies, spectacles or reifications. An absolutist cannot see any other choice than the complete acceptance or rejection.

"The absolutist wanders along the shelves of the ideological supermarket looking for the ideal commodity, and then buys it - lock, stock and barrel. But the ideological supermarket - like any supermarket - is fit only for looting. It is far more productive for us if we can move along the shelves, rip open the packets, take out what is authentic and useful, and dump the rest.

"Cynicism is a reaction to a world dominated by ideology. Faced with conflicting ideologies the cynic says 'a plague on both your houses'. The cynic is as much a consumer as the absolutist, but one who has given up hope of ever finding the ideal commodity."

Revolutionary Self-Theory.

Faced with the pre-packaged ideologies of the Bolshevik groupings, each claiming to be objectively, scientifically and historically correct most people choose one of these two barren options. But the reason most cadres belong to one Party rather than another has more to do with who they know and like than any 'objective' correctness. There is a sincere and strong desire to destroy capitalism and the injustice, irrationality and poverty of life under it. But for most cadres burned out cynicism is the end of the short road of narrow sectarian fanaticism.



Young Socialists on the march for Socialist Policies.

