

Workers Press

18p

ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
Saturday February 22 1986 Number 11

Monthly Fund

TARGET: £5,000
RECEIVED: £1,435.43
NEED: £3,564.57

We closed our January fund reporting that we were £2,104.35 short of our target. In just one week we now need £3,564.57 to complete the February target.

Can we do it? We appeal to our members, readers and all supporters to col-

lect every penny you can for this fund, and send in your donations immediately.

We welcome your suggestions, letters and criticisms but in order to keep the paper on the road, we also need your financial support

Please send a donation immediately to: £5,000 Monthly Fund, 21b Old Town, Clapham, London S.W.4 0JT

£60,000 legal fund appeal

Scotland Road £5, Hull £20, Brixton £20, Crawley £22.34, Anon £2, East London £13.14, London lecture £34.71, Kilburn public meeting £28.34

This is a total of £145.53, making a grand total of £32,210.

Healy and his supporters set out to smash our

party in the courts; they are now seen arrogantly appearing on the Wapping picket line, where workers are threatened with the break-up of their organisations in the courts. We will not be intimidated by these renegades from Marxism — send your donations to: WRP Legal Fund, 21b Old Town, Clapham

Why the WRP has split again



DAVE NORTH



JULIE HYLAND

LEADERS of the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) have organised a split in the WRP rather than face up to the political degeneration that had taken place within their own ranks.

The ICFI comprises the SLL in Australia (80 members), the BSA in West Germany (30 members), and smaller groups in Sri Lanka and Peru.

The US Workers League (with 80 members) is in political solidarity with the ICFI. Workers League National Secretary Dave North has politically dominated the ICFI since the WRP expelled Gerry Healy who was a leader of the ICFI for more than 30 years.

When the WRP expelled Healy on 19th October, for sexual and physical abuse of party

BY DAVE GOOD

members, the ICFI was assembling for a meeting in London and called on the WRP not to issue a public statement until they had time to 'consider' the charges against Healy. The expulsion was only accepted by the ICFI after the WRP had made a public announcement on 23rd October.

North is desperately

trying to defend the frame-up of the late Joseph Hansen and George Novack (leaders of the American SWP) entitled 'Security and the Fourth International'. This is threatened by the political re-evaluation which has been taking place in the WRP since last October.

'Security and the Fourth International' is presently being pursued in the US courts through

the Gelfand case in which expelled SWP member Alan Gelfand is trying to establish the right of the capitalist courts to determine who is a member of a working class political organization. The Workers League is backing Gelfand in his court action against the SWP.

North has found it necessary to split with the anti-Healy WRP rather than allow a questioning of the frame-up methods

employed in this bogus investigation.

Indeed, when speaking at a WRP Central Committee meeting on 15th December North could offer no political justification for Security and the Fourth International, but insisted that the WRP should make no public statement and settle for internal discussion in the ICFI.

His reason for this was that any public attack on

Security and the Fourth International would jeopardise the Gelfand case and this would financially ruin the Workers League several times over.

At this time the WRP agreed to an internal discussion of Security and the Fourth International. The following day (December 16) the ICFI showed the kind of internal discussion that it in-

■ TURN TO PAGE 8

Print sell-out bid

TUC leaders are set on continuing their scaling down of the struggle against the anti-union onslaught led by Rupert Murdoch's News International.

Intent from the start on repeating their sell-outs over GCHQ, the NGA at Warrington, and then the miners' strike, the TUC has through its treachery encouraged the Tory state and Murdoch to step up the attack.

The pardon granted by the TUC general council to the strike-breaking EETPU leadership helped isolate the print unions — a cue for the courts to move swiftly to seize the funds of the main print union, SOGAT 82.

Now the trade union bureaucracy is prepared to stand aside, restricting official inter-union blacking action to the level of pathetic protest, and blocking all appeals for the printers not to be allowed to fight alone.

The current thinking of the Labour Party and TUC hierarchy has been revealed by Kinnoch-Willis mouthpiece Geoffrey Goodman, industrial editor of the 'Daily Mirror'. On Wednesday this week he wrote:

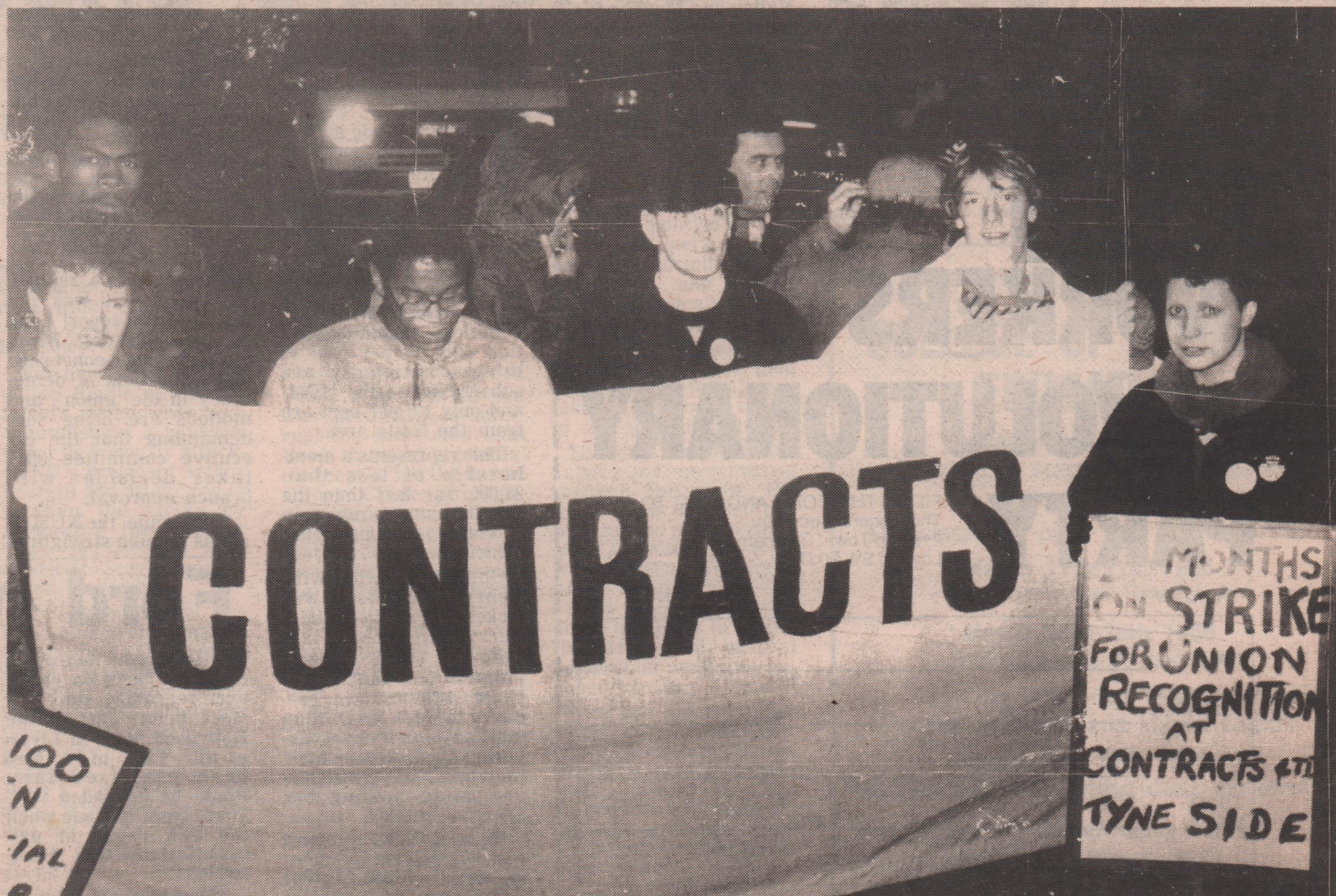
'By her cool, reasonable style Ms Dean has suddenly become the pin-up of the trade unions... Brenda is the acceptable face of trade unionism.'

BY CHRIS CORRIGAN

Arguing that the most important thing is Murdoch's tactics may cost Tory votes, Goodman added: 'Still worse for the government, she seems to be persuading many that Mrs Thatcher's anti-union drive has gone too far... Could it be that Brenda's cry for justice has finally answered Maggie's shrill anti-union crusade?'

Hiding behind the embattled SOGAT leader's dignified approach, the Labour and TUC traitors are carrying out a conscious policy of muffling the political and industrial strength of the working class.

Their bankrupt, corporatist strategy is to get the trade union movement to lay prostrate in front of the Tory anti-union laws, in the hope this will attract middle-class votes to Labour at a general election that may not take place until 1988.



Strikers from Contracts in South Shields photographed on the printworkers' picket line at Wapping. See story page three

'WE DON'T WANT YOU'

Villagers tell scab

THE SACKED miners' support group in Abercwmboi near Aberdare held a meeting last week following reports in the local press and TV news that Paul Watson, the only scab in the Cynon Valley during the 12-month miners' strike intends coming back to Aberdare.

BY OUR SOUTH WALES CORRESPONDENT

however decided to carry on supporting all the sacked and jailed miners and are outraged at the prospect of Watson returning.

'We don't want him back,' said Annette Roberts, chairwoman of the support group. 'We are afraid the sackings won't end with the five men if he does return.'

Kelvin Bevan, one of the sacked men, told the meeting he was confident of the depth of feeling in the Cynon Valley and that the community would demonstrate its disgust.

'People do not want to see the return of convoys of police hurtling past schoolchildren on dark mornings,' he said. 'If he is allowed back into the plant it would be a blatant attack and a kick in the teeth for the unions.'

Committee

Local management, I am sure, does not want him back. They don't want to return to the atmosphere which existed just after the strike.'

Hilda Spear, who is on the committee, works at a local paper shop and told the meeting that lots of people had come in and

told her they don't want Paul Watson back.

'In the "South Wales Echo" article they claim they have been welcomed by the people in Derbyshire who affectionately call him Taffy. Well I can say loud and clear we don't want Taffy back here,' she said.

Ann Jones who is on the Tower miners' wives support group and active in South Wales Women against Pit Closures raised a tactical question.

First

'Most of the scabs in Wales have been driven out of the industry, and none have joined the UDM,' she said. 'Watson is a UDM member and if he returns would be their first member in South Wales.'

Bobby Roberts, another of the five sacked workers, insisted the weight of the argument against Watson returning should come from the union leadership in South Wales and that pressure should be brought on them to act.

After many suggestions raised at the meeting, it was decided to launch a petition immediately throughout the Cynon Valley and to write to the local constituency Labour Party and the South Wales Labour Party for support.



The platform at the Abercwmboi meeting. Left to right: Anne Grant, Merylyn Davies, Audrey Winterburn, Angela Thomas, Annette Roberts and Hilda Spear

NUM gains strength in Notts

THE CAMPAIGN for the rebuilding of the National Union of Mineworkers in Nottinghamshire is gaining momentum, Ray Chadburn told a meeting in Blidworth last Sunday.

The meeting, one of a series organised to attract miners who have joined the UDM back into the NUM was given a 'balance sheet' of developments in the coalfield since the strike by the Notts area NUM president.

Chadburn made it clear that, despite support from the Coal Board, government, big business and the courts, the UDM is not as strong as the media suggests.

Quoting figures from the Official Receiver who still handles miners' contributions, Chadburn said that only 14 per cent of miners nationally are subscribing to the UDM, and only 1.9 per cent are from the Notts area.

This represents a membership of less than 26,000, far less than the 45,000 needed to maintain a viable organisational structure.

Chadburn, who with Henry Richardson was locked out of the NUM's Berry Hill offices last year by UDM leaders, pointed out that while NUM officials are prepared to work for nothing and pay their own expenses to represent their members, UDM officials are doing nothing but spending money.

He said £5,000 a month was being spent on meeting expenses and £130,000 had been laid out in legal fees but the UDM were

incapable of representing members' grievances, or dealing with health and safety issues, and were also helping to block NUM members' common law cases.

£200,000 has been recently spent in excess of income, he claimed, including a 25 per cent salary increase for Lynk himself (to £25,000 a year), a £50,000 house for David Prendergast, and the acquisition of three luxury Rover Van Den Plas cars.

UDM members, however, are beginning to challenge decisions being taken unilaterally by their executive. At Silver Hill pit, miners are demanding information about an alleged £21,000 expenditure on a garage (!) for Roy Lynk.

The executive replied, saying that it was not their duty to report back on such matters! Branches are also concerned about the lack of democracy in the 'union', and motions are being sent demanding that the executive committee only takes decisions with branch approval.

Meanwhile, the NUM itself is gaining strength in



RAY CHADBURN

Notts. There are now 25 branches established (after amalgamations and closures this is equivalent to the 28 branches in existence before the strike).

Some of these have over 300 members, and the union is able to provide normal services, including legal representation, a social insurance scheme, education courses, and, with the help of other areas, is re-establishing convalescent facilities.

All this is despite the continued intimidation and non-recognition by the National Coal Board, the hijacking of the union's £4 million assets by

Lynk and Co and the closing of miners' welfare doors to the NUM.

'We are chipping away at every stone,' said Chadburn. 'It's a bit like weathering granite, but if you've got the will, the commitment and the belief in your cause, then a minority can overturn a majority — and this time it won't take eleven years,' he said referring to the fight against Spenserism.

The UDM, he pointed out, is increasingly isolated. 'They are not recognised by the Labour Party, the TUC or the Miners' International. Eric Hammond is Lynk's greatest friend.'

There was a clear determination and controlled confidence expressed at the meeting, and the very existence of the NUM as an organised force underlines the fact that the miners were not defeated last year. A collection for sacked men was taken at the end of the meeting.

● The WRP will be holding a conference on jailed miners and sacked miners in Nottingham on April 26.

Ford meeting

FORDS production workers have been on strike over regrading since the week before last at the Halewood plant in Liverpool. The men had been promised they would be upgraded to C grade from B grade when the new round of pay negotiations was being settled.

The strikers stopped all work in the factory and

with a new model due to come out, management have threatened layoffs if they don't return to work.

At a mass meeting on Friday union officials were expected to try and persuade the strikers to resume work.

With no production work being done, the rest of the workforce is hardly doing anything.

JOIN THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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City strike looms

DETERIORATING industrial relations and the looming financial crisis for Liverpool's Labour council are blamed for the strike action by the corporation's employees which now threatens to engulf the whole city.

John Sheridan, TGWU convenor, told Workers Press: 'Liverpool's maintenance and building work department has only recently concentrated its operations under one roof in the ex-Schweppes factory in Long Lane, Fazakerly.'

'But with it have come new bonus schemes for the storemen who belong to the TGWU, GMBATU and NALGO.'

'The workers have found the new scheme with its extremely severe penalty clauses, unacceptable.'

Finally, on Thursday morning a mass meeting decided on immediate strike action. The whole workforce in the department, about 1,000 in all, is involved.

Among other demands by the TGWU is that payment should be guaranteed to all members locked out since Tuesday and immediate recognition of TGWU convenors and nomination rights in appropriate areas.

Should the strike not be settled soon, it is expected to engulf the entire municipal workforce. As one corporation worker put it: 'All we have in the end after spending £9.5 million, is a disused lemonade factory and a thundering headache.'

MIDDLESEX POLYTECHNIC MARXIST SOCIETY
Launch meeting
Tuesday March 4th
7pm-9pm
Room B128
All Saints Site
White Hart Lane,
Tottenham N17
Speaker: Geoff Pilling
on 'Why a Marxist Society'

CONTRACTS FIGHT IN DANGER

AFTER five and a half months on strike for trade union recognition the 100 clothing workers at the Contract factory on Tyneside now find themselves fighting their own union as well as the French Connection group.

The National Union of Tailor and Garment Workers wants no part of the valiant struggle waged by these women and young girls.

This bitter struggle for trade union recognition will be decided on Friday not on the picket line but at a mass meeting where regional organiser Ron Beiles will call for a return to work.

Since before Christmas the NUTGW through Ron Beiles has been threaten-

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

ing to withdraw strike pay unless a settlement is reached. Beiles has coerced and threatened the strikers into secret ballots with scabs to elect a works committee.

Playing on the women's lack of trade union experience he has refused to allow them to vote to end talks with ACAS.

Speakers have moved

motions at meetings only to be ignored or talked off the subject by Beiles.

The outcome of joint talks under ACAS between the strikers representative, the scabs and the management has resulted in no trade union recognition by any stretch of the imagination, the outcome is a works committee and a three month layoff if the strikers return.

Workers Press repor-

ters spoke to some of the representatives on the works committee as they left a meeting that was addressed by Ron Beiles at which he tried to explain the outcome of the ACAS talks.

Jane Jobson said: 'Ron Beiles is a load of rubbish. He is trying to dupe us and get us back to work at any cost, we came out for trade union recognition and I will not return till we get it'.

Carol Adamson said 'The union is trying to sell us out. I would rather see the factory close down and force Contracts out of the area than go back without trade union recognition. If we cannot work then we should make sure the scabs don't work either'.

Pauline Greenwell said: 'The talks with ACAS have been a load of rubbish. The management want their own way

— they won't give us recognition and I do not intend to return without it'.

This sets the scene of confrontation for Friday's meeting as the women come forward more determined than ever to continue the struggle for trade union rights. Plans have been made for the strike support group members to cover pit collections to allow all the women to get their vote.



Mersey march against Botha

ABOUT 750 people turned out on the first ever anti-apartheid demonstration in Liverpool last Saturday.

Despite the bitterly cold weather organisations from all over Merseyside and other areas marched with their banners to show solidarity with South African political prisoners and demand the end of apartheid.

As the march wove its way from Sefton Park towards the town centre, there were chants of 'Release Nelson Mandela, smash apartheid now' and 'All police are racist — they beat you on the head — but they're only doing their job' and 'Thatcher and Botha you're wanted for murder'.

The march culminated in a rally at St George's Hall with a host of speakers. Ray Williams from the Liverpool NGA said: 'The sun is rising for South African workers, and also for all workers all over the world.'

'British workers have to become freedom fighters just like the South African workers, because this isn't a democracy we live in.'

'The NGA and Sogat have had their funds sequestered. It is now illegal

to be in a trade union here in Britain.'

Bill Connor, a national officer of USDAW, brought support from his members at Dunne's stores in the Irish Republic who have taken action to prevent South African goods being sold in shops.

He said: 'There are those who say South Africa has made progress in relation to workers' rights. They are liars.'

'The pass laws in South Africa don't even allow workers the chance to see their own families.'

An ANC speaker, Enos, said: 'We welcome the support from the people here today against the racist and fascist apartheid regime. But we must recognise that the Botha regime is an extension of the Tory government.'

'They are kept in power by the financial support from Thatcher. Our struggle is not a racial struggle but against an unjust apartheid system, pass laws, detention of political prisoners and students.'

'We will not talk to them until the state of emergency is lifted in all areas, all political prisoners are freed and especially Nelson Mandela.'

Obscene encounter

A CLOSE encounter of the most obscene kind disgraced the television screens of north-east Scotland last Monday night — but Mrs Whitehouse is unlikely to be lodging a complaint.

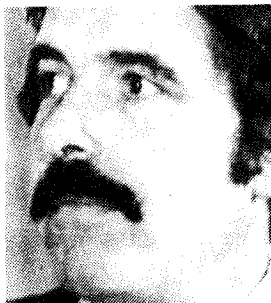
Hearty handshakes and mutual back-slapping prevailed when Scottish NUM President Michael McGahey appeared as number one guest on the weekly Grampian TV chat session 'The Jimmy Reid Show'.

Not many — if any — Scottish miners live in the Grampian transmission area, which is probably a very good thing for McGahey.

For none will have forgotten Reid's role in the miners' strike, when, as a columnist for a Glasgow paper he viciously attacked NUM president Arthur Scargill and attempted to weaken the strike by spreading the rumour that McGahey was opposed to Scargill's principled leadership.

McGahey, one of the few well-known members of the British Communist Party, repudiated Reid, a former member of the same organisation at the time. Some thought that his answers scarcely matched the force of Reid's venomous pro-Tory attack on Scargill and the striking miners.

But whatever differences there were then were clearly of a temporary nature as far as



JAMES REID

McGahey was concerned.

Not a hint of discord was permitted to interrupt his short chat with Reid, the shop stewards' leader who led the heroic Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' struggle of 1971-1972 into a set of agreements that paved the way for the destruction of shipbuilding in Clydebank and its decimation elsewhere on the upper Clyde.

Reid then left the industry and the Communist Party to become an unsuccessful Labour parliamentary candidate and media personality.

His introduction of McGahey to Grampian's studio audience might have suggested to any cynics watching that he was trying to pave the way for McGahey to follow in his footsteps.

It went: 'My guest is seen by many as a subversive hard man, a dangerous red, a wicked militant. What's he like, they ask.'

'And I tell them truthfully, you may disagree with him politically as I do but he personally a nice man, socially a good companion, and a rare fellow to have a pint with and swap jokes.'

McGahey let Reid pour on the unctious and then obliged with a few alleged jokes — none of an exactly side-splitting nature.

Had they had the opportunity of squirming through the show, the more than 120 Scottish miners who remain sacked as a result of the strike would assuredly have been asking what on earth McGahey was doing indulging in a public display of mutual admiration with the renegade Reid.

The two old comrades ended up with the thoroughly British sentiment that the sign of a civilised society is when men like themselves can argue all day and spend the evening together telling jokes over a pint.

'And, now, for my next guest ...'

LEEDS WRP

PUBLIC MEETING

Lessons of the Miners Strike and today's struggle in the Unions

Tuesday 25th February
7.30pm

Leeds Trades Council Club
Savile Place
Chapeltown Road

Speakers

Dave Temple
WRP Central Committee, (Durham Miner)
Dave Smith WRP (Yorkshire Miner)
Cliff Slaughter WRP Central Committee

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A VICTORY FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST

Maire O'Shea at WRP meeting

FORCES IN IRELAND

Op Th

AS FORMER WRP members expelled by Gerry Healy in 1974, we are by no means surprised by the corruption and violence uncovered in the present crisis and split within the party. We are only surprised that the crisis has taken so many years to break.

We know that in the aftermath of Healy's expulsion, with so many political issues thrown into the melting pot, WRP members are forced to face a bewildering array of problems. We recognise that the present split, like our opposition in 1973-74, has its roots in political differences.

We could not accept Healy's constant predictions of cataclysmic economic crisis, or dire forecasts of imminent dictatorship; they proved ruinously disruptive to our work in the labour movement and we began to say so. Before we knew where we were, Healy had changed the constitution to remove the right to appeal to conference against expulsion — and we were being denounced as 'anti-party elements', 'Mensheviks' and 'police agents'.

As we looked more into the politics of the WRP leadership and the regime of the Group we found all the things which have emerged now — violence, corruption and abuse of women comrades. Central committee member Tony Richardson was beaten personally by Healy in the (now infamous) flat.

When Kate Blakeney complained against this on the Central Committee, she was charged, suspended from membership and ejected from the meeting within four minutes!

When we asked for a control commission into the violence, Healy changed the terms of reference to an 'investigation into us. In the end the control commission recommendation was our expulsion from the movement.

When we saw the charge sheets it turned out we were being expelled for raising precisely the things for which Healy was recently expelled from the Group: violence, intimidation and corruption. We were said to have been 'slandering the general secretary!' We had

'MY ACQUITTAL was a victory not only for freedom of speech but also for those supporting the anti-imperialist forces in the north of Ireland,' Dr Maire O'Shea told a Workers Revolutionary Party public meeting last week.

'For the first time in a British court, genuine support for the anti-imperialist struggle was put up in front of the law,' said Dr O'Shea, who was recently found not guilty in the Manchester crown court of charges under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The Birmingham-based psychiatrist told the meeting, in Cricklewood, north London, how she had explicitly stated her support for the anti-imperialist struggle in court. 'Although many of my friends were very worried when I said this in court, a British jury acquitted me.'

'Although juries are vetted by the police, it doesn't seem to have been so successful in my trial that it excluded British workers who at least see the struggle of Irish workers against British imperialism as something they are not prepared to condemn.'

Dr O'Shea, president of the Irish in Britain Representation Group, said she was glad to speak to people who were prepared to give all-out support to the Irish struggle.

'I have always been struck that even so-called left-wing people are prepared to go on demonstrations for the people of South Africa or El Salvador who have been forced to use revolutionary violence, but they are not so willing to come on demonstrations to support the people in Ireland.'

'They make excuses, but the reason they aren't prepared to do this is that Irish people are victims of British imperialism.'

Dr O'Shea explained the IBRG's campaign for



the release of the Birmingham Six, 'the first six likely Irishmen the police could find', who had been arrested 'and beaten within an inch of their lives to extract confessions' before being jailed for the Birmingham pub bombings.

'They were convicted on the basis of those confessions, and on the basis of forensic evidence that has been since shown to be unreliable.'

'Their applications for leave to appeal have been turned down. The Home Office say they are conducting an enquiry; the six men are still rotting in jail.'

Dr O'Shea outlined the case against the Prevention of Terrorism Act which had been passed by the Callaghan Labour government following the Birmingham bombings.

Far worse than the 6,000 arrests under the PTA since 1974 was the 44,000 cases a year of Irish people stopped for 'stopped for security checks' — which were not registered as arrests, but people were still taken to police stations, put in

cells, interrogated and fingerprinted.

Of a total 50,000 Irish people apprehended under the Act, less than 100 had been charged, most with trivial offences.

Dr O'Shea believed that she herself had been charged because of her leading role in the IBRG, which 'fights to achieve recognition for the Irish in Britain as an ethnic minority, to demand and get special facilities to preserve our political, social and cultural identity.'

'We are here not because we don't want to be in our own country but because of successive neo-colonialist governments, who have kept the Irish economy at subsistence level and prevented the people there having a reasonable standard of living.'

Earlier, Gerry Downing of Kilburn WRP had said we had to ask ourselves the question, how it was that the British state had got away with its repression and violence.

He blamed both the Free State politicians and

the British Labour leaders — who introduced the PTA — but also attacked the cowardice and hypocrisy of the former Healy leadership of the WRP, which had failed to support the Irish people's fight.

After the Brighton bombing, comrade Downing recalled, a 'News Line' editorial had called it an 'outrage'. But rank and file workers felt very little outrage, or sympathy for Thatcher.

'They had seen the violence of this Tory government against the miners, in every pit village. Now at Wapping it's the print workers who feel the violence of the state.'

Dealing with the Anglo-Irish agreement, Downing pointed out: 'The morning after it was signed, the strip-searching was still going on in Armagh prison, it was still going on in Brixton. The super-grass trials are still going on. That level of "justice" has been given the seal of approval by the Anglo-Irish Agreement.'

Behind the agreement, Downing said, was the de-

speration of both the British and Irish governments. There was massive unemployment in the South now. 'The social fabric of the 26-county state is breaking up. Half the population of Ireland was under 25, and restive.'

'You can no longer export this youth, the way it was exported to Britain and America in the past. The youth is beginning to question the whole basis of the state. It is losing its respect for the state, and for the institutions of the state — like the Roman Catholic church.'

Downing referred to the 'Kerry babies' case, and said the attempt by police to frame an innocent woman had exposed everything that was backward and ignorant in the country. People had rallied to the woman's side however, and there was a huge response from the women of Ireland.'

He declared full support for the struggle against British imperialism.

WRP Central Committee member Cliff Slaughter said there was no way a socialist revolution in

Britain could succeed without the defeat of British imperialism in Ireland. The Tories and right-wing Labour leaders rested on Britain's colonial past.

'The greatest obstacle to the mass movement in Ireland to end British rule is that here in England, the working class has been kept away from alliance with the Irish working class,' Slaughter said, 'and that the Labour and trade union movement has a leadership that is pro-imperialist, anti-Irish, and reactionary to the core.'

'The greatest blow that anyone here in Britain can deliver for Irish freedom is to build up the kind of movement that will get rid of the right-wing Labour and trade union leaders and replace them with a leadership that seriously struggles to smash the British state.'

'The relationship is crystal clear. Defeat of the British forces in Ireland at the hands of the Irish masses will be a tremendous blow on behalf of the working class here in Britain.'

en letter from Alan ornett



THIS open letter to WRP members from Alan Thornett and John Lister was submitted for publication to the News Line in November. The WRP emphatically rejects the assertion in the letter that Mike Banda and Cliff Slaughter 'clearly knew what was going on and condoned it for decades'. This is entirely without foundation. Despite our disagreements with this and other points in the letter we are publishing it as a contribution to the public discussion on the problems of the Fourth International.

in fact been very reluctant to raise these matters but we regarded it as a matter of principle to do so once we knew about them. But Healy used them against us. He said we could not argue politically and were resorting to slander. He is saying the same things now — only then the majority backed Healy.

Then, after we were expelled, he organised a 're-registration' throughout the WRP Western Area (where we all were). All those refusing to accept our expulsion were themselves expelled — including some who hardly knew us in London and Yorkshire. Some 200 were expelled all told.

Vindicate

Today's events completely vindicate the stand we took at that time. The violence, corruption and abuse of women comrades are Healy's politics. His opportunist antics on political issues flow out of that.

In 1974 we took up his political line in some detail — as can be seen in our account of the split in the book 'Battle for Trotskyism', which we published at the time, and in 'WRP leaders junk the old Trotskyism', published later on, as well as many other articles and statements.

Today, we welcome the stand which has been belatedly taken against Healy, although much damage has been done to the Trotskyist movement by his continued activities over the past ten years.

We welcome Healy's expulsion and the fact that his most mindless disciples have gone with him. But we have to say to WRP members that this is only the start. There is a terrible mess to be cleaned up. The grotesque practices of Healy are still doing damage to the Trotskyist movement in the Fleet Street tabloids every day.

The problem is compounded by the fact that WRP leaders like Mike Banda and Cliff Slaughter clearly knew what was going on, and condoned it over decades. They were

enthusiastic supporters of Healy's political and organisational moves to expel us in 1974.

There must now be a full political accounting of the whole situation, and a full political self-criticism by those who have acted as Healy's theoretical mouthpiece over the years. The workers movement has a right to know just how an organisation as small as the WRP and theoretically committed to fight Stalinism and reformist bureaucracies would create political and material conditions to spawn such a vicious, brutal untrammelled bureaucracy in its own ranks.

WRP members must revise almost every assumption and position that has been handed down to them, and turn to Trotskyism. Their model must be the Bolshevik party, the Left Opposition and the early Fourth International, in which democracy was central factor in preserving a healthy political leadership. As we pointed out in 1974 this means:

- Rejecting any cult of the individual, exclusive leadership cliques and any privileged positions for full-timers.

- As a guarantee of the accountability of the leadership and its scrutiny by membership at all levels, there must be full freedom of discussion within the party, with the right to raise questions, and

circulate and argue minority points of view, documents, resolutions and information.

- A necessary corollary from the right to argue minority points of view is the right to **organise around these views**, to form opposition tendencies and factions to develop and fight for these points of view — rights jealously defended in Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the statutes of the Fourth International.

- This means a **categorical and principled rejection of violence and intimidation of any kind within the Marxist (and workers') movement**. Violence if used should be directed at the class enemy, not comrades with differences.

- A healthy internal regime depends also on the development of new layers of independently-minded, educated cadre. This in turn demands that the activity of the move-

ment in the class struggle must be geared to the human resources available and orientated in such a way as to train comrades to play a leading role in the actual struggles of the labour movement: on this issue the connection between a healthy regime and a healthy political line is made clear in the need to reject sterile activist propagandism.

On the political level a host of questions must be confronted.

Serious

- Any real change on the Middle East calls for a serious analysis of the nature and historical development of the vicious regimes in Libya, Iraq, Iran and Syria, each of which the WRP has from time to time defended, and a solid reappraisal of the politics of the PLO. The starting point must be the

interests of the oppressed masses of the Middle East, and the fight for a strategy of permanent revolution, not Healy's convenient alliances with wealth and power.

- This reappraisal must also include a rejection of the positions of adaptation to the Stalinist leadership in Vietnam, the scandalous justification of the murders of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, and a reaffirmation of the need for political revolution against each of the Stalinist leadership internationally.

- The Healy experience has underlined the appalling backwardness of the WRP on the question of women's oppression, where not even the lessons of Lenin, Trotsky and the First Four Congresses of the Communist International have been incorporated into the theory or practice of the party: in fact the develop-

ment of the women's liberation movements in the post-war period demand that Trotskyists go much further in outlining a perspective for that fight.

- The Jennings letter reveals another side of WRP backwardness — on the question of gay rights and gay liberation, with the party taking a more backward position than many reformist councils!

- The central issue of the relationship of Marxists to the British Labour Party must be faced in the light of the rejection of Healy's cock-eyed analysis of the period and the actual situation in 1985.

- The WRP trade union work, which has been in a state of collapse since the 1974 expulsions and which could only languish in the absence of any programme of transitional demands or perspective of serious intervention, has also suffered from gross opportunist adaptations.

Worse

- On the question of the Fourth International, WRP comrades must recognise that the 'orthodox', 'anti-Pabloite' International Committee has on Vietnam and the Middle East adopted far worse political positions than even Pablo himself. The only real comparison with WRP adaptations is Khomeini and Arafat is the Castroite line of the American SWP — who have gone the whole hog, rejected Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, and effectively repudiated the call for political revolution. Far from lecturing the rest of the crisis-ridden Trotskyist movement, or denouncing them lock, stock and barrel as 'revisionists',

WRP members (and IC sections) must now confront the actual situation and **political degeneration of the movement as a whole, of which the WRP is a part!** The unresolved political problems of the 1953 split in the Fourth International, the Cuban revolution and the whole post-war crisis of the FI cannot be wished away or ignored: they must be political confronted if a revolutionary international is to be built.

Discuss

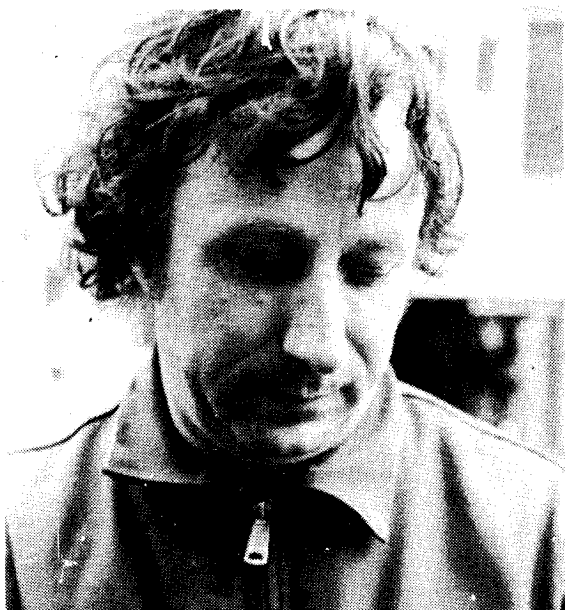
We cannot offer ready answers to all these questions. But we have addressed many of them to some extent since our expulsions in 1974. We have carried out a continuing struggle in the labour movement for principle and programme. And we offer now to discuss all or any of these issues with WRP members who wish to carry forward the fight for Marxism despite the betrayals of Healy.

We are among the supporters of the magazine 'Socialist Viewpoint'. We have survived intimidation, mass expulsions and eleven years of calumny, provocations and abuse from Healy to continue the battle for Trotskyism. **You can survive it, too,** and still make a real contribution to the struggle for socialism, if you make real break from past methods and policies.

Our views are summed up in 'Battle for Trotskyism' and other publications. Why not find out more?

November 20, 1985

Alan Thornett and John Lister expelled from the WRP in 1974



ALAN THORNETT



TONY RICHARDSON

LETTERS to the Editor

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Finding the source of WRP's degeneration

FURTHER to the article submitted by Mike Howgate (News Line, December 6, 1985) I think that the only weakness of the article was that it failed to give a dialectical understanding of the relation between the concept and the thing. In view of Healy's longtime perversion of Marxist dialectics, such an analysis is absolutely necessary.

By the 'thing-in-itself' is meant the thing, an objective reality existing independently of thought. This 'thing-in-itself' becomes a 'thing-for-us' when it becomes an object of scientific practice and cognition.

This process unravels the inner contradictory relations of the 'thing-for-us'. The truth of this concept of the thing is demonstrated through a scientific *cognitive practice*.

However this concept is shown to be relative as scientific technique improves on the basis of the development of productive forces, thereby furnishing the instrumentation necessary for a more profound understanding of the essence of things.

Lenin refers to this process in (Philosophical Notebooks, page 222) as 'the endless process of the discovery of the new sides... relations etc... the endless process of the deepening of man's knowledge of the

thing of phenomena, processes etc. from appearance to essence and from less profound to more profound essence'.

We know a great deal about the structure of matter and its forms but there is *always* more to know: matter is therefore knowable yet there are more laws and deeper, more profound, more universal relations to be unearthed within objective reality. The history of the development of natural science as a whole is a living embodiment of this fundamental objective truth.

There is and always will be a contradiction between the scientific concept of matter and the material thing itself — a difference within the unity of the relation so that the concept is just as much not equal as it is equal to the 'thing-in-itself', objective reality.

The fact that we can produce alizarin in a laboratory shows that our theory of its chemistry is approximately objectively correct. In this respect the concept corresponds to the thing: However at the very same time the is inexhaustibly complex and richer than the notion of it and so the concept is, simultaneously antithetical to the thing in virtue of our underdeveloped notion of it.

This 'underdevelopment' or 'stage' of the notion is a direct function of the level of technique in the natural sciences and thus indirectly of the developmental level of the productive forces.

Consequently the progress of the productive forces, the class struggle and technique in science, conditions and changes



G. HEALY

the content of our notions of nature and these contents have to be constantly updated.

This new higher level of knowledge of nature can now be utilised more profoundly applied to technology and production.

Therefore what must be shown here is that this relation between theory and practice constitutes a dialectical whole which in itself incorporates the dialectic of the thing and concept and which continually is developing to higher levels, both theory and practice mutually enriching one another.

Essentially it is the development of and the productive forces and technique in general that is the driving force behind the necessity to probe deeper into nature, bringing out more profound universal relations.

To summarise Marxists recognise matter as *primary* whilst thought, which is *secondary*, is a product of the develop-



KANT

ment of nature, objective reality.

Natural science, once established, passes through a historical development which shows an *endless* movement towards deeper and more profound understandings of absolute truth (eternal matter in motion in space and time).

However the infinite essence and complexity of matter always ensures that absolute truth consists of relative truths.

The very nature of objective reality confers the potential to know more profound relations about this objective material world in others words the scientifically derived concept truthfully approximates the thing and simultaneously falls short of the infinite entire wealth of more 'wealth' is revealed continuously as the lower is negated into a higher relative truth of the thing, knowledge becoming more profound with the progress of sci-

entific technique and theory.

Now, let us examine Healy's anti-Marxist outlook on the relation of thing to concept. We refer to Healy's absurd critique of C Talbot's analysis of Omelyanovsky's 'Dialectics in Modern Physics' and which was the subject of Howgate's article 'Madder Roots and Healy's philosophy' (Newsline, December 6, 1985).

In one breath Healy makes the objective material 'thing-in-itself' and the 'thing-for-us' *absolutely self-identical* (no difference) and in the next elevates the 'thing-for-us' to a purely subjective phenomenalistic existence.

The concept is seen as arising out of sensation and sensation is seen solely in terms of the 'objective 'thing-in-itself', which is the *source*'. This is typical of the crude metaphysical concept does not merely arise out of sensation even though sensation it-

self mediates the external method of Healy. The world and thought. In fact, to admit this is to bow to phenomenalism whose main protagonists are Hume and Kant.

For the Marxist, *cognition* of the external world of nature and society is an *active* process guided by definite scientific concepts and theories which, to be enriched, are utilised in the *penetration* of *appearance* to the essence of phenomena.

Healy's method is the opposite of this approach and degenerates into a most reactionary outlook of subjectivism.

This philosophical reaction was glaringly obvious in the 'News Line' prior to Healy's expulsion and especially in the analysis of the outcome of the miners' strike and the inner city riots. A blind subservience to sense impressions ran complementary to the unprincipled relations established with bourgeois nationalist leaders.

To summarise: Marxists insist that the 'relative concept' (knowledge) does not merely 'arise out of sensation' but through the *cognition* of the material external world in the course of human *practice*.

Sensation mediates *practice* and *cognition* but is certainly *not* and therefore should not be seen as the source of the concept.

The source of all ideas about the external world is that same material world of nature and society with which human beings must interact and through a *cognitive practice*, gain a scientific

understanding of its laws of natural and historical development.

The Marxist method must be applied in the analysis of Healyism which has poisoned the revolutionary party over many years.

This analysis must, during the course of its elaboration, be employed to launch a programme of political re-education — Marxist education — in the process of rebuilding the Trotskyist movement.

What must be clearly revealed is the source of the degeneration in the party (the intensification of the world economic crisis of imperialism) and how the pressure of this intensification has manifested itself inside our movement.

Finally what must be realised is that the struggle between Marxism and its bourgeois antithesis is more intense in this epoch of imperialist decay because of the enormous stakes for which revolutionary Communists are fighting — the leadership of the international working class and the conquest of state power.

The revolutionary situation is *approaching* and mother necessity is weeding out the rotten decadent elements who have betrayed Trotskyism.

This is cleansing the party, creating a healthier organism and preparing it for the revolutionary struggles ahead. Revolution, under Trotskyist leadership, is the only way forward, for the working class.

Shaun Patrick May

Cognition: a practice or a process?

THE ARTICLE by Chris Bailey on the 'practice of cognition' (Workers Press, February 1) and the reply to it in the Healyite 'News Line' (February 6) raise many fundamental issues.

One of them is whether cognition is a process or a practice. This may seem an academic issue, but conceals a profound division.

Chris Bailey says, correctly I think, that cognition is a process, not a practice. In the reply in 'News Line', Hollingsbee at first states that cognition 'is a living practice'.

But he then goes on no less than three times to refer to the 'process of cognition' (my emphasis) and even states: 'Comrade Healy's "Studies" is quite clear on the cognitive process.' Confusion reigns!

At the beginning of his article Hollingsbee also

states: 'cognition... is the physical apprehension of the external world and its recreation in thought through synthesis and analysis which is achieved only through practice'.

But he jumps from saying that cognition is achieved through practice to saying that it is a practice. To say that cognition is a practice means that human beings do it consciously. This is nonsense.

Cognition begins at a very early age: one of the breakthroughs in 20th century developmental psychology has been the understanding that children develop cognition through their interactions with the environment.

particularly through social interaction.

But it is not a practice on their part, unless by the word 'practice' we mean 'an unconscious practice'.

I think, amongst other things, that Healy confused cognition with scientific theory construction. The first is an unconscious process; the second is a conscious practice.

By making cognition into 'a practice' Healy is making man into a god, consciously setting out to perceive the world. This is rubbish. It separates man from nature completely. We might as well speak of the 'practice' of digestion.

But then Healy also says that society consists

of 'conscious human beings with the will to go on changing the world' ('Studies', page 4). This emphasis on will sounds like nothing less than Nietzsche.

Chris Bailey is quite right to say that cognition is a property of nature as a whole.

Hollingsbee also makes the error of supposing that to say cognition is a process is to say it is a 'contemplative process'. No, absolutely not.

Again, to refer to the development of cognition in young children: this is accomplished not through contemplation of reality, but through *action* and *interaction*. Nonetheless, cognition is a process going on within them *independently* of their will.

Of course in Healy's 'Studies' he also says: 'Categories cognise and assess the operation of the objective laws governing nature and society'. (page 47).

Not only do human beings practise cognition, but now categories have this ability. If categories can cognise, then maybe we should sit back and let them get on with the class struggle!

I've only dealt with one small aspect of this debate, but it reveals a nightmarish picture in Healy's 'Studies' and his supporter Hollingsbee, of human beings as detached god-like practitioners of cognition.

Cognition goes on independent of human will! That must be one of the corner-stones of dialectical materialist understanding of man and nature

— Ben Funn

NATIONAL JUSTICE FOR MINERWORKERS CAMPAIGN

MARCH, RALLY & DEMONSTRATION

2nd March, 1986

Assemble: 1.30pm, Jubilee Gardens, County Hall, London SE1, (with speakers)

March to Hyde Park

Rally: 4.30pm in Hyde Park

Speakers

Chair: W. Etherington (NUM, Nat. Exec. Comm.)
(Confirmed) Peter Heathfield (Gen. Sec. NUM), Tony Benn MP, Dennis Skinner MP, Ann Liburn (Chair, Women Against Pit Closures), Tony Banks (Chair, GLC), John McDonnell (GLC), Eric Clarke (NUM Scottish Area), Martha O'Samar (Broadwater Farm Defence Committee), Roy Butler (Coalville NUM), Sarah Roberts (Lebanese & Gays MSG), David Nellist MP, Liz French (Kent gaol mmer's wife), Sean Garaghty (EETPU Fleet St)
(Invited speakers) Brands Dean (ISOGAT), Ron Todd (Gen. Sec. TAGWU), Ken Cameron (FBU), Ken Gill (TASS), Diane Abbott (Nat. Comm. Black Sections)

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LETTERS

NATURE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

THE ARTICLE by Cyril Smith in *Workers Press* No. 5 (January 15, 1986) on 'What is to be done?' serves as an excellent basis for discussion on the nature of the revolutionary party.

Breaking the aura of infallibility around 'What is to be done?' raises many questions on the nature of this movement's relationships with the working class and the way we viewed all sorts of historical situations.

In the Workers League split document of January 27 they attack Cde Smith for challenging the formulations in 'What is to be done?' without any reference or disagreement with the Healyite view that it is 'universally relevant'. Perhaps they agree that it is?

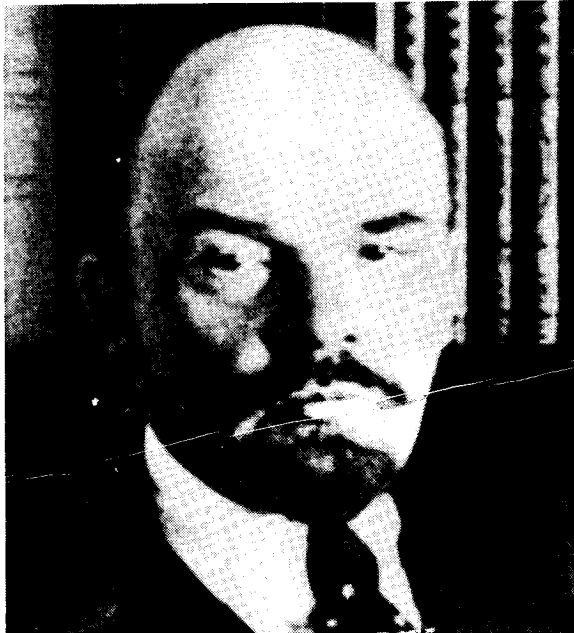
Bible

To say any book written by Marx, Engels, Lenin or Trotsky is 'universally relevant' today is like bible-bashing.

To take a book and say the views in it, whether written by a Marxist or not, correspond exactly to this time and place, means they regard the writers as seers.

Books written by Marxists aren't different in their historical context to books written by anybody involved in a theoretical struggle.

The fact that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky understood the historical process and recognised the inevitability of the overthrow of capitalism



LENIN

by the working class did not mean that they had broken out of the historical conditions and struggle around them and were somehow able to see into the future.

They were subject to the same historical laws.

They gave a conscious expression to the blind historical process. Historical materialism was discovered by Marx only because society had reached the point of progress which made its discovery possible.

By treating these books like 'What is to be done?' as uncriticisable absolutes is to refute virtually everything that Marxism teaches us. Dialectical and historical materialism and the permanent revolution go by the board if one accepts that they were 'universally relevant'.

The despicable role that the WRP under Healy turned 'What is to be done?' to was to use it to justify patronising the

working class, to treat them as helpless objects.

As Cde Smith says, Lenin was opposed to spontaneous conceptions, i.e., the wrong, illusory ideology that workers are subject to. But Healy and his supporters are opposed to spontaneity itself, i.e., the instinctive defence mechanisms that workers have to defend themselves and alleviate their level of exploitation from the capitalist class. They see this as reactionary.

The WRP under Healy (and we are only learning and changing slowly) was sectarian, was contemptuous of the working class and its struggles. We participated only sporadically in the day-to-day, minimum demands of the working class. This led to us being unable to put forward transitional demands.

How could we formulate transitional demands if we didn't know what was going on in the class struggle and how was the

working class supposed to respond to our ultra-left phrasemongering if we had no base in the class?

To characterise people as 'rubbish' etc, who 'weren't in the fight' was to characterise the working class as rubbish.

Workers will not just formally agree with our perspective. If we do not stand with them on all issues however trivial they may seem we cannot win them over to our party and its conscious, active expression of historical necessity.

But the other side of this is that we can't apprehend historical necessity unless we are in the fight with them.

So what is a revolutionary party? What is its function?

The usual answer to this has been that the revolutionary party leads the working class to power. However, I don't think it is that simple. Let me quote Trotsky:

'The unconscious rises from its deep well and bends the conscious mind to its will, merging it with itself in some greater synthesis' ('My Life', page 349).

Here he is talking about momentous occasions in history, i.e., revolutions, when the masses in their struggles (the unconscious) link up with the revolutionary party (the conscious).

Notice that he says 'the unconscious . . . bends the conscious mind to its will'. In other words, the workers use the party, wield it like a weapon to smash the enemy.

History

The party does not drag the working class along behind it, as if it was unwilling to turn the corner of history.

The party has to be the sense organ of the working class. It senses all that is going on in the struggle, correlates it all and shares its information out to the furthest corners of the class. But it is the working class that takes actions, that 'does the job' if you like.

There is a general crisis of Trotskyism worldwide. Healy could never have held such sway in the movement for so long if that was not the case. But how was he able to carry through that international betrayal?

The greatest crime that has been carried out in the name of Trotskyism by Healy is his use of anti-communist relations.

It was only in condi-

tions where all questioning of the party line was outlawed and members were reduced to objects that the political line could have disintegrated to such an extent.

The task of Marxists is to show the workers how to overthrow capitalism. But this is not enough. It is dogma if you just tell them 'here are the answers, now go out and do it'. You have to show them how to do it in practice. And how do you do that?

By having a party that breathes communism. I don't mean by this that people devote all their time to the activity of the party, but it attracts people, because the activities are carried out in a communist way, the membership is morally strong, filled with confidence in their tastes and never afraid to criticise.

Class

Bureaucracy is the opposite of this. Intrigue, suspicion, backbiting, privilege, is all bound to lower the confidence and independence of the party and the class.

We need a correct political line on all sorts of questions of course, but if we have the correct conditions, that will come about more easily.

The political line will be carried out because members have had a hand in forming it and they know it to be true, not because they are told so.

The Healyite obsession with security is unnecessary. It is a manifestation of scepticism. Can the working class overthrow capitalism and open the road to the abolition of bureaucracy or not?

Under Healy it was like serving a prison sentence waiting for socialism to free you from this appalling blind activism.

But the means cannot be separated from the ends. To end up with communism you have to act like a communist now.

This change is taking place in the WRP. Seeing the Healyites with their daily 'News Line', weekly 'Young Socialist' and same political line as six months ago, is cause to reflect even more deeply on the gulf which now separates us.

Let them live their disgusting lie. We are not in a competition with them, we are the ones who have changed, not them, and the working class will deal with them in good time.

Richard Knott
Exeter WRP

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Strip-search atrocities

THE strip-searching of Ella Dwyer and Martina Anderson at Brixton Prison alongside the strip searching of Women prisoners at Armagh jail is the most degrading, disgusting and barbaric of atrocities carried out by British prison regimes against Irish political prisoners.

It is both sexist and reactionary and is in every sense a fascist practice.

The fact that only women prisoners are

strip-searched is in my opinion a psychological ploy used in order to try to break the women mentally by attacking their bodies. It is also used to degrade and humiliate and tries to destroy the women as human beings.

It is not a well known fact but in Armagh jail the women are often strip searched in the presence of male screws. We hear so much about the lack of human rights in the Soviet Union by the British press but when it comes to the lack of human rights offered Irish political prisoners the capitalist press are very silent indeed.

I appeal to all readers and supporters of Workers Press to take up the issue and call on all WRP members and Workers Press readers to join the picket outside Brixton prison on March 7 starting at 8 p.m. and going on for twenty four hours.

The strip-searching is just like the no-jury courts, the supergrass trials, plastic bullets, etc, part of the apparatus of British repression used against Irish political activists. End the silence, raise the issue and put an end to this most barbaric of atrocities.

Charlie Walsh, Kilburn

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COMMENT

By Hughie Nichol

A hysterical provocation

THE 8th Congress of the Workers Revolutionary Party held on February 8/9 in London voted decisively to 'defend the rights of the majority party members' and the delegates supported the resolution from the central committee that laid down conditions for the attendance at the Congress of the former 'minority' delegates and visitors.

These resolutions stated that if the seventeen members charged with theft from the party returned the money then they would be allowed to attend the Congress.

Those not charged, other members of the former minority, would be allowed into the Congress if they signed a statement disassociating themselves from this theft of £1,644 from party funds and against the split organised by Hyland's followers.

Fifty-seven members of the former minority staged a provocation outside the school gates where the Congress was held. For two whole hours WRP delegates and visitors were spat on, subjected to foul language and physically jostled as the so-called 'Marxists' of this group hysterically carried on in the most uncomradely fashion.

Myself as a member of the Congress standing orders committee, Dave Temple the Congress chairman and Lorenzo Wilson of the central committee, undaunted by the hysterical actions taking place decided to go outside of the school gates and proceeded to read out the conditions under which they would be allowed into the Congress.

This we did — three of us surrounded by 60 hysterical screaming anti-communists who had decided themselves not to attend the Congress.

I say this because not only did they not sign this statement against the theft but they had made no effort at nominations from their group for the standing orders committee. They never intended to attend the Congress.

Nobody needed 'heavies' to protect them certainly against this hysterical impotent gang of renegades who presented themselves at the Congress that day. It was not until very late in the morning that the police arrived at the gate.

They were not called by anyone connected with our 8th Congress being held that day; they were in fact called by a person living close to the school who took offence at the hysterical spitting and swearing of Hyland and his supporters as they engaged in their provocation at the school gates.

Because of these actions we were asked by the school caretaker to vacate the school and we were forced to reconvene our Congress elsewhere. This was done in a disciplined and orderly manner as communists and without any 'police protection' as we proceeded to the important business of the Congress over the next two days of February 8 and 9 without the childish hysteria of Hyland and his supporters.

Hughie Nicol, WRP 8th Congress standing orders committee.

Why the WRP has split again

■ FROM PAGE ONE

tended on having by suspending the WRP on the basis of the political crimes of Healy.

This was done without written charges against the WRP and on the basis of a report that was not presented until one day after the suspension decision had been taken.

Relations between the ICFI and the WRP have deteriorated rapidly since the expulsion of Healy because of the refusal of the WRP membership, and a majority of its leadership, to accept Healyism without Healy.

Out of fear of the political implications in their own sections of the explosion that has taken place in the WRP, the ICFI leaders turned the Healy frame-up techniques against the opponents of Healy — the present leadership of the WRP.

The Workers Revolutionary Party held its 8th congress on Saturday February 8/Sunday February 9. It endorsed a decision of the WRP Central Committee on Friday February 7 to exclude the leaders of the ex-minority from the congress unless the £1,644 they had seized from party funds was returned.

The Central Committee also charged 17 leading members of the ex-minority for their part in the ICFI conspiracy to split the WRP and seize its

assets. These charges will be heard at a CC meeting on February 23.

The congress endorsed a CC decision to exclude all those supporters of the ex-minority who would not sign a form repudiating the actions of their leaders. Those who signed the forms were duly admitted.

The congress passed a resolution rejecting the actions of the ICFI leaders and continuing the public discussion of the problems of the Fourth International (see box). It also endorsed the decision of the CC to reject the re-registration of the party membership on the basis of subordination to the ICFI.

Pre-arranged

The 57 members of the ex-minority who would not repudiate the anti-party actions of their leaders went off to Hammersmith to hold their pre-arranged conference with the leaders of the ICFI. They tried to call the WRP's 8th conference unconstitutional because it was not based on the ICFI registration.

This ICFI conference consisted of ritual denunciations of the 'Healy-Slaughter-Banda' gang, and at North's insistence a full defence of Security and the Fourth International. They are calling themselves the WRP (Internationalist), although

WRP (Security and the Fourth Internationalists) would be more appropriate, as the main plank of their 'international perspectives' is defence of the Gelfand case.

This group have now produced an edition of the Young Socialist paper, which was printed by the West German section of the ICFI. They find themselves in the position of being the second group to split from the WRP since Healy was charged, both of whom are attempting to pass themselves off as the real WRP.

The Torrance-Redgrave-Mitchell group split from the WRP in order to defend Healy personally, whilst the Hyland-Short group have now split in order to defend Healy's ICFI.

Security and the Fourth International is acclaimed by both of these groups as a great gain for the international working class and this is a measure of their adherence to the Healyite politics in which they were trained.

The political position that the Hyland-Short group put forward in the WRP consisted of the following:

1. Keep the daily 'News Line' going at all costs, even if it is not a revolutionary paper. Dave Hyland actually said in the WRP special congress of November 8 that he would rather have a centrist daily than a twice weekly paper.

This position was opposed in the party because of the insuperable political problems that maintaining a daily paper posed. The Torrance-Redgrave-Mitchell group now have a daily paper, much to the annoyance of the Hyland-Short group who see this as a major objective.

2. Opposition to the holding of meetings on the question of revolutionary morality on the basis that this was not the real question of the split. This after the WRP had split with the Torrance-Redgrave-Mitchell group on the question of rape!

Diversion

The Hyland-Short group insisted that the fight for revolutionary morality and communist relations within the WRP was deliberately introduced as a diversion from the questions of internationalism and subordination to Healy's ICFI.

On this question there is again agreement between the two groups of anti-communist renegades, who find the mere thought of revolutionary morality and communist relations an anathema.

3. The leadership of the WRP was liquidating into a 'broad popular front with revisionism and Stalinism'. The proof of this was the preparedness of the WRP to engage in public discussion with other groups, and worst of all Cliff Slaughter actually shook hands with the Stalinist Monty Johnstone.

This position was of course taken up by both groups who defend the Healyite conception that it is impossible to discuss with someone with whom you have disagreements.

4. Defence of Security and the Fourth International as 'the highest point of the struggle of the international working class against the capitalist state'.

This piece of political slander against the leaders of the American SWP was the handiwork of Healy, Mitchell and North. Not surprisingly the Healyite rump and the ICFI have full agreement on defending this political fraud.

There would appear to be little difference between the Torrance-Redgrave-Mitchell group and the Hyland-Short group, except their subjective hatred of one other.

The struggle of the Workers Revolutionary Party to expose all that is rotten in Healyism will continue. We will not back down in the fight against all those that try to cover up the political degeneration that occurred in the WRP and the ICFI, and the corruption that was an integral part of it.

The ICFI's claim that the issue of the split is internationalism could not be further from the truth. They assert that because the WRP will not subordinate itself to the ICFI we are working from narrow national considerations.

The only principled position for any Trotskyist is to reject the ICFI as having long ago abandoned the proletarian internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. The task of internationalists is to face up to this degeneration in order to build the Fourth International.

LETTER

For an open discussion

IN THE Workers Press of February 16 there was no statement on the split with the International Committee of the Fourth International and the charging and imminent expulsion of the minority led by Hyland.

It is the duty of our paper to be honest with the working class no matter what the issue may be. It has been common knowledge among left-wing ('revisionist') circles that the WRP was suspended from the ICFI some three months ago.

The Socialist Labour Group, who 'knew everything' about the split in our party, were distributing leaflets outside our conference on Saturday February 8, addressed to the majority.

In not publishing an explanation of the issues involved in the split with North's renegades we leave ourselves open to attack and endanger the credibility we won when we expelled Healy and renounced our past sectarian policies.

On Tuesday, February 4 several comrades (including myself) were made aware of the fact that Julie Hyland, Dolly

Short and Katie Rhodes (leading members of the renegades) had abused party trust to compile an anti-Trotskyist rag under the name of the 'Young Socialist'.

They also produced a resolution from David North's Workers League that was a clear declaration of a split. (I hope this document can be published in the Workers Press as it will show the bankruptcy of this group).

Furthermore it was discovered that J. Hyland and D. Short had withdrawn £1,600 from a Young Socialists account on Friday January 31.

At the WRP conference on February 8/9 the minority were required to sign a declaration denouncing this action and the North letter declaring a split. They refused to do so.

The exposure and split with these anti-Trotskyist renegades was a historic gain for our party.

Although many of the 'minority' played a part in the fight to expel Healy, they were irreconcilably tainted with Healyism.

Apart from having no respect for the constitution they showed this in their demand to subordinate the party to the ICFI.

The WRP after our experiences with Healy will not subordinate itself to any guru or group. Included, and fundamental, to this demand was a refusal to even discuss Security and the Fourth International.

The Workers Press must open its pages to analyses of Security and the Fourth International. It was undoubtedly a cowardly and anti-working-class replacement of a real struggle against the revisionism of the SWP (US) and others.

I know that other comrades with more knowledge of the subject have declared that the whole 'investigation' was/is a fraud and that we have to state so. I feel that these comrades should be encouraged to write to the paper.

I would also be interested in other comrades views on the links between North and the Healyites. Security and the Fourth International was Healy's baby, and was reared by North and Mitchell. Could there still be some connection between the trio? Why have the rump not spoken of the split in our party? Is there a common interest (between North and the rump) in keeping quiet?

Neil Dempsey, Runcorn

IC's claims rejected

The following resolution was adopted by the WRP 8th Congress on February 8/9.

THIS 8th Congress of the Workers Revolutionary Party declares that the International Committee of the Fourth International does not represent the continuity of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

Failing to analyse and correct the degeneration and betrayals which it carried out under the leadership of Healy, it has now organised an anti-communist opposition and split against the WRP because of the WRP's principled struggle against Healyism.

This Congress rejects

completely the special international conference called by the International Committee to expel the WRP, and instructs the central committee to begin work immediately to regroup all those in the International Committee sections who are fighting to defeat Healyism and against the actions of D. North and the IC majority.

The public discussion of problems of the Fourth International will continue and this party will work for an international pre-conference of all those who stand on the Permanent Revolution, the Transitional Programme and the first four Congresses of the Communist International, before the end of 1986.