

# Workers Press

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## A message to our readers

THIS special issue of the Workers Press has been produced in the midst of a split within the Workers Revolutionary Party.

As a consequence of the disruption created by the defection of a

minority of our members we are unable to bring you our usual range of features, news, sport and readers letters.

Instead, we have felt it necessary to publish the details of the provocative actions of this

minority who have deserted the WRP in the footsteps of the disgraced former leader G. Healy.

This issue includes an important article by Mike Banda, WRP General Secretary, on the history of the Fourth

International. This article was received three weeks ago.

It has not yet been discussed on the Central Committee of the Party. It is part of the public discussion that we are holding on the history of our movement.

D. Good

# EXPOSED! PLOT TO SPLIT WRP

A MINORITY faction, led from the United States by David North, secretary of the US Workers League, has split from the Workers Revolutionary Party.

They were discovered on Monday this week to be secretly preparing an edition of the 'Young Socialist' devoted entirely to attacking the Party.

The main article in this pirate newspaper was to have been a 35-point letter from the Workers League, denouncing the WRP leadership as 'renegades from Marxism who have capitulated to the pressures of British imperialism and are placing themselves in the service of the class enemy.'

They have also withdrawn from a bank account the entire funds of the national committee of the Young Socialists, totalling £1,644.80.

The splitters are known to be seeking premises in Yorkshire to establish their own separate headquarters. They intend to seize control of the Manchester YS Youth Training centre in Broughton.

The anti-party group have been preparing for weeks to desert the WRP. The whole operation has been directed from the Workers League headquarters in Detroit, Michigan.

One of North's main aims in splitting the WRP is to uphold the investigation, 'Security and the Fourth International', which he carried out on instructions from Healy, together with Alex Mitchell.

This investigation purported to prove that the entire leadership of the American Socialist Workers Party were agents either of the FBI or the GPU, or both!

The Workers League is embroiled in an expensive law suit brought by former SWP member Alan Gelfand, who claims the alleged agents infringed his civil rights.

North's supporters have already begun distributing pamphlets

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

printed by the Workers League, but marked with prices in sterling, defending 'Security and the Fourth International' against the widespread suspicion that it is a Healyite frame-up.

We predict that before long, North and his minority faction will link up with Healy's supporters, now led by Sheila Torrance, the one-time assistant general secretary of the WRP.

Three members of the WRP Central Committee, Dave Hyland, his close friend Colleen Smith, and his daughter Julie, are the leaders of this minority faction in Britain.

They claimed minority rights within three weeks of the desertion of G Healy and his Redgrave-Mitchell-Torrance clique from the WRP in October last year.

North politically dominates what is left of the International Committee of the Fourth International — the organisation founded by Healy and his associates in 1953.

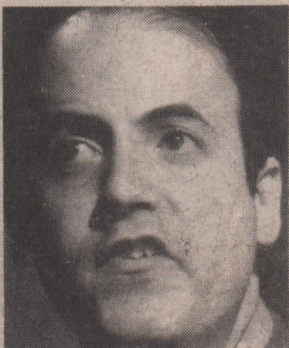
The Greek and Spanish sections of the ICFI defected with Healy last October, leaving groups in West Germany, Australia, Peru, and Sri Lanka.

Since the split with Healy, the IC has been politically dominated by North, although his organisation is not formally affiliated to the IC.

Last month, on the basis of a trumped-up report by a so-called International Control Commission, the IC suspended the WRP, by far its largest section.

The WRP central committee voted overwhelmingly to reject the suspension. Only the Hyland family group were prepared to accept it.

Disquiet about the IC's



bureaucratic move is growing in a number of IC affiliates, and this may have prompted North to move quickly to a full-blown split.

North was only prepared to maintain relations with the WRP provided the party and its members agreed in advance to subordinate themselves to the IC.

This would have had the effect of preventing a real struggle against the Healyite renegades and a thorough-going examination of the history of the party and the IC.



Left to right: Workers League secretary Dave North, and WRP splitters Dave Hyland and Julie Hyland.

## Degeneration of the I.C.

1. That the IC, under the leadership of Healy, and the WRP, has undergone a political, theoretical, moral and organisational degeneration.

2. During that time the policies and perspectives of the IC have turned further and further away from Trotskyism. The theory of Permanent Revolution, and revolutionary strategy and tactics, were never developed in relation to Vietnam, the Middle East and other national liberation struggles, the degenerated workers' states or the metropolitan capitalist countries.

3. The theoretical work of the IC, increasingly dominated by Healy's subjective idealist and mystical version of philosophy, degenerated.

4. Increasingly, Healy's decadent and anti-communist morality and anti-Bolshevik methods of organisation affected both the WRP and IC.

THE following resolution was passed by the central committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party at its meeting on Sunday, January 26

This gave rise to a bureaucratic conception of a centralised world organisation under his control.

5. That the IC is neither 'the world party', nor even the 'nucleus' of the world party.

6. That the perspectives, theory and organisation of Trotskyism can only be elaborated in a fierce struggle against all aspects of Healyism.

7. That the degeneration of the IC under Healy cannot be separated from the problem suffered by the FI over the entire period of its existence. After the founding of the FI, the first devastating blow was the assassination of Trotsky; then came the liquidation of the IEC during the war and its reconstruction under the leadership of the SWP. Under the impact of contradictory developments

of the class struggle, particularly in the metropolitan capitalist countries, after the war, one leadership after another capitulated — Haston and company in the RCP leadership, Pablo, the SWP leadership, Healy and the IC leadership.

8. This whole history of the FI must be gone over and re-examined, a discussion must take place in every section on all these questions. Documents excluded from the six volumes must be circulated.

9. That the IC sections, having carried out a thorough internal discussion, must as soon as possible initiate jointly a public discussion on the history and the tasks of the Fourth International, appealing to all those all over the world who are for the Transitional Programme to take part.

10. That in line with the points made in (5), the IC sections recognise that the IC cannot claim political authority as an international leadership. Neither can sections be subordinated to an international discipline determined by the IC. The task ahead is for international perspectives to be elaborated in joint discussion, for the IC to lead the fight to elaborate such perspectives, in the course of a fight to establish a genuine centre for building the Fourth International.

11. That since the IC has no political authority, and is not a genuine international leadership, that it must acknowledge that the suspension of the British section was an organisational manoeuvre which it had no right to carry out, designed only to obscure the real issues arising out of the split with Healy and the class betrayal which the WRP

and IC carried out under his leadership.

12. That we recognise that Security and the Fourth International was a substitute for a real struggle against revisionism and for Trotskyist principle. That all evidence presented and conclusions drawn be re-examined, together with material published by the American SWP or anybody else on this question. That such an investigation, including a full financial account, be carried out internally at this stage.

13. That we recognise that the Gelfand case, while having revealed important facts about Sylvia Franklin etc, has set an extremely damaging precedent in calling on the state to determine the membership of a working class political organisation; that the IC strive to find a means to resolve this outside the courts including an approach by the Workers League to the SWP.

# TAMIL EELAM: WHY A SEPARATE STATE?

**FEATURE  
ARTICLE**

**PART  
TWO**

**THE Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are a revolutionary group fighting for self-determination for the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka against the oppression of the ruling Sinhala regime.**

The Tamil and Sinhala peoples are two distinct social formations with distinct cultures, languages and history. They had existed as separate national entities in pre-colonial times until they were arbitrarily unified under one state structure by British imperialism in the early nineteenth century.

It was the national oppression of the racist Sinhala ruling elite beginning soon after 'independence' in 1949 which drove the Tamil people on the road to self-determination.

Based on the revolutionary Tamil youth, the Tamil Tigers were formed by Velupillai Prabhakaran in 1972 and later emerged as the armed resistance movement of the Tamil masses.

Their commitment to armed struggle was not undertaken lightly, but only after a careful appraisal of the objective conditions of the national struggle. Part of their theoretical analysis, written by Professor A. S. Balasingham in 1983, is reproduced below.

## The role of the progressives of the oppressor nation

MARX, who supported the Irish national movement, called upon the English working classes to fight for the liberation of Ireland, which he considered as an oppressed colony under England. He firmly held that the liberation of Ireland was a necessity and an essential condition for the emancipation of the English working class. He asserted that no nation can be free while it practises oppression against another country.

The writings of Marx and Lenin on the national question announce a very important political truth, that national oppression would inevitably hold back and divide the working class of the oppressor nation. It is through oppression and through the hegemony of a national chauvinistic ideology that the ruling bourgeoisie exerts dominance and power over the working masses of the oppressor nation.

Marx wrote: 'It is (Britain's oppression of Ireland) the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite their organisation. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power.' (Marx's letter to Meyer and Vogt, April 9, 1870)

Lenin took Marx as his guide on the national question when he wrote: 'Our model will always be Marx, who after living in Britain for decades and becoming half-English, demanded freedom and national independence for Ireland in the interests of the socialist movement of the British workers'. (Lenin: 'On the national pride of the Great Russians')

We advocate that the progressives and revolutionaries of the oppressor nation (in this case the Sinhala nation) who uphold the proletarian praxis of Marxism and Leninism should follow the strategy advanced by these great revolutionary

teachers and give an unconditional, unrelenting support to the freedom struggle of the oppressed Tamil nation.

Such a strategy requires a profound political education of the masses on the democratic rights of the oppressed nation. As Lenin said, 'the masses must be systematically educated to champion — most resolutely, consistently, boldly and in a revolutionary manner — the right of nations to self-determination.'

Such an ideological struggle on the part of the Sinhala progressives is essential to raise the level of political consciousness of the Sinhala proletariat to understand and accept the legitimacy of the Tamil cause. It is precisely this lack of political consciousness that draws Sinhala masses into anti-Tamil racial violence and prevents the development of a proletarian class consciousness.

## Potential

Proletarian revolutionaries committed to the task of socialist revolution should seek and understand the revolutionary potential of mass movements. The national liberation struggle of the oppressed Tamil nation has such revolutionary potential, the failure on the part of Sinhalese progressives to chart a political programme with the fullest comprehension of the objective and subjective conditions of that struggle will be a great setback to the class struggle of the Sinhala nation.

The most important political truth to be grasped in this historical situation is that only the national emancipation of the oppressed Tamil nation will enable the working masses of the oppressor nation to free themselves from the shackles of bourgeois chauvinism and mobilise them against the State power. The liberated socialist Tamil Eelam would be a revolutionary ally of the oppressed Sinhala masses to fight and destroy



*Liberation Tiger guerrilla fighters . . . sustained by the people*

the bourgeois state apparatus.

## National struggle and class struggle

The theoretical perspective of historical materialism necessitates the investigation of any national movement in relation to the historical development of world capitalism.

The nationalism of the European nation states arose with the collapse of feudalism and the transition to capitalism, with the unification of markets and the revolutionary development of productive forces leading to the birth of a new bourgeois class. The ascendancy of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois nationalism led to the oppression and exploitation of other nations.

The advanced stage of capitalist development gave rise to monopoly capitalism which took the global form of imperialism. Imperialist penetration and its form of oppression produced determinant effects on the mode of production of the peripheral formations. Separating the direct producers from their means of production, creating a mass of free labourers, these effects generated the dynamics of the capitalist mode in the penetrated societies. The development of the productive forces in the capitalist mode led to the organisation of the proletariat as a revolutionary class force.

Imperialist penetration not only generated the mechanisms of capitalist development but also shifted the national struggles to the peripheral social formations. In this context the nature of nationalism, the national struggle and the class relations in the national movements of the Third World countries must be viewed in relation to the transformations in the expanding capitalist economy, its global effects, its structural relations with developing peripheral capitalism.

The world hegemony and the development of the revolutionary proletarian classes within the space of imperialist dominance, have changed the structure and character of the contemporary national struggles of the Third World. The so-called progressive national bourgeoisie has lost its revolutionary character to advance the national struggle as a democratic social force.

## Historical

The historical conjuncture of global capitalism has eliminated all progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie, its historical role in the national revolution has shifted to the revolutionary proletariat. Such structural transformation in the class elements has necessitated a revolutionary socialist strategy inter-relating the class

struggle with national liberation struggle under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, a strategy to advance the class struggle along with the national liberation struggle both against the indigenous bourgeoisie and international capitalism.

*The political objective of our movement is to advance the national struggle along with the class struggle, or rather, our fundamental objective is national emancipation and socialist transition of our social formation.*

## The politico-military strategy

The politico-military strategy of our liberation movement is devised in accordance with the specific concrete conditions of our oppressed nation. We are committed, since the inception of our movement, to an armed revolutionary struggle to achieve our ultimate objective, i.e., the establishment of an independent sovereign socialist state of Tamil Eelam.

Our strategy aims at the organisation and politicisation of the broad masses of Tamil Eelam towards a popular war of national liberation and socialist revolution. Our total strategy therefore integrates both the national struggle and class struggle, inter-links both nationalism and socialism into a revolutionary project aimed at liberating our people both from national oppression

and from the exploitation of man by man.

This strategy aims to fuse the progressive patriotic feelings of the broad masses with proletarian class consciousness to accelerate the process of national emancipation and socialist transition of our social formation.

The military objective of our national movement is not simply confined to a confrontation with the armed forces of the oppressive regime, nor is our commitment to revolutionary resistance an alternative to the mass movement. Our revolutionary organisation holds the view that armed resistance, to be a genuine mode of popular struggle, must be sustained and supported by the wider sections of broad masses.

Since the banning of our movement we have been functioning as a revolutionary underground, with political and military cells all over Tamil Eelam. We have chosen urban guerrilla warfare as the effective mode of armed struggle after a careful and cautious appraisal of the specific conditions of our national situation. Our guerrilla units live with the people, sustained by the people, like the fish in the sea.

Our military units are always based in Tamil Eelam and continue to struggle heroically as the armed vanguard of our oppressed people. Our freedom fighters are

armed political militants, political agents with a mission of liberating our people from all modes of oppression and exploitation. Our guerrilla fighters are conscious of the revolutionary dictum that politics guides the gun.

By the consistent hard work of our political cadres our movement has recruited into its ranks peasants, workers, students and revolutionary intellectuals and we are fast growing into a mass national movement.

Since the recent genocidal onslaught vast sections of the popular masses have been rallying behind our liberation organisation since we constitute the most powerful, well organised fighting force in Tamil Eelam. Because of growing popular support our politico-military strategy is now projected in transforming our protracted guerrilla warfare into a people's war of national liberation. The process involves massive expansion of our guerrilla units into a people's army of liberation, a process in which vast sections of our people will be drawn into a mass armed struggle.

## Our appeal to the progressive world

On several fronts of the world today a revolutionary war is being fought, a war between two historically antagonistic forces, the oppressed and the oppressor. Our liberation struggle as an oppressed nation is an integral part of this international war, a war of the revolutionaries against the reactionary forces of oppression, the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism.

## Universal

Though each liberation struggle has its own historical specificity and its unique conditions, in their essence they articulate a universal historical aspiration of humankind to be free from all systems of oppression and exploitation. In this context, the Tamil Eelam national struggle is similar in content to that of the Palestinian, Nambian or South African people's struggle, or any struggle of the oppressed people based on their right to self-determination.

In conclusion, we appeal to all progressive forces and revolutionary movements of the world to recognise our people's right to self-determination and give unrelenting support and solidarity to the armed revolutionary struggle of our liberation movement.

We the Liberation Tigers, wish to express our support and solidarity to all revolutionary liberation struggles of the oppressed masses of the world.

# TWENTY-SEVEN REASONS

## Why the International Committee should be buried forthwith and the Fourth International built

1. The bureaucratic, unprincipled and disgraceful action of the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) in suspending the Workers Revolutionary Party for Healy's past collaboration with bourgeois national movements and the cover-up of the execution of the Iraqi communists is not an accident.

It compels all honest revolutionaries and in particular all those who fought the liquidationism and counter-revolutionary policies of Healy & Co and exposed and expelled him from the WRP, to re-examine the entire history of the ICFI as well as the history of the FI since Trotsky's death.

2. The history of the Fourth International (FI) has proved to be far more complex, tortuous, contradictory and protracted than the history of the previous internationals, leaving little or no room for complacent analogies and facile comparisons and defying even the prognosis of Leon Trotsky about the rapid growth of the FI following upon the Second World War.

Contrary to Trotsky what we have seen is an uninterrupted series of crises, splits, betrayals, treachery, stagnation and confusion — a process characterised by a total lack of strategy and perspective, a manifest failure in theory and practice to grasp the nature of the epoch and concretise and enrich Trotskyism as contemporary Marxism.

3. What we have seen — and the action of the IC is only another and pertinent example — is an empirical and subjective idealist groping by self-styled groups of so-called Trotskyists for a means of short-circuiting the historical process, of looking for surrogates for the working class *a la* Pablo, of searching after the elusive spectre of the 'natural Marxist' *a la* Cannon or replacing the theory of dialectical materialism with the reactionary subjective-idealist methodology and epistemology of Healy.

With it went the substitution of a self-perpetuating bureaucratic clique for the democratic-centralist party and replacing Trotsky's conception of the FI by coteries of petty-bourgeois dilettantes, charlatans and fantasists masquerading as a 'world party'.

It is certainly no accident — in fact it proceeds logically and practically from this very conception of the IC in 1953 — that not a single section of the IC — and this includes the Workers League of the United States — at any time in the last 32 years has been able to elaborate a viable perspective for the working class. Why?

4. To ask the question is to answer it. It must be stated emphatically, nay, categorically, that the FI was proclaimed but never built. Not even in Trotsky's time was there a cadre capable of sustaining his monumental work. Not surprisingly he spent the last few years conflicting with almost every group in the FI — the Chinese, the Indo-Chinese, the French, and



### By Michael Banda General Secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party

above all the Socialist Workers Party — in particular with J.P. Cannon in the famous discussion on the capitulation of the SWP to Left-Rooseveltianism and their refusal to consider the US Communist Party as a legitimate part of the working class.

This capitulation — let us recollect — was preceded by Cannon's previous disgusting accommodation to Norman Thomas and the US Socialist Party in 1934-1935. In Britain the most active group — the Workers Internationalist League — refused for four years to affiliate to the FI, while the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India collapsed ignominiously in the post-war period and disappeared without a trace after entry into the Socialist Party of India.

5. The murder of Trotsky and the war, far from solving the unfinished problems and accelerating the development of the FI, in fact had the opposite effect. It accelerated the disorientation of cadres — a process which was undoubtedly assisted by the repression of the Nazis and the criminal activities of the Stalinists and Social Democrats in the occupation.

#### Betrayal

However in the US there were no such extenuating factors and here the greatest betrayal of Trotskyism took place, in the Minneapolis Trial. The strategy and tactics of revolutionary defeatism were shamelessly abandoned by Cannon, Hansen and Novack in favour of a semi-defencist policy, and this act of criminal betrayal was endorsed by the International Executive Committee (IEC) and International Secretariat (IS) and challenged only by G. Munis.

Cannon's political cowardice and capitulation to the backward sections of the US working class became the pattern for the WIL-Revolutionary Communist Party in Britain and his book 'Socialism on Trial' became the gospel for world Trotskyists and the basis for further revisions of Trotskyism after the war.

6. The enormous influence of the SWP in the FI proved fatal in more ways than one. It encouraged during the war the adoption of centrist

policies by many sections paralleling that of the SWP and with it — an adaptation to centrist parties and groups in Europe. Healy, a close adherent and admirer of Cannon actually left the WIL and proposed unity with Fenner (now Lord) Brockway. In Europe the sections abstained from participating in the Resistance and played little or no part in the struggle to project a revolutionary defeatist line.

7. The disorientation of the war was followed by even greater confusion with its termination. It is an understatement that the entire FI — bereft of Trotsky's dialectical ability and vision — was completely confused by the post-war situation because the leading Trotskyists, such as Cannon, had made a fetishistic dogma out of Trotskyism and were now buttressed by the impressionists like Pablo and eclectics like Mandel. Trotsky had sown dragon's teeth and reaped fleas.

In this scenario it must be admitted that the British section played little or no role — merely echoing Cannon's pragmatism in the case of Healy or swinging wildly between Trotskyism and state capitalism (the case of Haston, Grant and Cliff). Dialectics had long ceased to inspire the FI. Vulgar empiricism had taken its place. The ideological reaction produced by the 1930s persisted after the war even though there was a mass upsurge of the working class. We had revolutionary situations without revolutionary leadership.

8. The most cogent proof of this was the total failure of the FI to appreciate:

(a) The military-bureaucratic changes in E. Europe until 1950 and the defeat of fascism by the Red Army  
(b) The world-historical significance of the Chinese, Yugoslav and Indo-Chinese revolutions. (The Chinese and Indo-Chinese sections projected a strategy which ran counter to the armed struggle — corroborating Trotsky's earlier warnings on not ignoring the national struggle against imperialism).

9. The most significant revision in the immediate post-war period was Cannon's 1946 American Theses which was a continuation of his national-defencist orientation

covered up in seemingly revolutionary terms. It apotheosised American exceptionalism and under the guise of projecting a unique American road to socialism wrote off the European socialist revolution and with it the collective theoretical collaboration in continuing Trotsky's work and concretising his historical prognosis.

Cannon's struggle against Morrow, Goldman, etc. in this context was an alibi and convenient diversion which did nothing to stop the descent into pragmatism of the worst kind. Cannon and the SWP abandoned even the pretence of building the Fourth International by 1950.

10. The failure of the IS and IEC to address themselves to the major events of this post-war period was complemented by the most shameless toadying to bourgeois democracy in Western Europe, e.g. Mandel's support for the 1946 referendum in France and, in Britain, the IEC's support for total entry into the LP and the transformation of the Healy group into an adjunct of the Bevanite left without any independent journal to crystallise opposition to the LP. This same process went on in India with disastrous results for the Indian and Sri Lankan sections.

#### Gloomy

11. This was compounded at the Second World Congress by a thesis which was as gloomy as it was wrong. On the central issue of Israel the FI did not oppose the creation of the Zionist enclave and call for its overthrow but — bowing to Mandel's Zionist proclivities — called disarmingly for the restriction of immigration, a demand readily supported by Stalinists and Labour Lefts!

The Second Congress of 1948 was noted for its myopic insistence that imperialism was still stable and Stalinism unshaken. Not surprisingly and without any opposition from the SWP which was hosting the Johnson-Forest tendency. State capitalism, again on Mandel's insistence, was declared to be compatible with Trotskyism. This was an outrageous repudiation of Trotsky's crucial struggle against Burnham-Shachtman.

Two years later the FI paid a

lamentable price when the state-capitalists broke internationally from the FI over the Korean war — in the same way as they did in the pre-war period over the Polish question and the Russo-Finnish war. The FI however did not even have the gift of hindsight. The entire Trotskyist heritage was being dumped three years before the arch-revisionist Pablo appeared on the scene.

12. The disruption and betrayal of the struggle to build the FI, to train cadres through a dialectical-materialist abstraction of the concrete historical practice of the world working class continued. After the Second Congress there was a systematic campaign waged by the SWP in collaboration with Healy to create a cult of Pablo and Mandel as the political executors of Trotsky — if not the greatest living political geniuses and strategists.

In a discussion with myself and the late P.K. Roy of the Indian section, the late Farrell Dobbs candidly admitted that the SWP consciously built up Pablo as the living embodiment of Trotskyism because they feared the death of Trotsky had left a void which had to be filled up! This was the essence of the theoretical bankruptcy of the SWP — and the whole FI leadership — and the most cogent proof of the pragmatism which had doomed the SWP. Trotsky himself had warned the SWP in 'In Defence of Marxism' that there would be no more Marxes or Lenins but only great practitioners of Marxism.

The search for a great leader and the necessity to invent one if he didn't exist was the clearest warning of the political disasters which lay ahead and the fact that FI leadership in its entirety had abandoned the collective theoretical and practical struggle to lead the world revolution. The creation of a cult figure in Pablo was itself the corollary to the dogmatism of Trotskyism by the SWP. The leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party complained about and criticised this trend but did nothing to fight it. The split and the subsequent rapprochement between Pablo, Mandel and Cannon was hardly surprising — neither Cannon nor Healy ever broke from the conceptual framework of Pablo and his methodology.

13. The impressionistic eclecticism apparent at the Second Congress reached abnormal proportions with the relative post-war stabilisation of capitalism epitomised in the IMF, Bretton Woods, the Marshall Plan, NATO — and in the US the inception of McCarthyism, the Cold War and Kennan's theory of 'Containment'. The disorientation of the SWP was accelerated when sceptics in the party began to question the infallibility of Cannon, his vaunted 'American Theses' and the failure of his prognosis to materialise.

Cannon, who failed to see the dialectical relation of revolution-

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## ■ FROM PAGE 3

ary perspectives to the development of the European and colonial socialist revolution now swung in the opposite direction and proclaimed McCarthyism as 'American fascism' — a diagnosis which revealed that he knew little about Fascism and even less about class relations in the US. After that no one ever again heard about the 1946 Theses or for that matter about Trotsky's insistence that the SWP fight for the creation of a Labour Party based on the trade unions.

This demand of Trotsky's was the first casualty of Cannon's provincialism. It could not be reconciled with the prognosis that the socialist revolution was imminent in the US and the SWP was destined to become the 'small mass party' leading the revolution.

14. This improbable scenario of US fascism coincided with the Korean War and led logically and directly to the strengthening of Pablo's strategy in the FI; first to the theory of centuries of degenerated workers states and then, more ominously, with the advent of the cold war and the 9th Plenum of the IEC in 1949 to a major shift in emphasis on the inevitability of World War III and the transformation of such a war into a war-revolution. The corollary to this was consequent conversion of the FI into a 'ginger group' within the Stalinist movement and the need for support for the 'revolution in all its forms', i.e. political support of the zig-zags of Soviet foreign policy.

## Revisionist

With the exception of Bleibtreau, Doric Souza (LSSP) and the late Sam Gordon, who later capitulated to Cannon and Pablo, there was no opposition to this utterly revisionist line which was nothing more than a re-hash of Kautsky's theory of ultra-imperialism in Pabloite attire. Central to this thesis was the premise that US imperialism was so strong and stable that it could unite the whole of Western Europe and, without resort to fascism and under the auspices of a Congressional Democracy with independent trade unions and an organised and militant working class, could embark on a thermo-nuclear world war against the USSR, China and Eastern Europe!

This was Pablo's 'new reality' and it was accepted without cavil or criticism by the vast majority of the FI leadership at the Third World Congress in 1951. There is little doubt in my mind that if Trotsky had been present at this improbable gathering of empirics and pragmatists he would have publicly dissociated from them with the declaration 'if this is Trotskyism I am no Trotskyist'.

15. The SWP even proclaimed this Congress as a 'landmark' in the history of world Trotskyism and continued to support and defend the bankrupt perspective right up to and after the split of 1953 and the 'Open Letter': a fact which testified to the opportunist and unprincipled nature of the 1953 split.

What the Third Congress did in fact was to legitimise the national-state orientation of the FI and give credence to the policy of every section adapting politically to its native labour bureaucracy. Or as Lawrence succinctly put it: 'If the pressure of the masses can force Thorez and Togliatti to take the power why not Nye Bevan?' Precisely!

I would therefore submit that the split of 1953 was inherent in the perspectives and policy adopted in 1951. It intensified the division between those who in Britain and the USA (eg Cannon and Healy) were

orienting rapidly towards the labour and reformist bureaucracies and the state and those in Western Europe who were adapting to the pressure of the dominant Stalinist bureaucracies as in Italy and France.

The opposition of the French leaders, Lambert and Just, of the PCI revealed the somewhat invidious position of a group which was based largely on the ultra-conservative Force Ouvriere unions which had been restored in the post-war period by the AFL-CIO. Their political allies were in the French SP not the CP and they could not adjust to Pablo's policies of entrism *sui generis*. Their opposition was based on expediency not principle.

Pablo's policies of adaptation and his theory of 'revolution by pressure' also gave a licence to the re-united LSSP to begin its unprincipled political manoeuvres with Mrs. Bandaranaike (MEP) in the fifties and the ultimate consummation of this process with the coalition with Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party in 1964 and the betrayal of the 21 demands movement. If pressure could move the bureaucracies in the West why



Women fighters of the Algerian FLN

not the liberal native bourgeoisie in the East? It was the rehabilitation by stages of the reactionary discredited thesis of Stalinism and Menshevism. That was all the Third Congress achieved.

16. As far as any viable political leadership was concerned it was clear that by 1951 the FI was completely emasculated. What happened after that was the logical product of the unprincipled agreement concluded at the Congress. Pablo, by necessity, was forced to scheme and intrigue against those leaderships tied organically to the pro-Western bureaucracies such as Cannon, Healy and Lambert. Conversely Cannon and Healy were forced to protect their own base of operations — naturally while still claiming adherence to the same fraudulent 1951 decisions — from the pro-Stalinist orientation of Pablo.

Healy was virtually liquidated into the Labour Party in Britain proclaiming complete political confidence in Bevan and talking unctuously about reforming the state while Cannon was adapting to left Democrats in the US and keeping a shameless and inscrutable silence on the Rosenberg executions. Cannon's articles on Stalinism reveal an appalling political indifference to the persecution of the US Communist Party and confirm the charge that he never considered the CP a legitimate part of the working class.

This cowardly abstention encouraged the development of the Cochrane-Clarke tendency which supported Pablo in the SWP. It wasn't accidental either that in the early stages of the Korean war the Militant carried a third camp position and that Cannon's intervention in this episode was more in the nature of a pacifist-moral outrage against the war than a revolutionary-defeatist opposition — not unlike North's opposition to the Grenada invasion.

17. Parenthetically, it must be remembered that the real test of the FI came after 1951 in the 1952 Bolivian Revolution and that in this struggle, Cannon, Pablo and Healy protected and defended the Menshevik Lora's line of political support for Lechin and confidence in the bourgeois-democratic MNR government of Paz Estensoro.

The theory of Permanent Revolution and the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat were unceremoniously junked in favour of a 2 stage theory of revolution which enabled the dictator Barrientos to come to power and suppress the Bolivian workers and illegitimise the POR. Significantly an

bureaucrat', 'irremovable secretary' and even as a 'Stalinist agent working for the GPU' (shades of 'Security and the FI!')

This epistle from the philistines of 'orthodox Trotskyism' was an arrogant ultimatum to the FI sections to fall in line with a group of opportunists who bore the greatest responsibility for the crisis of leadership. No wonder Cannon believed sanguinely that the Open Letter would bring down Pablo and his 30 sections like the biblical walls of Jericho. On the contrary, the Open Letter did nothing to alter the line of forces, clarified nothing and obscured the real methodological issues at stake.

I challenge North and his flunkies in the IC to produce a single document, resolution or memorandum which sought to explain theoretically the causes and origins of the split. He will find none. That is the greatest indictment of the IC and that is why, I for one, will treat his invocation of IC authority with the contempt, pity and anger it deserves. The IC was a grandiose illusion, a contemptible manoeuvre and a disgusting charade which in the end, and unsurprisingly was forced to sustain its credibility with the despicable and disgraceful parody of the Dewey Commission called 'Security and the Fourth International'.

I for one am grateful to the IC for having suspended the WRP. I consider it an esteemed honour to have broken all political and organisational ties with an organisation which had become synonymous with bureaucratic thuggery, organised slander, political chicanery and moral depravity of the most sordid kind. I would have preferred the IC to have the political guts to do what any principled leadership would do by expelling us. But then what can we expect from such dilettantes and Healyite epigones?

## Adaptation

19. Now to return to this sorry and lugubrious tale. The formation of the IC solved nothing and did nothing to stop the adaptation to the native labour bureaucracies and the petty bourgeois milieus. The acid test for the IC — in this sense — was not Cuba but Algeria. And by any standards the practical and theoretical justification for the practice was a damning and crushing indictment of IC leadership. From the start the IC — following the perfidious initiative of the PCI leaders Lambert, Bloch and Just — adapted to the reformist-constitutionalist trend led by Messali Hadj and the MNA and opportunistically opposed the armed struggle organised and led by the CRUA (Revolutionary Committee for Unity of Action) which later became the FLN.

With a callousness to the suffering and sacrifice to the Algerian people, worthy only of reformist humbugs and Jesuit missionaries, Lambert and Healy — with the connivance of Cannon refused to support the FLN on the grounds that Ben Bella, Boudiaf and Krimbel Kacim, and Ait Ahmed were agents of Nasser and were of bourgeois origin. To justify this the thoroughly idealist fallacy of a 'people-class' — borrowed from Leon's book on the Jewish question — was put forward.

Not so ironically this theory was a complete repudiation of Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution and Lenin's writings on the national and colonial question. According to this truly amazing contribution to political science there was no bourgeoisie in Algeria, only proletarians and semi-proletarians. The MNA was defined as a proletarian body and therefore there was no need for a separate Trotskyist organisation. The task was to win Messali to Trotskyism,

denounce the FLN as an anti-working class terrorist body and the Algerian revolution would be ours QED.

Not only that. It was furthermore discovered by these wisecracks that Algeria was the beginning of the French revolution, so logically, Messali was destined to be the co-leader of the French socialist revolution, together, presumably, with Lambert and Just. This disgraceful political pantomime today seems almost a joke but then it had serious and tragic implications for the Algerian and French proletariat. As a result the IC failed to construct a section in Algeria and discredited itself in the eyes of Arab workers.

What it meant in practice was that all the resources of the IC were devoted to white-washing the counter-revolutionary leadership of Messali — who was no socialist but a Pan-Islamite (the name Hadj signified he was a Hadji — a pilgrim to Mecca) and to opposing the armed struggle in Algeria in favour of elections and UN interventions and, more seriously, separating the Algerian revolution from the historic aspirations of the Arab people to unite the Maghreb (the Arab West) with the rest of the Arab world.

In a distorted, but nevertheless legitimate way, Nasser symbolised this striving for unity and this was strikingly confirmed during the 1956 Suez War and the formation of the abortive United Arab Republic in 1958. Yes, Nasser gave generous help to the FLN (one reason why the French collaborated in the invasion of Suez in 1956) and the Voice of Cairo conducted a systematic pan-Arab, bourgeois nationalist, anti-imperialist propaganda. Cairo inspired many of the movements in Iraq, Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Yemen, Aden, Libya, Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia.

The OCI-IC theory on the other hand was nothing more than a scarcely veiled concession to the French imperialist policy of decimating Algeria and considering Algeria as a 'geographical expression' and an extension of metropolitan France. Hence the idea of the identity of the French and Algerian revolutions and the continued support for the arch scoundrels Messali and Moulay Merbah (who amassed fortunes by systematic terror and gansterism against Algerians in France) even after they signed a separate truce with Soustelle and de Gaulle.

Paradoxically, the arch-revisionist Pablo, like the proverbial clock, was formally speaking on the right side of the barricades. He at least supported the FLN, albeit uncritically.

The author of this article, let it be recalled, was asked to write a defence of the MNA in 1957. On refusing to do so he was instructed by Healy and the editorial board of Labour Review, by a vote of 20-1, to do so. I will confess it was one of the most shameful episodes in my political career. To this day neither the PCI (OCI), SLL-WRP or the IC have re-examined the shameless and tragic experience. To me, at least, it became inescapably clear that the OCI was a reformist and pro-imperialist organisation. I told Healy that many times but he refused to believe it and opined that the OCI would change. And so it did! To become a completely chauvinist and discredited group occupying a position on the extreme right of the French labour movement.

20. The Algerian experience proved conclusively that the IC was not a homogeneous body and was incapable of giving leadership on questions affecting the struggle against the state — which is the most decisive test for any international. The sell-out on Algeria led



Collaborators on the investigation into 'Security and the Fourth International'. Left to right: Alex Mitchell, Dave North and G.Healy

predictably to the coming to power of De Gaulle. The coup of May 13, 1958 only accelerated the decomposition of the OCI and the IC.

A new 'theory' or rather rationalisation was worked out to justify the treacherous inactivity of the OCI and its capitulation to the Bonapartist dictatorship. This was the Lambertist thesis that 1958 was a decisive defeat for the French workers, that the Fifth Republic was Bonapartism *sui generis* and that nothing could be done except prepare for illegality! None of these ideas were ever discussed by the IC. It was too embarrassing to Healy who was now tardily discovering that his one-time patron Cannon was blackballing him by corresponding with Tilak of the LSSP on the vexed question of unity with the IS of Pablo.

## Business

True to form Cannon, having established his own freedom to manoeuvre with the labour bureaucracy and having disposed of the Cochranite nuisance, was now prepared to do business with Pablo on the basis of a common stand on the Hungarian Revolution and a watering down of the programme of political revolution in the USSR. To each his own. Healy at the same time was forced, to protect his own centrist political base, to withdraw from the Labour Party in the same confused way as he entered it in 1947 — and form the SLL.

Far from having a revolutionary orientation the SLL became a new adaptation to the wretched syndicalism of Brian Behan, Pennington, et al. Healy made a virtue out of necessity by turning to the ex-CPers coming out of the 1956-57 crisis of Stalinism, but he had no perspectives either for the IC or the SLL. A careful study of the 1957 to 1960 literature (Newsletter and Labour Review) will bring out the unmistakable syndicalist trend of the SLL which was pragmatically combined with articles from Cdes Slaughter, Kemp and others on Marxism.

21. Healy's enormous energy and pugnacity kept the show on the

road but where it was going no-one — least of all Healy — knew. In the meantime the development of the world post-war boom — which completely contradicted the 1946-1948 thesis of an economic crash based on Mandel's underconsumptionist fallacies — completed the disorientation and nationalist degeneration of the IC. The SWP together with the Canadian, Chinese (no members yet, laughably, represented on the IC) and Latin Americans went over completely to Pablo leaving only Britain and France in the cold.

To add to the confusion the French now came forward with the revisionist theory that the revisionism of Pablo had successfully destroyed the FI (Pablo never destroyed the FI because the FI had not been built. The FI of Pablo, Cannon and Healy was a surrogate international, a historical accident and the misbegotten product of an unprincipled alliance shot through with opportunism and political double-talk) and it was necessary to rebuild it, that the IC should have no disciplinary powers and must only be a guiding body.

With instinctive opportunism Healy conceded to the scepticism and the IC was renamed ICRFI (International Committee for the Reconstruction of the FI) and at the Third Congress in 1966 a new and outrageous opportunist manoeuvre was embarked on by inviting such disparate anti-Trotskyist Shachtmanite groups as the Robertson Spartacus tendency and the overtly state-capitalist Lutte Ouvriere group. Predictably none of them stayed till the end of the Congress.

22. Another fallacy which must be exposed is the legend that the discussion on Cuba proved the 'orthodox' credentials of the IC. If this were so then indeed one would not have the crisis of today. Indubitably some important contributions on the method of pragmatism, the theory of knowledge and dialectics as well as the question of base and superstructure, etc., were made in the controversy with the SWP. But this did not alter the framework of the discussion which was entirely suspect.

Healy made no contribution at

all to this struggle. The theoretical work was done entirely by Cdes Slaughter, Banda and Kemp.

More to the point is the manifest failure of the IC to make any effective intervention in the LSSP which since 1958 was drifting progressively to the right and towards accommodating with the SLFP. From 1960 to 1964 the IC said nothing in the hope that the centrists in the LSSP might come over to the IC. In this situation Pablo split from Mandel and augmented his credibility with the anti-coalition faction by opposing the N.M. Perera-Colvin da Silva group before the IC did so.

The IC intervention was made only on the very eve of the split conference in Colombo when Healy tried to gate-crash the conference and gain a cheap advantage at the expense of Pierre Frank and the United Secretariat. No real analysis was made of the tendencies involved in the opposition and the IC ended with a pragmatic and episodic alliance with the most dubious element in the opposition, the traitor P.B. Thampoe. The IC had no perspective for Sri Lanka except to denounce N.M. Perera ex post facto. It was left to Cde Tony Banda to try and pick up the pieces and construct a section. Healy, apart from writing a second-rate analysis of the event, showed no interest again.

## Pretext

23. For reasons best known to himself Healy used the precedent of Sri Lanka as a pretext to pull all the SLL youth comrades out of the Labour Party Young Socialists and thereby handed over the Labour youth to the revisionists of the Militant tendency. This proved — if proof were necessary — that Healy and the IC never understood Social Democracy and the development and history of the British working class. He was incapable of making a serious theoretical analysis of anything and merely substituted his intuitions suitably dressed up in Marxist phrases.

Stemming from a totally false analysis of the post-war boom which came dangerously close to

the 'break-down' theory of early German social-democracy, Healy and the IC saw national and world developments as an apocalyptic and Messianic process. The entire orientation of the 1960s and 1970s was dominated by this bizarre anti-Marxist thesis succinctly summed up in a 'Newsletter' headline of 1968: 'Crisis, Panic, Crash' (or as the Germans said: 'Krisen, Kriegen, Katastrophen').

Not deduction but reduction of every trend to a simple common denominator of the apocalypse. Hence every Labour government was seen as the last government of its kind, every monetary crisis as the final crisis and every bank failure as the threshold to Armageddon. We used to laugh at Behan's lobotomised economics and his theory of the 'catastrophic crash' in the early 1960s but Healy's fantasies showed how little the IC had travelled since then. Every serious attempt to analyse world economy was frowned upon and the intellectuals were forced to toe the Healyite line: apocalypse now! Cde Kemp, for one, was virtually driven out of leadership and almost out of the party for dissenting from this viewpoint.

24. Despite every attempt to accommodate to the French the pressures of French imperialism were stronger and in the end prevailed. The IC did nothing to fight the rightward drift of the French except to make occasional polite criticisms which encouraged French arrogance. Next to Algeria the greatest debacle of the IC was the grotesque diplomatic silence, reticence and criminal inactivity in relation to the May-June general strike of 1968 — and the conduct of the OCI.

The fact is that the OCI betrayed the general strike and impugned every tradition and principle of Trotskyism by its obdurate refusal to implement transitional demands and advance the struggle for power. At no stage did the OCI call for the overthrow of the 5th Republic or the formation of a Communist Party-Socialist Party government or even advocate the formation of committees of action and factory committees. The poli-

cy of the OCI was syndicalist through and through and informed all along by the defeatist, pessimistic assumptions of 1958.

The IC's intervention was to send comrade Kemp to France to write an analysis of the Stalinist betrayal but say nothing about the omissions of the OCI. Every attempt to raise the question at IC and CC meetings was pushed aside. Instead Healy sang rhapsodies about the OCI and raised a £1,000 fund when De Gaulle banned the left parties. The SLL and IC did not criticise the French once because they obviously agreed with them. But politics, as Trotsky once remarked, knows no gratitude and the French finally rejected Marxism as the theory of knowledge of the revolutionary party and — to add to their contempt — endorsed Lora's treacherous role in the 1971 Bolivian uprising.

## Split

The split with the French did not take place on the central question of the struggle for power in France because that was too embarrassing for Healy. It is true to say that Healy and the IC did not break from the French but the reverse — the French OCI broke from Healy and the IC. Incredibly, the only polemical document written against the OCI — 'In Defence of Trotskyism' — concerned the philosophy but nothing was done to educate the IC cadre through an analysis of the political strategy and tactics of the OCI in the most instructive struggle in the history of the IC.

25. The sequence of stupidities, evasions and missed opportunities unfortunately does not end here. Like the Bourbons of old, Healy and the IC learned nothing and forgot nothing. When the OCI began to grow in the late 1960s and became the biggest section of the IC and when it seemed that Lambert would dominate the IC Healy decided on a new policy: Having funded the daily paper without any real political foundation he decided to outsmart the French with a

# TWENTY SEVEN REASONS

## ■ FROM PAGE 5

forced march and transform the SLL into the WRP.

He was encouraged in this asinine project by starry-eyed illusions in what he thought was the most powerful industrial base of Trotskyism — the Cowley branch of the SLL in British Leyland. This group of backward syndicalists was glorified by Healy and built into something it never was.

To add to the confusion a completely bogus Charter of Basic Rights based on a badly digested reading of Cromwell's life was elaborated and every possible concession was made to the trade unionist illusions of workers in Leyland, Vauxhall, Pilkingtons and the docks. (As usual it was camouflaged with seemingly erudite quotations from Volume 38.) It was what Lenin called 'giving the economic struggle a political character'. This was the real purpose of the ATUA and the real motive in forming the WRP.

As further expedients in this absurdly idealist repertoire Healy intuitively projected the national march of 1972 and the most vulgar adaptation to a new milieu of idealists in the entertainment industry. Healy believed that by marches, pageants, pop concerts and various other politically exotic devices supplemented by lectures in a mutilated dialectics he could replace historical experience and the long arduous political struggle of the party and persuade thousands of workers to abandon Social Democracy and become Trotskyists. To give this added credence the spectre of a non-existent Bonapartist threat and an exaggerated emphasis on state conspiracies was invented. What happened subsequently was a biting satire on Healy's prognosis:

Firstly, the entire Cowley branch together with a number of other WRP members defected, formed the WSL at the first prospect of a Labour government and completely revised the Transitional Programme.

Secondly, the millions of workers continued to give their allegiance to the Labour Party and turned their back on the WRP.

Thirdly, the electoral intervention of the WRP in 1974-1975 proved to be a disaster and a costly one at that.

Fourthly, the daily paper was in big financial difficulties and solvency seemed as far away as ever.

The defection of Thornett — who was bureaucratically expelled with physical violence used against Richardson — and the

problems of the paper only exacerbated Healy's empiricism and subjective idealism. If the revolutionary party didn't exist it had to be invented and membership figures had to be doctored. If the paper couldn't pay its way in London then shift it to Runcorn and employ party members. If the party collapsed at the polls, no matter. We didn't contest to get votes but to make members! There was a rationalisation for every problem.

If the working class could not finance the deficit of the party and press new sources of revenue had to be found: in the petty-bourgeois carpet-baggers like the Redgraves, in the IC and the bourgeois-national movements. **The very perspective endorsed by the IC of transforming the SLL into the WRP and the daily paper — which the infant prodigy North still likes to refer to as the greatest conquest of the IC — in fact garrotted the IC.**

The question facing the WRP and IC is not that the WRP leaders — Healy, Mitchell and Redgrave — took large sums of money from the Arab countries but that this money was taken largely to finance the brainchild of Healy and the IC! This was the inexorable logic of a serious political mistake, a strategical error, for which the WRP and the IC were responsible. It was hardly surprising that as the revenue from Arab countries dried up, Healy became more rapacious towards the IC and the WRP. The sexual abuses and gangsterism of Healy were an inescapable concomitant of this disorientation and degeneration.

## Cause

North and his minions understand nothing about the degeneration of the WRP when they try to ascribe the cause to the abandonment of the theory of Permanent Revolution. The fact is, as I have shown with innumerable references and concrete evidence, that the SLL-WRP and IC never subscribed to it in the first place. In practice they repudiated it.

This was, incidentally, the case in Indo-China too where for years the IC advocated the policy of 'Long Live the Vietnamese Revolution — Down with NLF!' I personally intervened both in the Workers League with Wohlforth and in a bitter struggle both with Healy and Lambert to change the line to 'Victory to the NLF!'

26. The crisis in the WRP naturally coincided with crises in Greece and the US. In Greece the crisis

was a factitious one. The Greek section was a bogus one which was metaphorically speaking smuggled into the IC after a split with the Mastroiannis group which attended the Third Congress of the IC. Sklavos and his entire group deserted the Greek working class and went into voluntary exile in Britain when the Junta came to power and did nothing to oppose the junta. Here again the main question for Healy was legality and he never criticised the Greeks for their petty-bourgeois cowardice.

Also there was no investigation by the IC into the charges of capitulation to the police and betrayal made against leading members of the Greek section. From 1971 an unprincipled relation was maintained with the Greeks in order to use them against the OCI. The present defection of Sklavos is not too surprising. He was a star product of the IC's school of legal Marxism. The desertion of the Greeks is but a stage in the irreversible process of the complete break-up of the whole IC. Good riddance!

The crisis with Wohlforth was artificially exacerbated by Healy with his paranoid ravings about security and his total failure to deal with the Workers League's problems of perspective and policy. The issue of Nancy Fields was exaggerated and distorted beyond all proportion. In my opinion Wohlforth's weaknesses were maliciously exploited by Healy to drive him out. As a point of information it is necessary to correct the impression that it was Dave North's leadership that fought Wohlforth. This is a tax on my credibility. The entire 'struggle' was conducted by leaders of the WRP with tactical help from the WL. The case of Nancy Fields must be re-examined in the same way as Thornett, Blick and other victims of Healy's malice and bureaucratic sadism.

The cause of the decline is more profound and a bit more complex — it was the failure or inability of the IC as a whole to grasp the contradictory nature of class struggle and the tasks of leadership in the post-world-war situation.

The IC failed to grasp in theory and practice the laws of historical-revolutionary change, and this constituted a failure, even refusal of those leaders to master the conceptual weapons of our epoch — dialectical materialism. ('The party which does not keep step with the historical tasks of its own class becomes, or runs the risk of becoming, the indirect tool of other classes,' Trotsky, *Lessons of October*) **That is why the FI has still to**



TROTSKY

be built. Only in that way can we understand the repudiation of Permanent Revolution.

I want to make clear that I am not indulging in any form of ritualistic breast-beating nor am I seeking to avoid my own responsibility for the growth of Healyism and the bankruptcy of the IC. My only regret is that I didn't write this ten years ago. This statement is a critical re-examination of the whole of the IC including myself which I feel is unpostponably urgent in view of the distortion, misrepresentation and half-truth put out by the IC clique which is hell-bent on resuscitating a stinking corpse.

## Position

For my part, I recognise that the WRP today is in the same position that the Bolsheviks were in 1915-1917 and that in order to build the FI it is necessary — as an indispensable precondition — to bury the IC. To let it fester for another single day would be tantamount to the worst betrayal of Trotsky and Trotskyism.

In conclusion I would like to commend to all those comrades who demonstrated in action their fidelity to the cause of Trotskyism and their repugnance of Healy's and North's method the advice of Trotsky:

'Lassalle used to say that a revolutionary needs the "physical power of thought". Lenin liked to repeat these words, although in general, he did not like Lassalle much. The physical power of thought consists in analysing the situation and perspectives to the very end, having come to the necessary practical conclusions, defending them with conviction, courage, intransigence, not fearing someone else's fears, not bowing before the prejudices of the masses but basing oneself on the objective course of development.' (Writings of Leon Trotsky 1933-1934, page 190, Pathfinder Press, New York.)

27. No examination of the IC would be complete or honestly objective if it didn't include the most sinister and reactionary manifestation of Healyism in the IC — Security and the Fourth International. No one who honours Trotsky's impeccable and scrupulous regard for absolutely verifiable facts and irrefutable evidence will have anything more to do with this monstrous frame-up based entirely on circumstantial evidence and political

innuendo. The IC proved nothing which we didn't already know about Sylvia Callen or Zborowski. The letters on Hansen prove nothing either.

It is entirely possible, nay probable, that Trotsky did advise Hansen to 'play ball' with the GPU agent as part of a plan to elicit information and that he also advised him to contact the FBI. Even if he didn't it doesn't prove that Hansen was guilty. North, I fear, is hoist on his own petard and faces the charge of being an accomplice with Healy and the execrable Mitchell in the murder of Trotsky's finest tradition.

Two further questions arise: When North contends that that the struggle against revisionism was abandoned he is only half right. History records that the anti-revisionist struggle was transformed for over a decade into a manic witch-hunt, a desperate forensic diversion to be precise, to satisfy Healy's paranoid schizophrenia as well as his anti-theory empiricism. In this respect Hansen's charge against Healy was right. Never in the history of intelligence work of state bodies has any agent devoted the whole of his life — as Hansen did — to building a reformist party. That is not the style of the GPU or FBI. Hansen lived and died a revisionist. A GPU agent — never!

There is an even more damning question I would like to address to Healy's political bloodhounds, North and Mitchell. Why is it that not a single radical intellectual, not one conscientious professor, trade union leader or dissident Stalinist responded to the call for an inquiry into the murder of Trotsky by Mercader and presumably, Hansen and Novack? To ask the question is to answer it.

No one except the paranoid North and his cronies in the IC will believe this damnable fantasy which paradoxically ended with a similar charge against North adduced by none other than Healy! It is incredible that North should now point to Budenz's testimony that Hansen was a GPU agent. Applying North's own rotten yardstick how are we not to presume that Budenz was doing this as part of his own filthy deal with FBI and State Department?

As for North's amazing revelation that the entire leadership of the present SWP was recruited from the same Mid-Western college I can only retort: So what? Where is the concrete evidence of their work for the FBI? Put up or shut up North!



Troops lining the streets of Athens

# FOR A PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON HEALY'S I.C.

In November last year the Workers Revolutionary Party held a meeting at Friends Meeting House on the question of 'Revolutionary Morality and the split in the WRP'. Speaking on behalf of the Central Committee, Cliff Slaughter pledged that 'We are at the beginning of an objective analysis, and all those who wish to really learn the lessons can certainly participate. We will examine all questions as Trotskyists.'

That was more than two months ago. Many other groups have produced material on the crisis in the ranks of our movement and a public discussion on the degeneration of the WRP is underway.

BY DAVE GOOD

In the February issue of 'Socialist Viewpoint' there is an article by John Lister on the internal discussion now taking place within the WRP. He was one of those expelled from the WRP in 1974, along with Alan Thornett and supporters. The 1974 expulsions have been viewed with some criticism by a lot of members of the WRP since the expulsion of Healy in October 1985. Indeed Cyril Smith, the chairman of the Control Commission in 1974 which called for the expulsion of Thornett, described it as a 'controlled commission' in the pages of the Workers Press.

The present Control Commission of the Workers Revolutionary Party is re-examining the 1974 expulsions and will present a report on its findings to the party's 8th Congress in February-March 1986.

In the article, Lister makes the following point in relation to the WRP Central Committee's decision to engage in public discussion on the degeneration of the party:

'The very notion of discussion with other left-wing currents was sufficient to send the Healy group into near apoplexy, denouncing Slaughter and others as 'centrists and liquidationists' for contemplating such a course.

'Under this withering fire (from such withered sectarian) sections of the WRP majority appear to have quailed and retreated somewhat from the bold stance in favour of open discussion outlined by Slaughter in the first public meetings on the split.'

## Formerly

Lister does have a point, since November 1985 there has been a certain reluctance within the leadership of the WRP to engage in the public discussion which was decided upon. That is not to say that there has been no change in the public stance of the party, but there have been some questions which have been considered almost taboo in the pages of our press.

The silence of the Workers Press on a number of questions, especially matters which would formerly have been considered 'internal' party matters, has hindered the party's struggle against Healyism and even led to covering up for some of its defenders internationally. I believe that this is an unprincipled way for our party to proceed and one which must be changed forthwith.

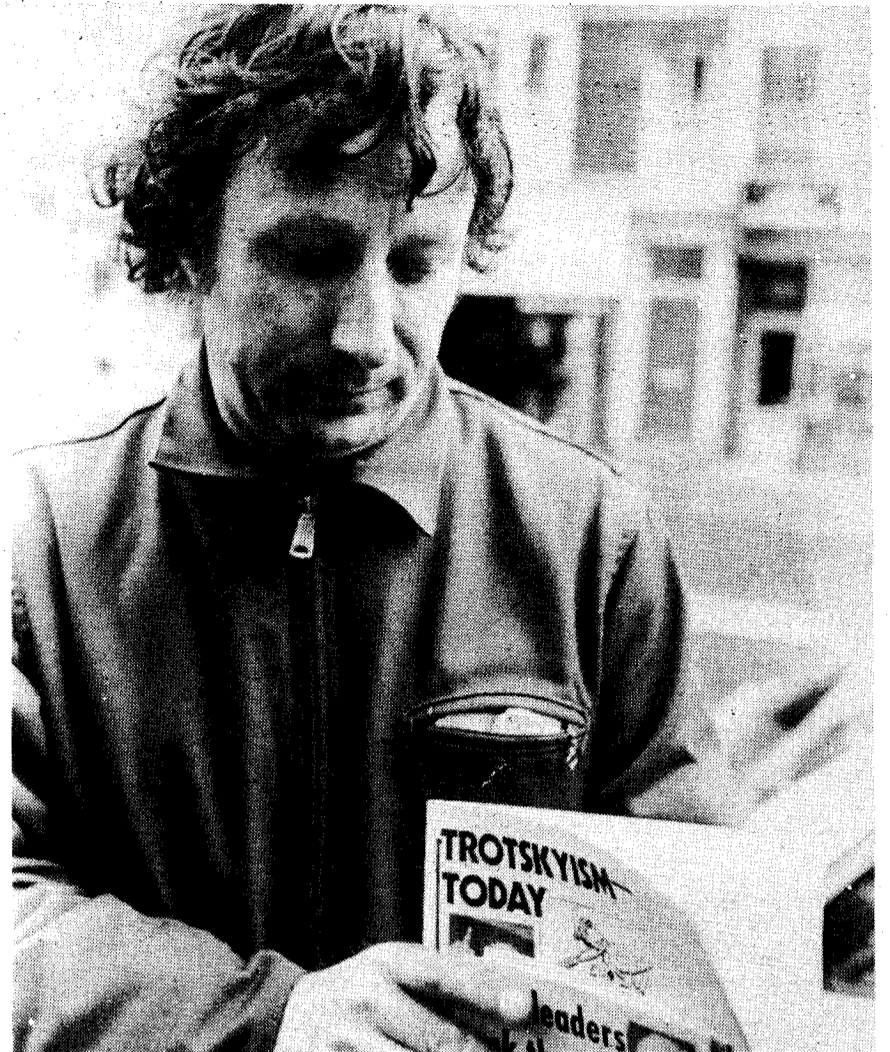
In particular we have remained silent on the

political frame-up being hatched by the International Committee of the Fourth International against the present leadership of the WRP. Alas, this silence can be continued no longer, unless our party is prepared to ignore the discussion taking place publicly, or even worse to attempt to deny the truth.

In the 'Socialist Viewpoint' article Lister states, in relation to the present leadership of the WRP, that 'they have been challenged by an opposition promoted and encouraged by Dave North, leader of the WRP's American sister party, the Workers League, North, donning the barely convincing guise of a long standing opponent of Healy, has used the remnants of the WRP's 'International', the International Committee, as a lever against the Slaughter wing of the movement. The WRP is currently 'suspended' by the International Committee, at North's urging.

It is indeed true that on Monday 16th December 1985 the International Committee decided to suspend the WRP from the IC. The WRP is the British section of the Fourth International, affiliated to the International Committee. This decision was taken on the basis that the WRP had 'carried out an historic betrayal of the ICFI and the international working class.

'This betrayal consisted of the complete abandonment of the theory of the permanent revolution, resulting in the pursuit of unprincipled relations with sections of the colonial



Alan Thornett, expelled from WRP in 1974 along with John Lister and supporters.

bourgeoisie in return for money' (ICFI resolution on the suspension of the WRP, 16th December 1985).

At the IC meeting the WRP was suspended without written charges and no opportunity to prepare a defence. The comrades who expelled Healy and his rotten clique were suspended from the IC on the basis of a frame-up.

## Interim

In October the IC set up an International Committee Commission 'to investigate, but not limited to, the corruption of G. Healy, the cover up by the Political Committee and the financial crisis of the WRP.' This interim report was supposedly the basis of the suspension, but it was not made available to the IC delegates until after the meeting had finished.

Lister and Thornett will find the IC's method familiar: call a control commission into the corruption of G. Healy — and use it to find his opponents guilty!

The ICC interim report does not take up the corruption of G. Healy, but attempts to frame the present leadership of the WRP for the actions of Healy. In fact any of the practices of Healy which implicate the leaders of the IC are deliberately

TURN TO P8

## Workers Revolutionary Party PUBLIC MEETING

Abolish the P.T.A!  
End Super-grass trials!  
Stop the strip searching of women in Armagh and Brixton!  
Troops out now!  
For a socialist united Ireland!

Monday February 17th  
7.30pm  
Anson hall,  
Anson Road,  
Cricklewood, N.W.2.

Speakers: Dr. Maire O'Shea  
(Irish in Britain Representation Group)  
Cliff Slaughter — W.R.P. Central Committee  
Gerry Downing — Kilburn W.R.P.  
Chair:  
Sam Cox W.R.P. London District Cmttee

Ticket: 50p

## Workers Revolutionary Party MARX'S CAPITAL TODAY

1986 series of lectures

1. Friday 31st January

The capitalist crisis and the bankruptcy of the social sciences  
Lecturer: Tom Kemp

2. Friday 7th February

Commodity, Value and Money  
Lecturer: Geoff Pilling

3. Friday 14th February

Surplus Value and the Class Struggle  
Lecturer: Tom Kemp

4. Friday 21st February

Capital and the rate of profit.  
Lecturer: Geoff Pilling

5. Friday 28th February

The contradictions of capitalism  
Lecturer: Cyril Smith

6. Friday 7th March

Capital in the age of information technology  
Lecturer: Cyril Smith

Reading: Marx, Capital vol 1

Marx, Wage Labour and Capital  
Tom Kemp: Marx's Capital Today

Conway Hall

Red Lion Square, London WC1

Starts 8pm

Tickets 50p each lecture; complete series £2

Workers Revolutionary Party

## MARX'S CAPITAL AND THE WORKING CLASS

1986 series of lectures

Saturday February 15,

1.) The relevance of 'Capital' today

Sunday February 16,

2.) Commodities. Value and Money

Saturday February 22,

3.) 'Capital' and the Working Class

Sunday February 23,

4.) 'Capital' in the age of information technology

All lectures start at 2pm

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## CLASSES

Workers Press readers and supporters in West and North West London hold weekly classes on Marxism every Thursday night at 7.30pm Carlton Centre, Granville Road, Carlton Vale NW6.

Thursday Jan 9th:  
Wage Labour and Capital (Marx)

All Trades Union Alliance

## PUBLIC MEETING

Support Contracts Ltd strike for union recognition.

Tuesday February 11th  
7.30pm

Conway Hall  
Red Lion Square  
Holborn

Speakers:

Jane Kingsland Contracts Strike Committee  
Peter Gibson — Chair T. & G.W.U. London Bus committee (in a personal capacity)

Hughie Nicol — A.T.U.A. National Committee  
John Simmance — Charing Cross Hospital A.U.E.W. (in a personal capacity)

Chair: Richard Goldstein — A.T.U.A. National Committee

Tickets: 50p

Strikers free

# FOR A PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON HEALY'S I.C.

Continued from page 7

## National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign

### Rally

for the anniversary of the 1984/85 Miners' Strike

- 2 years since the Great Strike began. 1 year since it ended
- over 500 miners remain sacked and some in gaol
- the NUM's assets are still held under receivership
- the NCB continues to ignore agreed procedures
- more than 30 pits have been closed or are currently threatened
- 15,000 jobs have been lost

### 2nd March

1.30pm Jubilee Gardens, County Hall, London SE1

to call for

- the release and reinstatement of all sacked and gaoled miners
- reimbursement of the NUM's stolen funds
- review of cases of gaoled miners

and to show solidarity with the support movement which has not gone away and which includes women's, gay and lesbian, and black support groups, members of other trade unions and labour movement organisations, campaigning groups of miners, and the national and international support network

At 6.00pm banners to be exhibited can be taken to the Albert Hall

### Demonstration

4.30pm Hyde Park

Speakers: Peter Heathfield (Gen Sec NUM), Anne Litburn (President WAPC), Tony Benn MP, Liz French (Kent gaoled miner's wife), Martha Ossamor (Broadwater Farm Defence Ctee), Dennis Skinner MP, Roy Butler (Coalville NUM) (to be confirmed), Arthur Scargill (President NUM), Ron Todd (Gen Sec TGWU), Eric Clarke (Gen Sec Scottish NUM), Tony Banks MP (Chair of GLC), Sean Garrety (EETPU Fleet St), Ken Cameron (Gen Sec FBUI)

### Concert

7.00pm at the Royal Albert Hall, Kensington, London

Songs from the struggle, including those from the Heroes LP produced by North East Miners Support Groups, with special guest stars. Produced by the GLC. Doors open 6.00pm. Staffs, exhibition of miners banners

left out of the report. The BMW car (£16,000) and the £20,000 slush fund are not mentioned, because the money was provided by the Socialist Labour League of Australia. So much for the fight against Healy's corruption!

The suspension was opposed by the WRP Central Committee, but supported by a minority, led by Central Committee members Dave Hyland, YS National Secretary Julie Hyland and Colleen Smith. This minority follow the political line of Dave North, secretary of the Workers League in the United States. At its meeting on 29th December 1985, the Central Committee of the WRP passed a resolution rejecting 'the suspension of the British section of the ICFI. It is an abrogation of international leadership that the IC takes this action at a time that the discussion is underway for the WRP congress.

### Arbitrary

'The arbitrary, administrative action of the IC can only aid the Healyite clique and is meant to prevent a full discussion on the degeneration of the IC in the last 10 years as expressed in its repudiation, in practice, of the Permanent Revolution and the building of a world revolutionary leadership.'

The resolution went on to say that 'we accuse the IC of splitting the WRP at a time when the Party is under vicious attack from the Healy clique and we believe that this shows the irresponsible, unprincipled nature of the IC and shows its adherence to the methods of the Healy clique.'

An intense discussion is now taking place within the WRP, and in the other sections of the IC, on the issues involved in the degeneration of the WRP and the ICFI together with the consequences of the expulsion of Healy and the rump who defended his corrupt practices within the WRP.

Lister goes on to take up the question of the relation of the WRP to the IC. He raises the fact that 'North and his co-thinkers... refer repeatedly and apolitically to the need for the WRP leadership to "recognise the authority of the International Committee", and stress their defence of what they regard as a "continuity" of the IC tradition.'

This is at the heart of the differences between the WRP and the IC. North says that the degeneration of the WRP was a nationalist deviation from Marxism. He goes on to assert that the IC is the embodiment of internationalism and the continuation of the struggle of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

If the WRP subordinates itself to the IC the national chauvinism of the WRP can be overcome with the assistance of the IC which North

claims is the world party of socialist revolution.

But comrades from the WRP have repeatedly asked what is this IC tradition which we are supposed to subordinate ourselves to? Furthermore, where does the IC get its authority from? After all it was led by G. Healy for many years and followed his political line which is now recognised within the IC to have been thoroughly revisionist.

The international work of the IC has consisted, over the last decade, of three main aspects. Firstly the establishment of relations with the national liberation movements and national bourgeoisie in the Middle East. Secondly Healy's so-called cadre training. Thirdly Security and the Fourth International and the Gelfand case.

Over the last 15 years the WRP, and the IC, have established relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the national bourgeoisie in the Middle East. It has been pointed out, quite correctly, both within the IC and the WRP (not to mention by many other groups over a period of many years) that these relationships were opportunist. They led to support for the murder of 21 Iraqi communists by the regime of Saddam Hussein, the characterisation of the Libyan Jamahiriya as socialist and the assertion that the Iranian revolution was the greatest blow to imperialism since the Russian revolution.

These relations meant the repudiation of the theory of Permanent Revolution in practice despite many declarations in favour of it. It meant the abandonment of any perspective of building sections of the FI in the Middle East.

### Opportunist

The IC complains that these opportunist relations were established behind their backs. There is no doubt that Healy and his clique did many things without informing the IC, the WRP central committee or the WRP membership. But abandonment of the theory of Permanent Revolution and opportunism in the Middle East was done publicly. Strange leaders these that didn't notice these publicly wrong positions and complain that it was all done behind their backs.

But North and the IC go further, accusing the WRP of establishing mercenary relationships with reactionary and non-proletarian forces. This is the cover for North's abandonment of the side of this work which was correct.

The defence against imperialism of the PLO and those bourgeois national regimes fighting against imperialism is not something that the WRP is going to abandon or apologise for. We will continue to take our re-

sponsibilities as revolutionaries in a metropolitan capitalist country seriously and tirelessly defend all those in the fight against imperialism, no matter how much we disagree with them.

We do recognise the need for criticism of those fighting imperialism, but we oppose those who see this as an excuse for denouncing the enemies of imperialism as reactionary and non-proletarian at every turn.

We understand that the pressure of imperialism on this question leads to a desire by North to ditch this principled position, but we will oppose this national-chauvinism in the same way that we fought Healy.

To characterise the PLO, the Libyan Jamahiriya and other bourgeois national regimes as 'reactionary and non-proletarian forces', as the IC does, has nothing in common with Marxism. Read Lenin's report on the National and Colonial Question to the Second Congress of the Communist International! These national revolutionary movements must be supported in the struggle against imperialism by anyone who wishes to call themselves a Trotskyist.

### Inability

In actual fact support for the national revolutionary movements, together with criticism of the inability of the national bourgeoisie to carry through the tasks of the national revolutionary struggle, is the only basis for the building of Trotskyist parties in these countries.

The question of 'cadre training' has been discussed at some length in WRP meetings and articles in our press. From the theoretical standpoint Healy's 'philosophical work' was an attack on the ideological foundations of Marxism. There can be no revolutionary movement without rigorous defence of the theoretical basis of Marxism — principally dialectical materialism, historical materialism and Marx's political economy.

But Healy's 'cadre training' goes much further than attacking the ideological foundations of our movement, it also created the conditions for it to be carried out. It was, in reality, the systematic moral, political, theoretical, personal and physical destruction of the cadres of our movement. It was not just what Healy said, but also what he did. Those like North who raised criticisms of Healy's 'Studies in Dialectical Materialism' only tackled one side of the problem. It is not merely a question of being right as opposed to those who are wrong.

The question of cadre training must be viewed from the standpoint of revolutionary practice. In order to overcome the legacy of Healyism it is

necessary to change the social relations within the party which enabled Healy to carry out his vile barbaric practices which were not just anti-communist but also anti-human. This is the degenerate ideology of the bourgeoisie, and no matter how much North protests it is a near-fascist ideology.

In the IC meeting of December 16 North asserted that in the fight to regenerate the WRP, 'numbers do not matter'. I have a message to him, and all those in the IC who think like him, from the membership of the WRP:

Numbers do matter, after all 'numbers' are only our members, our cadres. In the WRP things have changed, with the expulsion of Healy came the fight for the rights of members. We will not stand idly by and see our cadres destroyed by 'leaders' with no respect for the rights of members. We will fight for communist relations within our movement and break with all those who reject the communists need for respect and dignity as well as determination and sacrifice. We dealt with Healy and we are quite capable of dealing with the remnants of his supporters in the WRP and the IC.

North and the IC are presently supporting a minority within the WRP who have disrupted our meetings and trampled on our party's constitution. They have made communist relations in our meetings, at all levels, impossible. This is the continuation of Healy's destruction of cadres and we will fight it every inch of the way. North has disagreed with what Healy had to say on the question of cadre training, but he took part in Healy's destruction of cadres and is continuing to do so. North wants Healyite 'cadre training' without Healy's 'dialectics' — let the destruction of cadres continue: we say no more, our cadres are the heart of our movement.

### Panic

The third aspect of the IC's work is Security and the Fourth International, with the Workers League's involvement in the Gelfand case in the US. This is a very touchy subject for North. The WRP Central Committee has called for a re-evaluation of the whole of Security and the Fourth International, and most leaders of the WRP are of the opinion that the whole thing is a frame-up of Hansen and Novack, whose only 'crime' was to revise Marxism, not spy for the FBI/CIA or GPU. This has caused panic in the leadership of the Workers League.

The 'forensic science' of Healy, Mitchell and North will have to be re-evaluated. It is untenable to contend that 'Security and the FI' is the high point of the international struggle of the working

class against the capitalist state, as North does and indeed the WRP used to.

The position of the WRP Central Committee is that we will not subordinate ourselves to these traditions. Anyone who will defend the work of the IC as the 'continuity of Trotskyism' is no Trotskyist.

In October last year the IC proposed a re-registration of the membership of the WRP 'on the basis of an explicit recognition of the subordination of the WRP to the IC. This was endorsed unanimously by the WRP central committee on the basis that it was aimed at the exclusion from membership of the Healyite rump. In practice they split with the WRP before the re-registration began and those excluded from membership were constitutionally expelled with full rights of appeal to the party's 8th Congress.

The form of the re-registration was the signing of a form recognising the authority of the IC, and the subordination of the WRP to its decisions.

### Unjustifiable

Hundreds of party members who had taken part in the fight against Healy refused to sign such a Healyite loyalty oath. Under pressure from the membership the central committee withdrew the form which was politically and constitutionally unjustifiable.

At the same meeting of the WRP central committee a resolution was passed on the crisis in the IC. This resolution calls quite mildly for: 1) All evidence presented and conclusions drawn be re-examined.

2) That such an investigation, including a full financial account, be carried out internally at this stage.

3) That we recognise that the Gelfand case has set an extremely damaging precedent in calling on the state to determine the membership of a working class political organisation.

4) That the IC strive to find a means to resolve this outside the courts including an approach by the Workers League to the Socialist Workers Party.

This has sent North wild. The Workers League Central Committee is calling for the expulsion of the majority Central Committee members in the WRP. The 8th Congress of the WRP, taking place this weekend is described as a 'bogus conference packed out with anti-Trotskyists'.

So be it. If North, Beams and the IC want to defend the stinking corpse of Healy's IC, they are welcome to do so. But I would point out to them that the truth is a powerful enemy.

To John Lister and other interested parties, the public discussion will proceed in earnest.

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