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Report of 70th Anniversary of Russian Revolution — see pages 7-11

Right: Peter Fryer signs copies of his book 'Crocodiles in the Streets'

To be published on 23 November 1987

Crocodiles in the Streets

By Peter Fryer

The British public knows little about Latin America, least of all about recent working class struggles in that continent. This illuminating book is a report on a visit lasting six-and-a-half weeks, during which Peter Fryer met Brazilian gold miners, Argentinian meat workers, Bolivian tin miners on strike, Peruvian metal workers and Colombian trade unionists under threat of death from paramilitary fascist squads.

In all five countries he also met activists and leaders of the Trotskyist parties organised in the International Workers' League (IWL). Fryer lets the people he met speak for themselves.

This is a unique account of a continent seething with resistance to capitalism.

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ROOTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY CRISIS

THE 40th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain meets in the midst of a chronic Party crisis.

The facts of this crisis are well known:

- Membership is slumping. The Executive Committee admits that since the 39th Special Congress in May 1985 membership has dropped from 12,711 to 10,350. These figures are highly deceptive: many members are purely nominal card holders, taking little or no part in the Party's work. The Party is now only half the size it was after 1956-1957 Hungarian crisis.

- A series of expulsions has taken place throughout the country with several branches and districts closed down or 'reorganised'.

- The Young Communist League has virtually ceased to exist. The EC admits that membership is down to 50, organised in just three branches.

- The main resolution speaks of the 'weakening' of the Party's influence in the unions. The truth is that the Party's work in the unions has to a large

degree collapsed, hit in part by defections to the Communist Campaign Group around the 'Morning Star'.

- The link between the Party and the 'Morning Star' has now been officially severed. A special EC resolution 'The Communist Party and the PPS and "Morning Star"' says of the split: 'In these circumstances it is no longer possible for the Communist Party to recommend its members to support the "Morning Star".' Almost 60 years are brought to an end. Ever since the formation of the 'Daily Worker' in 1930 the Party has had a daily paper.

Feature

The outstanding feature of the EC resolutions is that not a single aspect of this crisis is tackled. Every issue facing the Party is avoided.

To take one issue: the single-union deal agreed by the

AEU leadership for Ford's proposed new factory at Dundee (see page 16). The EC resolution says the 'right wing is capitulating with notions of business unionism'.

But the architect of the Dundee deal, which is a classic example of just such state-controlled business unionism, was James Airlie, a member of the Communist Party, who worked secretly with AEU leader Gavin Laird to secure the deal for Fords.

Is any action to be taken against Airlie? We can answer safely in the negative.

The main resolution 'The New Challenge facing Britain's Labour and Democratic Movements' is identical to the 'new realism' of Kinnock, Gould and the Labour right wing.

- The working class hardly gets a look in. The 'working people' are mentioned but everything is staked on 'building alliances'. Such alliances are to be with the SDP:

'Although much (!) Alliance politics is opposed to socialism there are also strongly democratic and anti-Thatcher elements within it. It is important that the left drops its present

sectarian attitude towards these more progressive trends. . . ways need to be found to involve sections of the Alliance in dialogue, debate and joint campaigning with the Labour movement.

This is the old Popular Front politics the Communist Party has peddled almost unbrokenly for more than 50 years. It requires the subordination of the interests of the working class to those of the middle class and even sections of the capitalist class.

Blow

The leaders of the Party clearly see the Thatcher victory as a decisive blow:

'The general election resulted in a major setback for the British people and labour movement, and for millions throughout the world who were looking for a progressive change in Britain's foreign policy.' And in the same vein:

'The general election victory was a considerable achievement for reaction, though the Tories still command the support of only two out of five voters.'

We reject this defeatist

talk. First, major questions are never settled in the electoral field, but only in the struggle of classes which is now taking place in the midst of a rapidly deepening economic crisis. Nothing of any consequence is said about the crisis of British capitalism which has erupted so violently in the present stock exchange collapse. It is this collapse which has wrecked the Tory privatisation policy, the means by which even more dramatic slashing of government spending has been avoided.

Second, the Tory victory was the responsibility of the right wing whose policies repelled layers of the middle class and failed to win the support of sections of the working class.

The Communist Party does not agree. It speaks of 'the positive features of Labour's general election campaign' and claims that 'The Labour campaign served to blunt the Thatcherite aim of removing it as the main opposition party. . .'

The miners' strike has been entirely forgotten, as well as the Wapping struggle.

And for good reason! It was above all the miners' strike that brought the work-

ing class face to face with the organised violence of the capitalist state. It knocked on the head all notions of the 'peaceful road to socialism' so beloved by the Communist Party as well as the 'Morning Star'.

What is the source of the Party's crisis? It is not the 'mistakes' on this or that question. It arises from the very ideological basis of the Party: the peaceful road to socialism. It was this policy that was imposed on the Communist Parties by Stalin and his supporters from the 1930s onwards.

History

Only by studying the history of the struggle within the Communist International that developed from the early 1920s, and especially the struggle between the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, and Stalin can the roots of the Party's crisis be understood.

We urge all those presently in the Communist Party who want to take part in the struggle for socialism to read Workers Press and consider seriously joining the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Stand firm against anti-IRA witch-hunt

THE Thatcher government and its state forces are considering a new and bloody offensive against Irish nationalists, following the Enniskillen explosion.

● The re-introduction of 'preventive detention' — internment without trial — was being kept 'under review', Tory Northern Ireland Secretary Tom King told howling Ulster Unionist reactionaries in parliament.

● Unionist sources told British newspaper reporters that, at a private meeting, premier Thatcher had hinted that laws may be introduced abolishing the right of silence for 'suspected terrorists'.

● The Tories are also considering further legal restrictions against Sinn Fein.

● Collaborating closely with British imperialism in this new anti-Republican offensive is the 26-county government. Sir John Hermon, head of the reactionary and sectarian Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), is discussing the clampdown first of all with top officers of the 26-county Garda.

● As the state clampdown began, so did a renewal of violence by loyalist para-militaries — who are tacitly encouraged, and sometimes armed by, British imperialism. A 19-year-old Catholic landscape gardener was killed in west Belfast and five Catholics injured by machine-gun fire in north Belfast.

Joining in the outburst of anti-Republican venom in parliament this week were front-bench Labour spokesmen, whose acquiescence and support will be essential in the coming onslaught. The Labour Party's Home Policy Committee passed a resolution re-affirming 'our opposition to the Sinn Fein strategy of "bullet and ballot" which is no more than a cynical and dishonest attempt to legitimise terrorist actions such as that at Enniskillen.'

Every socialist and trades unionist must stand firm against this sickening outburst of hypocrisy, and redouble our efforts in support of the Irish working class against British imperialism.

FIRSTLY, the deliberate lie that Enniskillen was a 'terrorist action' by the IRA — repeated again and again by Tory and Labour politicians alike — must be nailed. The full IRA statement released through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau said:

6 The IRA admits responsibility for planting the bomb in Enniskillen yesterday which exploded with such catastrophic consequences. We deeply regret what occurred. GHQ has now established that one of our units placed a remote control bomb in St Mary's, aimed at catching crown forces personnel on patrol in connection with Remembrance Day services, but not during it. The bomb blew up without being triggered by our radio signal.

There has been an ongoing battle for supremacy between the IRA and British Army electronic engineers over the use of remote-control bombs. In the past, some of our landmines have been triggered by the British Army scanning high frequencies, and other devices have been jammed and neutralised. On each occasion we overcame the problem and recently believed that we were in advance of British counter-measures.

In the present climate nothing we can say in explanation will be given the attention that the truth deserves, nor will it compensate the feelings of the injured or bereaved.

The truth of this statement can be judged by the recent course of IRA military strategy, which has been directed first of all against military and RUC personnel in the six counties. A recent two-year bomb and rocket campaign, against police stations, was supplemented by attacks on civilians doing supply or building work for such installations. The policy of individual executions of informers, and high-ranking state or government personnel, have continued.

At no time has the IRA had a policy of killing civilians at Enniskillen or anywhere else. A recent IRA statement pointed out they had cancelled more operations than they had gone ahead with, in attempting to lessen civilian casualties.

SECONDLY, we must condemn the miserable hypocrisy expressed over Enniskillen by capitalist politicians, and their aides in press and churches. This fitted in well with the crocodile tears they shed every Remembrance Day for the victims of two imperialist wars generated by the system they represent. Just as they mourn the war dead — remaining silent about the US-British holocaust against Dresden, Hamburg, Hiroshima and Nagasaki — so they condemn the IRA, while upholding the blood-soaked occupation of Ireland's six counties with its civilian deaths and misery, not to mention the centuries of previous colonial oppression.

Foremost among the anti-'terrorist' witch-hunters are the pro-imperialist Labour leaders and Communist Party Stalinists. The 'Morning Star' began its cowardly condemnations of the IRA on Monday, without even waiting to find out the truth about the Enniskillen bomb.

'Whatever the cause, the "Morning Star" expresses its total condemnation of this murderous act of violence,' said this organ of the pro-Moscow wing of British Stalinism.

First off the mark to denounce the IRA, before any of the details were known, was the Soviet news agency, TASS.

Following the Enniskillen bomb, socialists and trades unionists must stand firm against the witch-hunt.

As Trotskysts, the Workers Revolutionary Party has fundamental differences with the Republican movement, particularly with their leaders' 'two-stage' conception of the struggle against imperialism. We shall discuss these issues at length in Workers Press. But following Enniskillen, we underline that we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the Irish working class, the Irish community in Britain, and the Republican movement itself, which faces a massive state witch-hunt. We condemn the sickening hypocrisy of the Labour-ites and Stalinists, who go whining about 'terrorism' to their Tory masters — who are the only terrorists in Ireland.

Down with British imperialism's witch-hunt and all those who support it!

IMPRESSIONS FROM LEEDS

Syndicalist and chauvinist

BY GERALDINE THORPE

from any political party.

It seemed that the conference organisation militated against such discussion.

Although the workshops which constituted the main part of the day catered for a wide range of concerns, the attempt to bring them into focus by addressing a common theme — that of leadership — was side-tracked into making leadership yet another workshop topic. Internationalism was treated similarly.

There were Marxists there but they couldn't make an adequate impact for a number of reasons, not least the absence from our political life of a revolutionary party during the print and mine workers' strikes.

Marxists' tasks were made even more difficult by the so-called intervention by the International Communist Party (Hyland) who would not accept that they had been organisationally defeated in the months of preparing for the conference. Instead they attempted to confuse and sabotage the agreed structure of the weekend conference.

If comrades wish to influence the working class they have to be a leading light in the struggles from day one — when people's minds are most receptive.

It is too late to tail-end and expect people to be enthusiastic after the betrayals by a leadership who was able to use unions as a police force for the workers — because ideological weapons in the working class were not available: they were held by Marxist debating societies.

Thus the fact that Marxism is the

historic ideological weapon and guide to action of the working class throughout the world was lost to many at this conference. Tendencies submerged leadership questions into questions on the development of the rank and file in the unions.

How can the rank and file, with its confusion of perspectives from common-sense empiricism to struggling chauvinist Marxist sects, give a lead against a capitalist class which is coordinated and led politically from a world perspective?

It was recognised that the rank and file alone cannot lead, they would need support from the support groups. I shall not deal with this important development in working-class struggles in Britain here. What we must address is the role of these groups. Are they merely to be brought out on strikes, disputes, campaigns and operate on single issues?

Or are they to become the site of the political development of the working class and take on the task of fighting for transitional demands in the form of workers' defence committees?

● I went to the conference as a member of the Tower Hamlets Workers' Support Group. In addition, I wanted to speak in a personal capacity to a resolution put forward by a minority in the support group.

This resolution was Marxist from an international perspective, calling for the development of workers' defence groups so that the task of developing a new independent working class leadership could begin.

It was not spoken to as I could not attend on Sunday when resolutions were put. I have given above some impressions from Saturday.

THE majority of the more than 100 participants at the Leeds Solidarity Conference last Saturday proceeded in line with the adopted statement: perspectives which did not go beyond trade unions and national concerns and were therefore syndicalist and chauvinist.

Although it was widely recognised that each strike was betrayed there was little talk of development of a new independent leadership which would not sink to the customary betrayals and adapt to the demands of the ruling class.

There was very little political discussion all day; indeed, at the workshop on 'leadership' it was remarked with surprise that:

- 1) no one all day had made any reference to the stock market crash and the internationalist crisis of capitalist leadership;
- 2) if we wanted to defend and win our struggles we are talking about changing our social system to socialism and that this required a leadership which was revolutionary.

This last point was made by an old Salvadorean comrade who was not

Few rights for part-time workers

NEARLY 40 per cent of the Common Market's 12 million part-time workers who are employed in Britain receive the lowest pay and employment rights within the EEC, according to a Low Pay Unit study.

Nearly one in five British workers are part-timers, the highest proportion in Europe apart from Denmark, Sweden and Holland.

There are almost 5 million part-time workers in the UK, over 4 million of whom are women, nearly 43 per cent of the total female workforce.

Nearly 80 per cent of part-timers earn less than £3.25 an hour.

In Britain a worker must spend 16 hours a week in the

same job and normally be employed for two years before he or she qualifies for most employment rights.

Those outside this qualification period are excluded from unfair dismissal rights, redundancy pay and the right to return after maternity leave.

An EEC directive aimed at giving part-time workers greater rights was vetoed by the Thatcher government in 1982.

WINE merchants Peter Dominic are trying to abolish national pay negotiations and tear up union recognition agreements.

Following its take-over of off licence chain Roberts and Cooper earlier this year, Peter Dominic insisted that union membership among the newly merged workforce was no longer at representative level.

USDAW campaign for youth

USDAW, the shopworkers' union is concerned that young trainees may not realise they can join a union — or that unions can do anything for them.

USDAW is making a special effort to recruit teenagers even though so many young people working in shops are YTS 'trainees' rather than employees.

They have produced a new leaflet indicating the kind of rights which young men and women should enjoy at work, but which they are often denied — like proper breaks

and high safety standards.

USDAW is also encouraging its shop stewards to contact all trainees and young workers who are already in membership to check their training and working conditions.

First

Union general secretary Garfield Davies explained: 'Shop work is very often the first experience a school leaver has of the world of work and they are too often exploited or treated unfairly because they lack the experience to know what their rights really are.'

'Also, when they do complain they may be warned off if an unscrupulous employer hints that there are plenty of unemployed who can do their job.'

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ
LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.
PETER JORDAN, 15-year sentence, H22338.EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.
JOHN MCCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.
VINCE DONNELLY, Life sentence, 274064.

MAIDSTONE

HM Prison County Road, Maidstone, Kent
DONAL CRAIG, 4-year sentence, L40579.

PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX
PATRICK HACKETT, 20-year sentence, 342603.
PAUL NORNEY, Life sentence, 863532.
SEAN McSHANE, B75898.
TOMMY QUIGLEY, Life sentence, 69204.

PETER SHERRY, Life sentence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG
NATALINO VELLA, 15-year sentence, B71644.
NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 679225.

ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS
MARTIN BRADY, Life sentence, 119087.
HARRY DUGGAN, Life sentence, 338638.
BILLY GRIMES, 10-year sentence, 78647.
SEAN KINSELLA, Life sentence, 758661.

GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leicestershire, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP
RONNIE MCCARTNEY, Life sentence, 463799.
STEPHEN NORDONE, Life sentence, 758663.
JOE O'CONNELL, Life sentence, 338635.
ROY WALSH, Life sentence, 119083.

FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Life sentence, 119085

BREHDAN DOWD, Life sentence, 758662.
PAUL HOLMES, Life sentence, 119034.
CON McFADDEN, 20-year sentence, 130662.
MICHAEL J MCKENNEY, 16-year sentence, L46486.
EDDIE O'NEILL, 20-year sentence, 135722.

LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ
PAUL KAVANAGH, Life sentence, 1888.
GERARD McDONNELL, Life sentence, B75882.
BRIAN KEENAN, 21-year sentence, B26380.
PATRICK McGEE, Life sentence, B75881.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.
MARTINA ANDERSON, Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER, Life sentence, D25135.

BRIXTON

HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, 25 year sentence, L48616

REMAND PRISONERS:

GARTREE
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694.
BRIXTON
LIAM MCCOTTER, LB83693
LIAM QUINN, 49930

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire
PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.
PATRICK McLOUGHLIN, HM Prison, Wormwood Scrubs.

They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

We thank An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for supplying and updating this information.

Jordan defeated on engineers' deal

UNION leaders on the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) have been forced to abandon a widely opposed deal with the Engineering Employers' Federation.

For two years the engineering union (AEU) leadership has been attempting to push through the deal accepting widespread attacks on engineers' rights and conditions in return for a 37-and-a-half-hour week.

The CSEU voted by 17 to 13 on November 5 to abandon the deal as 1,000 engineers demonstrated outside the meeting.

The vote was a blow for AEU president Bill Jordan and the right wing who had hoped to put the deal to a postal ballot following the AEU National Committee meeting last month.

The CSEU must now enter the negotiations with the employers on 23 November with a demand for shorter working hours without strings.



Furious engineers lobbied the talks in London on November 5

Action committee will fight cuts

CREWE Town Action Committee has been set up to campaign against the health service cuts and the further 1,000 redundancies proposed at British Rail Engineering Workshops (BREL).

The South Cheshire Health Authority has agreed the closure of three wards at Leighton Hospital and one at Northwich hospital in Crewe despite the 1,360 people who have been waiting for over a year and 757 for over two years for operations.

The area is estimated to be £5.2 million under-funded by its own figures and is still being cut.

This is what the Tories mean when they say: 'The NHS is safe in our hands.'

Crewe was built around the railways. Between 1979 and 1986, 4,000 jobs have been lost in BR depots in Crewe.

Unemployment in Crewe for 18- to 25-year-olds is running at 35 per cent despite cheap labour schemes.

BREL have already made 800 workers redundant this year and now plan another 1,000 compulsory redundancies. There are no more 'volunteers'.

Health employees and railway workers saw the necessity of linking their fight. The attacks if unopposed would decimate the Crewe community.

Cuts

The campaign against the cuts has met with significant opposition from local union and labour leaderships.

Any campaign linking health workers with the industrial workforce and the community spells danger for any 'socialist' carrying out so-called 'humane' cuts on behalf of Thatcher.

Crewe MP Gwyneth Dunwoody spoke at the Labour Party conference about the attacks on BREL but would not speak at a rally and demonstration called by the Action Committee at the end of October in her own constituency.

She is said to have tabled a motion to the Labour Chief Whip complaining about Liverpool Broadgreen MP Terry Fields coming to speak in her area. Fields was not deterred by her complaints.

BY SUE GWYER

The rally welcomed rank-and-file trade unionists from Leighton hospital and nurses from North Staffordshire. Chair of Leighton shop stewards' committee Dave Hyland spoke of the selling off of NHS beds of which there was an actual glut on the market.

Margaret Parish of Leighton hospital also spoke in a personal capacity, as did Bob Curzon of the NUR.

'I am speaking here today because of the total lack of leadership given by the trade unions in the fight against the cuts,' he said.

'The trade unions have in fact campaigned against the "Campaign Against the Cuts" because it has linked the attacks on the health service with the demise of industry and attempted to mobilise the community in defence of Crewe.'

Curzon accused the government of killing the town slowly but surely and attacked the trade union and labour leadership for aiding and abetting them in the task.

Crewe Town Action Committee should be a warning to the labour and trade union leaders and so-called 'socialist' councils who are making cuts on behalf of the Tories.

Shopworkers' poll tax campaign

USDAW, the shopworkers' union, has launched a campaign against the poll tax — a proposal which, if passed, will have a serious effect on the lives of low-paid workers.

Feelings against the poll tax are particularly strong

Trotsky collection on view in Glasgow

LEON TROTSKY's first pamphlet, published underground in Odessa in 1900; his condemnations of the imperialist war re-printed by 'Red Clydeside' socialists; and editions of Trotsky's works which poured from official Soviet presses in revolutionary Russia.

These are among the items from Glasgow University's Trotsky Collection now in a display which is not to be missed.

The display, in the University Library's Special Collections Department, also includes documents of the Left Opposition and the Fourth International in Arabic, Bengali, Sinhalese, Persian, Serbo-Croat, Greek, Armenian, Turkish and Japanese.

The exhibited newspapers, bulletins and books span Trotsky's entire political career, affording a glimpse of its scope in a few showcases.

The exhibition has been mounted — and an informative 50p catalogue published by the Special Collections Department staff — to draw attention to the library's Trotsky Collection which was established in 1983 with the donation of a large private collection.

Editions

'The original gift comprised some 1,800 editions of Trotsky's work in 40 languages, together with numerous secondary items and several hundred periodical and newspaper issues containing pieces by Trotsky,' says the exhibition programme.

'Since then, the collection has attracted further donations, notably, a small group of papers and published

material from Isaac Deutscher (Trotsky's biographer) presented by his widow.

'Other significant items which have been acquired are the first Russian edition of "Where is Britain Going?" of 1925; copies of two films of Trotsky in Mexico, purchased from the cameraman who shot them; a recording of the speech made on the occasion of the founding of the Fourth International; and numerous copies of original Trotsky correspondence held in libraries in North America.'

The exhibition — and indeed the whole Trotsky Collection — is accessible to the public, who can gain admittance by applying for a visitors' ticket for the university library.

Benefits cut for low-paid patients

THE Tory government decision to slash benefits for 123,000 hospital patients on low incomes and 15,000 long term patients, saving £6.5 million per year has infuriated members of the National Union of Public Employees (NUPE).

NUPE, representing 61,000 low paid public service workers in the West Midlands, has written to MPs in all parties in the region to ask them to register a strong protest in the House of Commons at the cutting of Supplementary Benefit from eight weeks to six for patients forced to go into hospital.

NUPE West Midlands Divisional Officer John Dempsey explained: 'This is another example of a mean and spiteful raid on the purses of low-paid public

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IVAN BESHOFF

Last 'Potemkin' survivor dies

IVAN BESHOFF, the last survivor of the mutiny on the battleship 'Potemkin' died in Dublin on 25 October, aged 103.

Beshoff witnessed the famous scene depicted in Eisenstein's film about the mutiny where a tarpaulin was thrown over the sailors.

He was present in June 1905 when the Bolshevik leader Matsuchenko called on the sailors to turn their rifles on the officers at Odessa on the Black Sea.

One of the surviving officers was put in command of the ship. The Black Sea fleet was sent after them. The 'Potemkin' left Odessa (where a strike was taking place) and did battle with the fleet, succeeding in holding them off.

When supplies ran out, the crew sailed to Constanta and surrendered to the Rumanians.

The mutineers ended up scattered around the world. The 15-year-old Beshoff found his way to London where he met two men who 'looked so poor that you wanted to give them a penny'.

The two men were Lenin and Irish union leader

BY NORMAN HARDING

James Larkin. On Larkin's invitation Beshoff went to Dublin where he continued his political activity and took part in the 1916 uprising.

He then opened a fish and chip shop in Parkgate Street where he used to befriend British soldiers and buy their guns. He was arrested in 1932 and imprisoned as a Russian spy.

When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941 Beshoff applied to the Soviet authorities for permission to return and help defend the Soviet Union.

He was told to remain in Ireland: 'There are enough young men to fight for Russia.'

He lived in Ireland until his death, just weeks before the 70th anniversary of the 1917 revolution.

A newly-translated document from the Vietnamese Trotskyists

AN English translation is now being made of 'National Movements and Class Struggle in Vietnam' by Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, originally published in Paris, in French, by the Fourth International in 1947. (English translation copyright New Park Publications).

This work consists of a Marxist historical analysis of Vietnam before and during the French conquest, the class structure of Vietnam, an outline of the development of nationalist movements from their origins in the 1890s, and of the Stalinist and Trotskyist movements in Vietnam.

It concludes with an estimation by the author, a Vietnamese Trotskyist who work-

ed in Paris after World War II, of the nature of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

We are not able at present to print this material. However, this work is invaluable for the study of the Vietnamese revolution, and of importance for the study of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries in general.

We are therefore offering Xeroxed copies of this document (approximately 100 A4 pages) for £5 plus postage (Special offer for WRP members £2.50).

Please return the form below within a month if you want a copy of this document. We need finance in order to complete the work on this project.

To: WRP Education Department, PO Box 735, London SW9 1QS. Please send me a copy . . . copies of 'National Movements and Class Struggle in Vietnam'.

Name & Address

Please enclose £5 per copy (£2.50 for WRP members) plus postage: 50p — Britain and Ireland; 60p Europe; £1.56 — Middle East and north Africa; £2.12 — America, southern Africa, India; £2.40 — Australia, Far East.

West German Tories deeper in trouble

WAS there a link between the mystery death of West German Tory politician Uwe Barschell in a Geneva hotel, after the scandal over electoral dirty-tricks, and another scandal over secret arms sales to South Africa?

The well-informed West German news magazine 'Der Spiegel' says there was. And its allegations are pointing right to the top of the governing Christian Democrat-Christian Social Union parties.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl received the lowest vote in his 14 years of office from his Christian Democrat party congress last week — hours after opening the congress with a call for honesty, decency, and responsibility in politics, and quoting St. Augustin on 'the abyss inside us' and the dangers from too much power.

As he was digesting the ten per cent drop in his popularity with his own party, more bad news came from Kiel. Christian Democrat Hans-Joachim Knack, state secretary in Schleswig-Holstein's Interior Ministry had been found dead in his office.

Knack's death, from a heart-attack according to officials, spared him from having to testify before a parliamentary commission investigating the 'dirty tricks' scandal.

Geneva

Uwe Barschell, former state prime minister in Schleswig-Holstein, was found lying fully-clothed in a bath of water in his Geneva hotel room, last month. A Swiss coroner gave the cause of death as suicide, after traces of various drugs were found in his body.

His family did not accept this verdict, and there were curious features — no pill-bottle or package was found in the room.

Barschell had been forced to resign when it was revealed that he had authorised a dirty tricks campaign against the leader of the Social Democrat opposition in the state.

BY TRUDI JACKSON

This included instigating a false tax evasion charge against him, hiring private detectives to spy on his private life, and spreading a rumour that the man had been found HIV positive.

A £17,000 contract was signed for the attempt to break the opponents nerve.

Officials

According to 'Spiegel', such campaigning had been going on for some time. Top Christian-Democrat officials were involved. The West German Tories were particularly anxious to stop the Social Democrats winning Schleswig-Holstein for fear they would uncover an arms trade scandal.

In 1984, the magazine reports, Franz-Josef Strauss, leader of the right-wing Christian Social Union in Bavaria, notorious for his international activity, undertook to help South Africa's racist regime acquire up-to-date submarines.

Chancellor Kohl was brought in to help. The West German leaders knew such a deal would contravene the UN Security Council's 1977 arms embargo, Resolution 418, and therefore break West German law.

They adopted the 'Green Light' plan, assuring the outside world publicly that such exports would be refused, agreeing among themselves that they could go ahead — secretly.

A secret code was to be used in transactions, with West Germany called 'Jello', South Africa — 'Karate', and the submarine builders in South Africa, 'Decotor'. 'Laokoon' was to be the state-owned HDW shipyard at Kiel.



STRAUSS

Several members of the Schleswig-Holstein state government sat on the board of directors of the HDW yard. According to 'Spiegel' it was Schleswig's Christian Democrat party chairman Gerhard Stoltenberg who acted as intermediary between Kiel and the government in Bonn as the deal went through. Not too difficult, as Stoltenberg doubles as West Germany's Finance Minister.

Rather than export the submarines themselves, what West Germany did was export the 'know-how', so South Africa could build them. Company employees travelled between West Germany and South Africa using false passports.

Embassy

Between October 1984 and June 1985, the South African embassy in Bonn obtained twelve containers with submarine plans on microfilm. These were sent out unchecked, as diplomatic mail, to Cape Town. A boss from the Kiel yards went out to supervise construction.

When the trade became publicly known, the West German government set up a ministerial commission of inquiry and fined the companies involved. There was no court case.

It was remarked at the time that it was as though the police had got wind of a bank robbery, let the robbery go ahead, then gave the robbers a ticket for parking in front of the bank.

If 'Spiegel's' allegations are true, the so-called 'inquiry' was just a hypocritical cover-up for the government itself.

Intriguingly, the magazine says Stoltenberg did not always keep Barschell informed on what was going on. It also suggests the dead ex-state prime minister may have been 'getting in the way'.

This raises speculation — was Barschell really 'thrown to the wolves' by his party colleagues, as his family bitterly allege? Did he conceive of a way of getting back at them when he gave evidence on the 'dirty tricks' scandal? Who did he really go to meet in Geneva? And, of course, once again, was it really suicide?

A recent opinion poll showed 80 per cent of the West German public do not trust politicians.

Chancellor Kohl urged his party to 'learn lessons from what has happened', and said they must regain the public's trust. He also declared that the party wanted the truth exposed about the Barschell affair. What, the whole truth . . . ?

Chirac caution on arms row

FRENCH premier Jacques Chirac has urged supporters to be cautious about using the arms scandal that has broken over his Socialist Party opponents.

A leaked secret report by armed forces comptroller-general Jean-Francois Barba on illegal exports of arms to Iran has said close friends of former Defence minister Charles Hernu received more than a quarter of a million pounds commission on the deal, and that Hernu helped forge documents.

President Mitterand, whom Chirac is due to challenge in next year's presidential election, has been implicated. His party's press has accused the present government of timing the leaked report.

Politicians

But Chirac told a television interviewer on 6 November: 'Politicians should be careful not to add fuel to these controversies which diminish everyone concerned.'

Chirac has some difficulties in using the French 'Irangate' scandal. The Luhaire arms firm which shipped 500,000 artillery shells and quantities of high explosive to Iran is headed by the son of a former Gaullist minister, Dewavrin, and the family has influence in the party.

More serious, at least five French generals reportedly took sizeable rake-offs from the Luhaire deal; and the military-intelligence establishment probably did much to initiate it. There are some toes prime ministers prefer not to tread on.

South Africa recruiting

ISRAELI aircraft engineers and technicians laid off from the scrapped Lavi fighter-bomber project are being offered huge salaries and fringe benefits to work in South Africa.

The 'Jerusalem Post' says salaries of £4,000 a month, paid into European bank accounts, plus housing help was offered. Israeli law enables the government to stop carriers of military secrets visiting hostile countries.

Neo-Nazis' Euro-thug conspiracy

NEO-NAZI groups promoting soccer ground mayhem as their way to recruit violent youth gangs have started organising Europe-wide, according to a report from Belgium.

The right-wing groups have even held training camps on how to stir-up the aggro, and use it, the report says.

Prompted by the Heysel stadium tragedy last year, the study compiled by Professor Lodar Waldgrave of the University of Louvain backs allegations the anti-fascist magazine 'Searchlight' that British National Front supporters are involved in stirring the violence.

Last month the magazine reprinted a letter received by a 14-year-old Swedish soccer fan and signed by 'the Nazis from the Shed', which boasted 'as soon as we are allowed to get back into Europe we will kill the niggers in Amsterdam, the Jews in Prague, the Catholics in Rome and the Turks in Munich.'

The Chelsea gang also claimed to have formed alliances with Glasgow Rangers and Bayern Munich hooligans. To get round the ban on English clubs in Europe, Chelsea hooligans have been saying they'll follow Rangers.

National Front supporters are keen to use the Protestant sectarian element among the Scottish club's fans as a cover for their UDA followers.

According to Professor Waldgrave's report, British fascists travelling to camps organised by the Belgian neo-Nazi VMO each year have used these boozy get-togethers to plot joint activity including football thugery.

The Belgian government has reportedly been embarrassed by publication of extracts from Waldgrave's study. They wanted to hold it over until after next month's general election.

Belgian Tories may be caught in a dilemma. They wanted to pursue a 'law and order' image after the Heysel stadium shock and various terrorist incidents. They have also tried whipping up racist hysteria against immigrant workers — one minister spoke recently of a 'barbarian invasion'.

Besides diverting attention from their responsibility

for unemployment, the anti-immigrant attacks aimed at papering over the bitter, longstanding division between Flemish and Walloon middle classes that has erupted again.

But if the government wants to stop some real barbarians it would have to do something about those who have hosted them — the fascist VMO, which is part of a strong Flemish nationalist tradition.

That English soccer hooliganism was being exported, and had organisation behind it, was indicated in recent years when racist groups travelled as far as Turkey and even Peru to display their banners.

Weapons

Earlier this year, police raids on some Chelsea supporters uncovered large quantities of weapons, and National Front material. Two men were sent down for ten years on conspiracy charges.

The Front's youth publication 'Bulldog' used to feature a 'League of Louts' column in which fans from Newcastle United, Leeds United, and other clubs boasted of their exploits.

Now the Louvain University report indicates that fascists are organising across countries, and that the violence on the terraces is just a preparation.

General Strike in Lebanon

MORE than 50,000 people demonstrating in Beirut on Monday, 9 November, the sixth day of Lebanon's biggest and longest general strike, backed the call to stay out until their demands are met.

Antoin Bechara, president of the 300,000 member General Federation of Workers, said the strike had united all Lebanese, and that it should continue until measures were taken to stop the collapse of Lebanese currency.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

The unions pledged to continue action 'until those who are exploiting us begin to hurt.'

'Yes to an open-ended strike', the crowd shouted. Many waved handfuls of now useless Lebanese banknotes, denouncing 'dollarisation' of the currency.

There were demonstrations in other Lebanese cities the same day, all of them passing off peacefully. This reflects workers' growing consciousness and collective self-discipline, not any lack of anger.

During the Beirut demonstration crowds tore down barriers dividing the Moslem and Christian zones, demanding unity.

After the years of civil war, Israeli invasion and Syrian intervention, Lebanese workers have seen attempts to recover further devastated by capitalist profiteering and corruption.

Since the beginning of this year, the value of the Lebanese pound has fallen 80 per cent against other currencies. Inflation is running at 250 per cent, and there is 45 per cent unemployment.

On 23 July, 4 million workers and small shopkeepers joined in a general strike to

demonstrate their concern at inflation and the devalued pound.

Between July and the end of August, the Lebanese pound fell from 200 to the dollar to 300 to the dollar. (Ten years ago, despite civil war, it was 10 times this value.)

A new, significant feature prompted by the economic crisis appeared that month. Some 3,000 Moslem and Christian Lebanese overcame years of sectarian conflict to stage a demonstration of unity, forming a human chain along the 'green line' dividing East and West Beirut.

Attacking government policies and corruption, demonstrators also hit Lebanon's religious-based politics, the legacy of colonialism and imperialist intrigues. 'The confessional system will not feed our children.'

Lebanese politicians have been known to spend tens of millions of dollars 'buying' a presidency, and to make similarly huge sums through acquiring family monopoly concessions and through various rackets.

The Bank of Lebanon warned a month ago that with foreign currency reserves falling to the point

where no more fuel could be imported, the country's transport, electricity, factories, bakeries and hospitals could all be halted before long.

In other words, the kind of conditions the right-wing militias have imposed by sieges on the Palestinian refugee camps would through economic collapse become common to the whole country.

The government decided to ration fuel oil and electricity. The International Monetary Fund said subsidies on petrol and wheat imports should be ended as part of a 'belt-tightening' programme. Working people know whose belt would be tightened, and that it wouldn't be the rich.

The Gemayel government has done little so far, apart from promising a new tax on foreign earnings and stricter exchange controls. It has also appealed for help to the Arab leaders meeting in Amman.

The Lebanese workers have not only discovered their strength in the general strike. They have also shown themselves the power to transform their country if they go forward to establish their independent political leadership.

Tunis coup frees union veteran

VETERAN trade union leader, 74-year-old Habib Achour, jailed two years ago by the Bourguiba regime, has been freed by the new regime which took over in a dawn coup on 7 November.

Achour, chairman of the Union generale des travailleurs tunisiens (UGTT) had been serving a seven-year sentence after working class unrest.

Prime Minister Zine el Abdine Ben Ali, who said he had taken over because 84-year-old 'President-for-life' Habib Bourguiba was senile, has also suspended trials of Islamic Tendency militants.

An army man and former intelligence service chief, Ben Ali was trained at France's St.Cyr military academy, and later attended US intelligence and security schools.

French premier Jacques Chirac was among the first to congratulate Ben Ali, and the US State department said his coup would not affect relations. Many people in Tunis were saying the coup was approved, if not instigated, by the US administration.

In fact, it had been known for some time that Washington wanted Bourguiba replaced by a more efficient regime, and it was only a question of how and when.

Ben Ali received greetings on taking power from Morocco's King Hassan, President Benjedid of Algeria, President Mubarak of Egypt, and King Fahd. Colonel Gaddafi of Libya was in touch by telephone.

The Tunisian Communist Party has welcomed Ben Ali's programme as 'positive', and expressed hope for reforms. The party also urged a general amnesty for political prisoners.



BOURGUIBA

Botha's hostage game



P.W. BOTHA

SOUTH AFRICAN president Botha said last week that journalists were indulging in 'wild dreams' about the possible release of political prisoners.

The racist boss was dashing speculation that the recent release of 77-year-old Govan Mbeki after 23 years in jail might mean the release of his comrade Nelson Mandela was nearer.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had said at the weekend that any 'increase in violence' after Mbeki's release would influence the question of Mandela's release.

Some papers predicted Botha would speak about the issue at the Cape Town congress of his ruling National Party last week. But Botha, playing to his racist gallery, claimed there were 'no political prisoners' in South Africa, only people 'convicted of a criminal offence or who have threatened the security of the state.'

The South African regime has frequently played cat-and-mouse with liberal hopes on what conditions it would set for the release of Mandela and others. The game is to use the prisoners as hostages, and to keep opponents confused with false hopes periodically.

Eichmann aide: 'no regrets'

NAZI war criminal Alois Brunner, close collaborator of the mass murderer Adolf Eichmann, has said he 'regrets nothing, and would do it again', according to a report in the 'Chicago Sun-Times'.

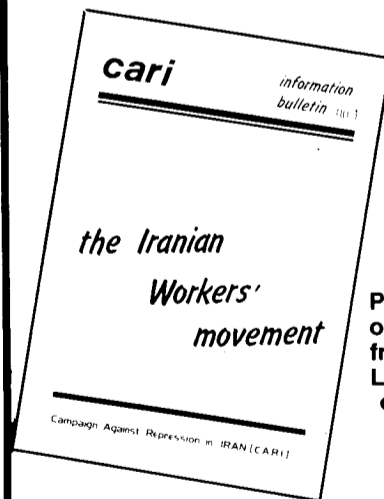
Brunner, sentenced to death in his absence by a French court in 1954, is living in Syria, under the name Georg Fischer, as director of an arms company. A West German extradition plea in 1983 was rejected by the Assad regime, whose security services are believed to have enjoyed his assistance.

According to the 'Sun-Times', Brunner told them in a telephoned interview that the Jews killed in Nazi camps had 'deserved to die because they were agents of the devil'.



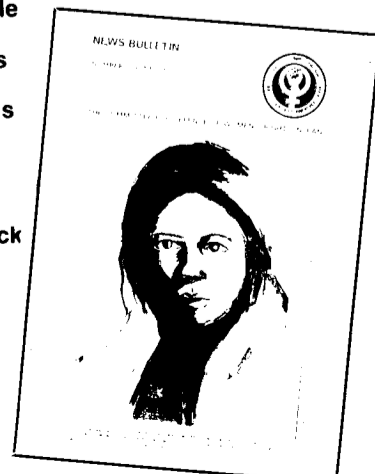
EICHMANN

Two important pamphlets on Iran



Price: £1, obtainable from B.M. CARI, LONDON WC1N 3XX or through Paperback Centres.

Price: 50p, obtainable from Committee for Defence of Women's Rights in Iran, c/o London Women's Centre, 70 Great Queen St. London WC2b 5AX, or through Paperback Centres



POLL TAX

A sinister threat

'THE way in which the new tax will be administered and enforced will pose serious threats to the privacy of the entire adult population and create the potential for greater control by central and local government over the individual.' — National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL)

As more evidence is revealed about the opposition of the proposed Tory poll tax — the so-called 'community charge' — sinister implications are coming to light of a vast snooping and enforcement system being created in its wake.

On the basis that every adult person will be required to pay the fixed charges in a particular area, the most detailed information will be gathered relating to each person's movements and private life.

Initially, a 'responsible

BY BERNARD FRANKS

person' in each household has to provide information on all other adults on the premises, with penalties enforced through a magistrates court for failing to do so.

But NCCL believes that behind the main register there will be a secondary dossier

of notes, anecdotes, suspicions and information to help the authorities detect those suspected of evading the tax.

It warns that a vast range of agencies may be acquired to supply information to this end, including housing departments and other local authority departments whose individuals may have applied for services, for example in public libraries. This is not based on surmise but on the minister's own comments during the committee stage of the Bill to introduce Poll Tax in Scotland in 1989.

This list has been greatly extended in a report commissioned by the Scottish Office to advise local authorities on how to implement the tax.

The final two-volume work from the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (CIPFA) at £4,000 a time, is clearly not meant for wide public perusal. The possible sources for information gathering that it lists are:

- Rent rolls of housing bodies
- Housing waiting lists and housing benefit records
- the register of births, deaths and marriages
- Education authority records (including those of grants awarded)
- Planning and building control records
- Health authority records
- Records of national utilities such as gas, electricity and telephone companies
- Insurance claims
- The local press
- Local estate agents
- Private data services such as trade associations which circulate personal data to their members.

Although they are not mentioned, clearly the logical extension to this list is the DHSS, police records and the right-wing organisation that keeps tabs on and blacklists left-wingers and active trade unionists for its subscribing companies, the Economic League.

Initial information will be collected from the local electoral register and from a door-to-door canvass.

Civil Liberties is concerned that this will dissolve into a general snooping campaign:

'prompted by allegations from the public, will officials make enquiries from neighbours to find out who is living with his father or if the couple upstairs really did only move in last month?'

Another organisation, the Rating and Valuation Association, believes that 'an expansive and intrusive inspectorate' will be created to track down the 'missing millions.'

It also sees the possibility of a rise in the inner city tension, as such an involvement will be in a high profile whose population turnover is much higher than average.

Finally, it appears that part of the plan is to issue everyone with a 'personal identifier,' a code number to make computer tracking and plotting of movements an easier process.

Nearly 4 million Scots will be eligible for incorporation into the system.

Incredibly, Civil Liberties does not categorically oppose the system but lists a series of 'safeguards' it would like to see enforced if the Poll Tax proposals are implemented.

Yet the fact is the implications are enormous; from reapplication of seventeenth century settlement laws to introduction of something on the lines of South African pass laws.

Certainly, apart from being devastating to the incomes of vast sections of the population in its own right, the Poll Tax now also takes on the aspect of a vehicle for introducing all the trappings of a police state.

'The Privacy Implications of the Poll Tax'. 75p from The National Council of Civil Liberties, 21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA

'Community Charge Poll Tax: The Facts'. Send 50p to the Rating and Valuation Association, 115 Ebury Street, London SW1W 9QT.

Stockport NUR opposes MSC scheme

BRITISH Rail NUR members are finding out for themselves that government MSC schemes mean that work their members should be doing is put up for grabs in the local Job Centre.

Stockport NUR branch are already fighting the 'face-lift' scheme to 'prettify' Stockport viaduct which is Britain's largest brick structure. The viaduct carries the main Manchester to London train line.

The scheme will cost £3 million although just recently BR have announced the closure of the 'Ribble viaduct' line in Lancashire and Cumbria. To keep the Ribble viaduct open would cost similarly £3 million — its closure meaning the isolation of whole communities and the subsequent loss of local jobs throughout those communities.

The NUR have written to both UCATT — the building union — and the T&GWU — the transport union — asking them to withdraw their agreement to the scheme.

The NUR are not opposed to the viaduct facelift as a project in itself but it is becoming increasingly clear that the MSC is trying to break new ground in recruiting scabs for bricklaying and drainage work.

The MSC adverts in Stockport Job Centre give maximum rates of pay for bricklayers as £80. Any 'brickie' who obtains work will obviously not have his heart

BY PETER WINDELER

in the job — which begs the question: how will the 300-odd MSC slave workers be treated?

The youths will be climbing continuously several hundred feet up and down scaffolding in a scene reminiscent of the building of the pyramids.

The MSC schemes are supposed to have the approval of any trade union involved. In spite of the NUR not agreeing to the Stockport viaduct scheme, the MSC have gone ahead riding 'rough-shod' over the feeling of local NUR members.

UCATT and the T&GWU must withdraw their agreement as the NUR have asked them to. British Rail jobs must not be put in peril by these MSC schemes. All youth trainees should be given genuine apprenticeships and not be used like the pharaoh's slaves.

Clampdown on student rights



Political activities of students — such as opposing known fascists at North London Polytechnic in 1984 (above) — may be banned under the new Tory-enforced disciplinary codes now being introduced in colleges.

In line with the requirements of Tory 'freedom of speech' legislation college and university authorities are currently trying to apply codes of practice which will give them vast powers for limiting students' activity.

Tory 'free speech' is the right of racists and fascists to pedal their filth against the wishes of student unions and their members while at the same time blocking the students' own fight to defend education or support workers' struggles in Britain or overseas.

Under the Education (2) Act 1986, colleges had to draw up codes of practice ready for the 1987 academic year (which began in October).

College managements are using the opportunity to clamp down on sit-ins, pickets and demonstrations, as well as to give themselves the right to decide who may or may not speak at college society meetings.

At Bristol university angry students are opposing the introduction of a five page disciplinary code. Every student must have a copy which they must approve by signing and which will contain their photographs.

At the Polytechnic of Central London and at Middlesex Polytechnic students have registered opposition to

codes which threaten to discipline anyone claimed to be disrupting teaching, staging occupations or attempting to obstruct entrances to buildings.

At Queen Mary College (QMC) London the code states:

'The right to invite persons who are not members, students or employees of the college on to college premises rests exclusively with the Governing Body.'

It also stipulates that all advertising for meetings 'will be in the English language' yet a number of ethnic societies are funded by the union.

Last year at the London School of Economics the former Bradford headmaster Ray Honeyford was prevented from speaking by stu-

dents opposing racist views.

At QMC Enoch Powell pulled out of a speaking appointment fixed by Conservative Society when college students, staff and a vast army of East End community organisations were seen to be preparing a hot reception for the Tory racist.

Clearly the Tory government has a profound hatred for anti-racists in general and for the mass support given by students to the struggles of South African workers in particular.

The National Union of Students should be mounting a concerted campaign to oppose this threat to student rights and should demand that the TUC give full support to a fight against measures which may then be extended to a wider range of workplaces at some stage.



REPORT OF NOVEMBER 8 ANNIVERSARY RALLY



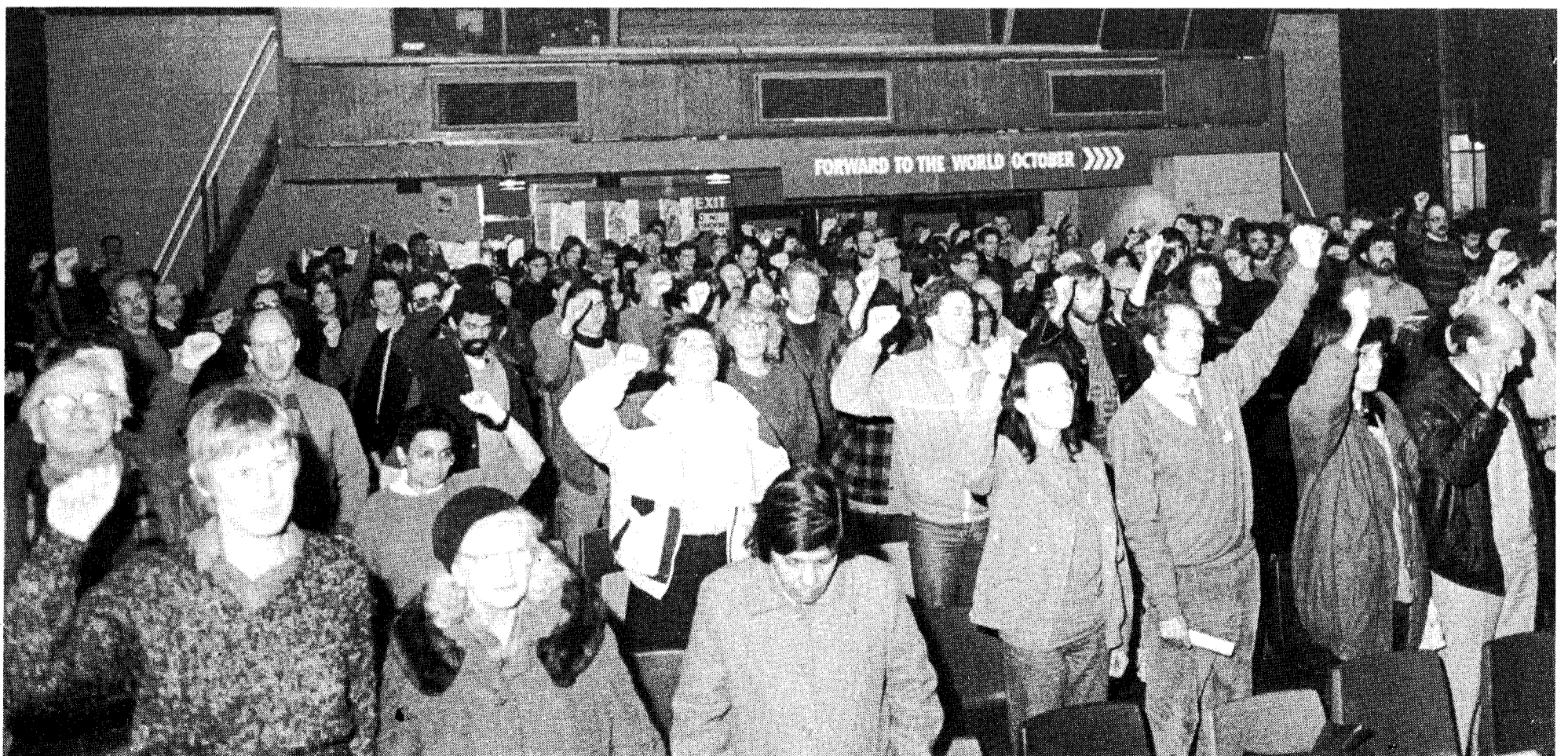
THE BOLSHEVIK
FIGHT AGAINST
STALINISM LIVES IN
THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL

Rally coverage by a
WORKERS PRESS
reporting team

Pictures by
SIMON BURGESS
and
INGRID AAROE

70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

BOLSHEVISM LIVES IN THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



The singing of 'The Internationale' brought the Rally at Kingsway College, London, to a close.

TURN OVER

BOLSHEVISM LIVES IN THE



1917: inspiration to millions

'The single most important event in the history of mankind... that inspired and continues to inspire the oppressed throughout the world...'

With these words, Dave Temple, chair of the Workers Revolutionary Party Central Committee, opened the London meeting on the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, called by the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference of Trotskyists.

'Despite its enforced isolation and the bureaucratic degeneration of its leadership which aspired to destroy Bolshevism and murdered Lenin's Central Committee, condemned millions to concentration camps and left the Soviet Union defenceless by the destruction of the leadership of the Red Army, capitalism has never been able to re-take what it lost in October 1917,' he said.

'The gains of the revolu-

tion are intact today. The Soviet working class has shown its ability to defend those gains by its determination and sacrifice.

'The pressure of Stalinism on our movement has claimed many casualties. But it has not destroyed Bolshevism. Stalinism throughout the world is in mortal crisis. It is now, in these new, fertile and exciting days, that the Preparatory Committee makes its call for the rebuilding of the Fourth International.'

Before introducing the first speaker, Temple read out a message from the H-Blocks in Long Kesh (see page 11).

'There may be political differences that divide us,' he said, 'but we are convinced, that in grappling with the historical truth to confront the problems of today, these comrades have an enormous contribution to make to the struggle. I propose we convey to them our warmest comradely greetings.'

Jean-Phillipe Divas from France, representing the International Workers League (Fourth International), be-

gan by saying that this first public meeting organised by the Preparatory Committee was a great step forward; that different Trotskyist organisations and currents were now joining together with the objective of re-organising the Fourth International.

'The best homage we could possibly render to the old Bolsheviks, who considered their revolution as the beginning of the task of the world proletariat,' he said, 'was to analyse the situation and define the tasks to be carried out to lead the masses in the overthrow of imperialist domination.'

'For the International Workers League (Fourth International) the characteristic of the present situation is defined as a world-wide revolutionary one, the incipient process of the gathering of all the conditions for Trotskyism to resolve the historic crisis of revolutionary leadership.'

'The post-war economic boom, which could not have survived for nearly 20 years without the over-exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries,' Divas said, 'is now only a dim memory.'

£5,000 Special Fund

Congratulations!

THE FUND CLOSED AT: £5,205.68

A BIG thanks to all our readers and supporters who helped up to complete our Fund on good time. We know that many made real sacrifices and they are much appreciated. The WRP Political Committee has now launched a £20,000 Fund which will enable us to continue our work for the rebuilding of the Fourth International. We ask you to start making plans for special Christmas activities that will get the Fund off to a flying start. Please send all donations to:

WRP Special Fund, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

'The last decades have in general been marked by a dramatic qualitative increase of exploitation and misery of the masses.'

He went on: 'In contrast to the period from the 1940s to the 1960s, which were



JEAN-PHILIPPE DIVAS

marked overall by the Chinese, Cuban and Indo-Chinese revolutions in which the principal mobilised social forces were the peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie; today, in the majority of countries in revolutionary and pre-revolutionary situations the central role is assumed by the working class.

'And not only that, at the same time as the working class returns to occupy the centre of the scene, it develops its self-organisation, renewing the tradition of the soviets of the Russian Revolution.'

'In different ways, depending on the countries, in every big struggle the working class tends to build, in contradiction with the policy of the traditional treacherous leaderships, new organisations through which it is able to develop its mobilisation.'

'That is the content of Solidarnosc in Poland which, much more than a union, was the fighting organism of the Polish working class. That is the sense of the strike committees and coordinations which appear in Spain, France and in Italy.'

'As a result of this very same process, there appeared in Brazil the gathering millions of workers in opposition to the old beleaguered bureaucracy and similarly COSATU in South Africa, the union of black workers doubly exploited by capitalism and the apartheid racist system.'

'And it is this process which expresses itself in the emergence, as in Argentina, of anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic massive trade union opposition inside the big traditional trade unions.'

'Trotskyism is the international programme and party of the permanent mobilisation of the working class to overthrow imperialism and establish world-wide the regime of workers' democracy.'

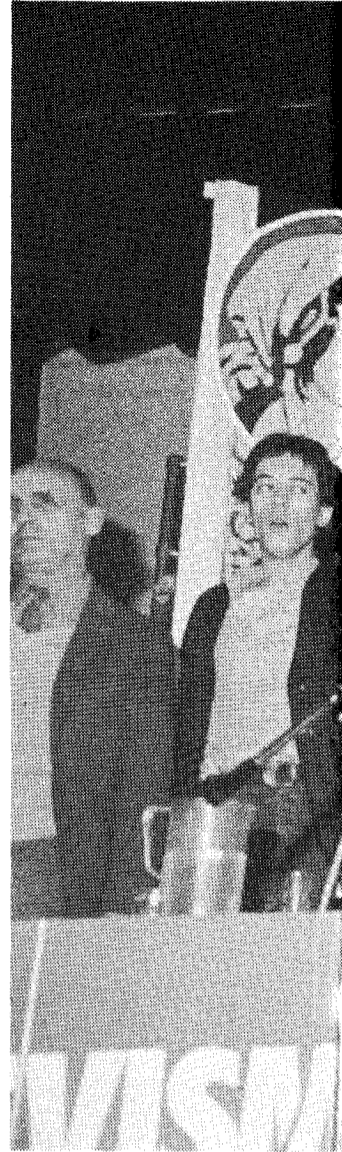
'Without independent mobilisation and self-organisation of the workers it is impossible for our parties to undo the counter-revolutionary apparatus inside the workers movement. But it is precisely this de-

velopment of self-organisation and workers' democracy which means that we have today greater possibilities of building strong Trotskyist parties in the heart of the working class.'

'It is not accidental that, for example, the huge students' and rail workers' strikes in France marked by the development of strike committees had as leaders members from organisations calling themselves as Trotskyist.'

'And neither is it accidental that those same organisations, Trotskyist revisionists, refused to occupy the immense political space open for Trotskyism to build the revolutionary party with mass entrants opposed to any type of popular fronts.'

'And some of them now support a candidate in the Presidential elections, Pierre Juquin who is precisely trying to offer a life-saver to the popular front policy.'



The platform at the Rally

A DE

LAST Sunday's Rally to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, called by the Preparatory Committee for the Organisation of an International Conference of Trotskyists, marked an important step forward in the task of rebuilding the Fourth International and a turning point in the growth of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

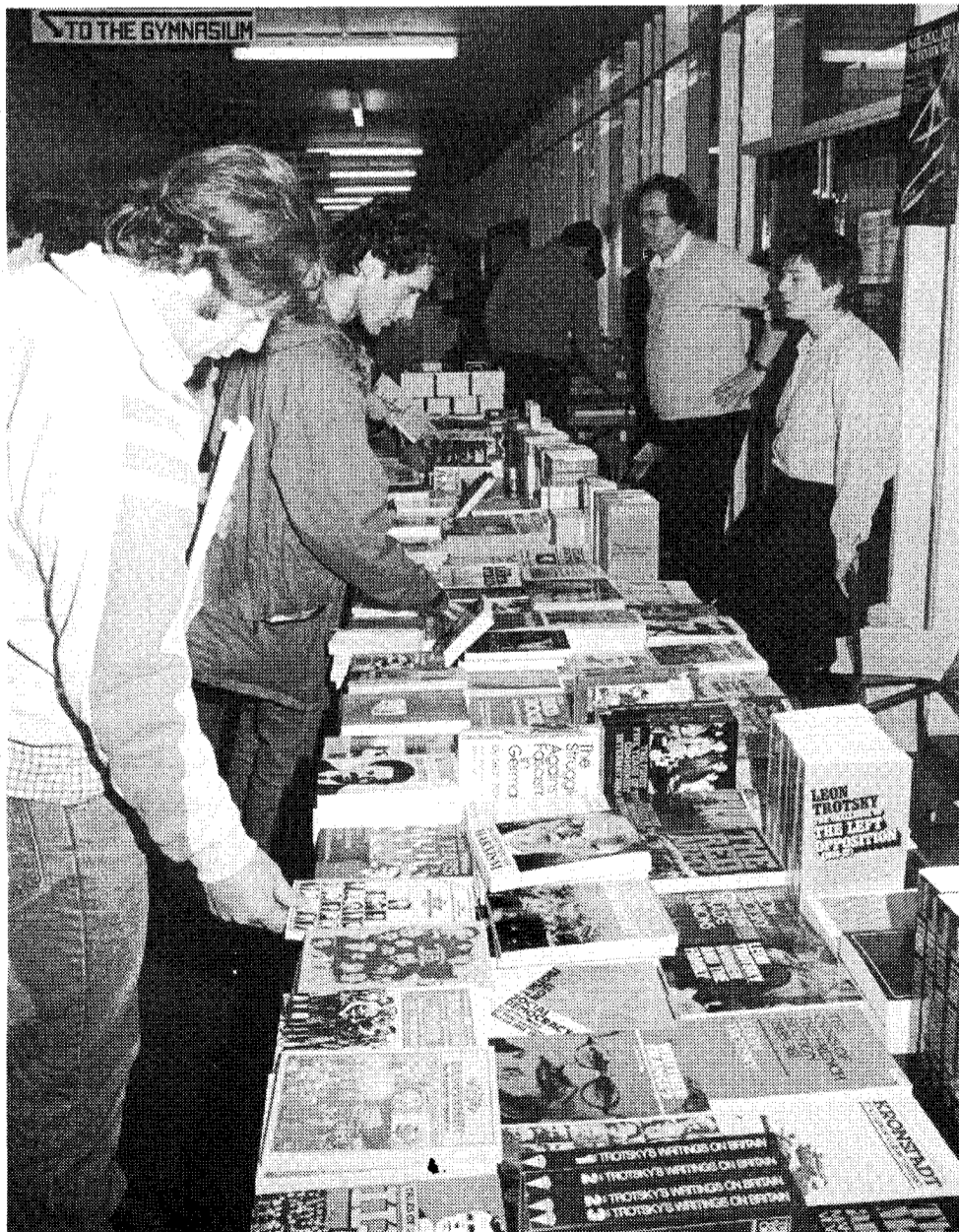
The audience of nearly 500 responded warmly to the contributions from international representatives invited to speak about the contemporary relevance of 1917. Great interest was shown in the videos and historical material dealing with the Revolution.

The response to the celebration of the Russian Revolution and the impressive range of speakers was a blow against those who thought that the WRP's call for such an International Conference would be still-born.

It was the crisis which hit the WRP in 1985, bringing about the expulsion of its old leadership, that gave the impetus for the celebration 12 months ago of the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. Last Sunday's Rally was called in the profound conviction that the conditions for the building of the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution are maturing rapidly. Many in the audience came in response to the attack on Trotskyism launched by Mikhail Gorbachev when he spoke to the assembled Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow two weeks ago.

Over the last year and more, the Workers Revolutionary Party has engaged in a series of political struggles with other organisations on the left in Britain and internationally who were initially attracted to the position expressed by the Party following the expulsion of the old Party leadership in 1985. These struggles did much to clarify the politics of the groups with whom we collaborated in calling the Hungary meeting. Above all they established that the central question was the nature of the Fourth International as the only organisation in which the struggle for Bolshevism against Stalinism could be continued and developed.

Workers Power is not a member of the Preparatory Committee: it has declared the Fourth International dead and in effect called for the construction of a new, presumably Fifth, International. In so doing they have made clear their position on the working class as a force unable historically to



Literature sales at the Rally came to £600

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Better shape than ever

THE October Revolution proved that the overthrow of capitalism can only take place when the working class is led by a party of the Bolshevik type, **Cliff Slaughter, Central Committee member of the Workers Revolutionary Party** told the meeting.

The international stock market collapse of the past few weeks showed that capitalism faced a crisis far more profound than that following the Wall Street crash of 1929.

So far our judgements of these events had been necessarily superficial, said Slaughter, but behind the appearance of what some were calling a 'melt down' lay the fundamental nature of the social system itself.

'It depends on the extraction of profit from the working class,' Slaughter insisted, 'and too many capitals are making claims on the surplus value available.'

Either mankind would have to take control over the means of production in a corporate manner or the consequences will be far worse than in the 1930s.

Only Marxist theory was capable of apprehending these contradictions as a whole, Slaughter went on, and Marxism 'cannot just be deduced from the everyday struggles of the working class.'

A major development of Marxist theory was required, but 'the steam to do that work' could only come from the struggle to rebuild the Fourth International 'against the destroyers of communism.'

'We are all inspired by the Russian Revolution. We are all inspired by Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism,' he said. But the serious task now posed was to re-establish continuity of the Bolshevik method which underlay these developments to make a sober assessment of the Russian

Revolution and bring about the long delayed rebirth of Lenin's Party.

This was the task involved in the international conference of Trotskyists being prepared for next year.

Two years after the miners strike, the Labour leaders and the leading theoretician of the Stalinist party in Britain, Professor Eric Hobsbawm, were talking about 'share holder socialism', said Slaughter.

At the recent Chesterfield conference everyone present except the delegates from the Workers Revolutionary Party had wanted to forget the miners strike as 'an unpleasant memory.'

But the lessons of the miners strike were the exact opposite by that drawn by all these tendencies who now deny the class struggle. It showed that the one thing missing was a revolutionary leadership based on Marxism and challenging the Labour bureaucracy for leadership.

The miners strike had created the conditions for 'a



CLIFF SLAUGHTER

qualitative change within this small party', Slaughter affirmed.

Cadres involved in the strike had been forced to fight within a strait-jacket of dogmatism and opportunism and this led to an explosion which nearly shattered these forces.

Within two years the former leadership had not only deserted Trotskyism but was now openly embracing Stalinism.

'This has forced us to understand the necessity of coming together with the comrades internationally



DECISIVE STEP

resolve its crisis of revolutionary leadership. In their opposition to the Conference call, the International Group and the Thornett group were actually moving closer to Pabloism, that is closer to an open capitulation to Stalinism.

Sunday's rally was successful because it was based on a conscious rejection of these revisionist politics.

Workers Power and the Thornett/International Group both consider the miners' strike ended in defeat, and the Thatcher election victory earlier this year as little short of a disaster for the working class. Here they are at one with the Communist Party. It is against these forces — Thornett, Socialist Organiser and others — who are readily being brought into line by the movement formed around Tony Benn at Chesterfield, that the struggles which the WRP took up have proved to be correct.

The Stalinists as well as Benn and company now require a 'Trotskyist' face for a centrist movement that will attempt to divert the working class from the revolutionary politics and organisation it needs for victory in its coming struggles.

Since the splits the evolution of Gerry Healy and Mike Banda — the two most prominent members of the old Workers Revolutionary Party leadership — has been dramatic. Both have become crawling supporters of Stalinism. While the London Rally was taking place, Healy, along with Vanessa Redgrave, was being wined and dined by the Stalinists in Moscow. These renegades joined hands with the Stalinist bureaucracy as it prepares for its bloody counter-revolution against the rising struggle of the working class throughout the world.

The organisation of Sunday's Rally was in the hands of a new team of Workers Revolutionary Party members, several of whom have joined the Party since Healy's expulsion. This itself was an important indication of the progress made by the Party over the last two years.

Older generations of Trotskyists were well represented at the meeting, many of whom were in attendance to take part in the tribute to comrade Rae Hunter on the 50th anniversary of her membership of the movement. The rally also attracted a number of youth, many of them new to politics and inspired by the example of 1917. This is important political capital for the future and one which should give every Party member great encouragement. Others present were comrades coming towards the movement as a result of the crisis in the Communist Party. Here again was an important step for the Preparatory Committee which will allow us to intervene more vigorously in that crisis.

A collection of £500 was taken and literature sales came to £600, both indicating the growing support for the political struggle carried out by the Preparatory Committee and the WRP.

● Following the all-round success of the Rally and in recognition of the opportunities and tasks ahead, the WRP Political Committee last week decided to launch a new £20,000 International Fund, to be completed by 1 May, 1988.



Dot Gibson making the presentation to Rae Hunter marking her 50 years in the Trotskyist movement.

TURN OVER

BOLSHEVISM LIVES IN THE



and in Britain who represent the continuity of Bolshevism and Trotskyism,' Slaughter said.

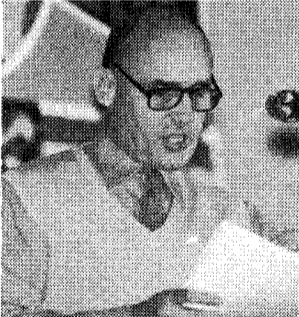
'All of us have to examine our own role and give some accounting of how the degeneration could happen while we were in the leadership. But we are not going to do it as some sort of soul-searching. We are in better fighting shape now than we've ever been in.'

Slaughter concluded by urging the youth and students in particular inspired by the October Revolution not to oversimplify the tasks in front. He called on the meeting to stand in a minute's silence for the martyrs of Bolshevism and the Fourth International including Nahuel Moreno, leader of the LIT who died earlier this year.

'THE preparation of the political revolution of the working class in the Soviet Union is the best celebration of October,' Michel Varga, from the Group of Opposition and Continuity of the Fourth International, said.

'A Bolshevik-type workers' party is still missing in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. We must fight for establishing this continuity which Stalinism broke.'

Varga called for 'glasnost in history' — the complete rehabilitation of Bolshevism



MICHEL VARGA

and the publication of all their writings, especially those of Leon Trotsky.

Workers in the Soviet Union will turn to the study of Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, he said. 'The slogan must be raised: A Complete Workers Glasnost.'

'The reconstruction of the Fourth International took a decisive step forward in linking the social revolution and political revolution when the group around the International Committee undertook the fight against Pabloism. We will develop and continue this fight.'

'The unity and contact with workers in Stalinist countries and capitalist countries has been restored. We take the banner of the Fourth International firmly in our hands.'

A MESSAGE was read out from a meeting which was taking place in Paris:

We, the participants at the public meeting organised by the GOCQI and the LST (LIT) in Paris on 6 November, on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution, greet the international meeting organised

in London by the Preparatory Committee and the Workers Revolutionary Party.

We affirm our will to learn the lessons of October and of the fight against its degeneration. We will use these lessons in the struggle for socialism East and West.

We support the campaign launched by the Preparatory Committee to reinstate the Bolsheviks, Leon Trotsky in particular, assassinated by the Stalinists. We demand that their work and their place in history is acknowledged; that the secret archives be opened; that the whole truth be told about the Moscow Trials and that those who organised them and their accomplices stand trial for their crimes.

We also actively endorse the Preparatory Committee's campaign of support for the South African revolution, for a workers' boycott of the imperialist apartheid regime and for the freeing of Moses Mayekiso and all political prisoners whose lives are threatened by this reactionary regime.

VETERAN German Trotskyist, 87-year-old Oskar Hippe, who last year was contacted by the Workers Revolutionary Party and interviewed by Workers Press, had been invited to address the meeting.

Unfortunately he was unable to come to London as he had recently suffered a stroke which hospitalised him for several weeks. From his home in West Berlin, Oskar sent instead a brief message.

Hippe's political experiences include being an associate of Leon Trotsky. He became a leading member of the German section of the Healy-led International Committee (ICFI) and supported the fight against Pablo in 1953.

When he heard about Healy's expulsion from the Workers Revolutionary Party for sexual abuse and violence against members in October 1985, Hippe outrightly condemned him.

'Such actions are incompatible with anyone claiming to be part of the workers' movement,' he stated. 'In doing what he did, Healy crossed class lines and had to be expelled.'

In the summer Hippe had put his name to the Moscow



OSKAR HIPPE

Trials campaign initiated by members of the WRP, and had also endorsed the ten points put forward by the Preparatory Committee set up to organise the conference for the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

Oskar's message to the meeting stated: 'We must always be ready to defend the October Revolution. The ruling clique in the Soviet Union lives in deadly fear of the traditions of the October Revolution on which we stand, and which are aimed against the privileged caste.'

'Their crimes have to be exposed before humanity and they must be buried in the dung-heap of history.'

'The forces to rebuild and re-organise the Fourth International are growing and we fight for the unsolved questions of the world revolution, to overthrow imperialism and the capitalist system. The problems of the permanent revolution must be clarified.'

GREETINGS were also read out from a group of ex-members of the Greek section of the ICFI. A comprehensive statement of their position is printed on pages 14 & 15 of this issue.

THE Vietnamese Trotskyist Group, comrades who are part of the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, sent the following message:

We thank you for your invitation to participate in your meeting to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. As we are not able to join you, we are sending this message.

For the last year, the Vietnamese Trotskyist Group in Europe (part of the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire) has published a quarterly review, 'Chroniques Vietnamiennes', addressed essentially to the Vietnamese community in France, and to the veterans of various Vietnamese Committees who are disillusioned with the bureaucratic evolution of the regime to which they helped give birth.

We also thank you for having published extracts from 'Chroniques' in English.

From our first issue we have pointed out the responsibility of the Ho Chi Minh and the Vietminh leadership massacre, in 1945, of the Trotskyist leaders Ta Thu Thau, Tran Van Thach, Phan Van Hum, Phan Van Chanh and Nguyen Van So, all of them survivors of the French colonialists' prison camps.

We are accused of giving too much importance to past history. And certainly it is necessary to study and develop a critique of the concrete situation in Vietnam in 1987 — and we don't forget that. But the historical truth about the past is the very minimum that we demand from a leadership which claims, in Vietnam as in the USSR, to be 'revolutionising' society — and which asks people to believe in the sincerity of their intentions.

We call, in the USSR, for the innocence, and revolutionary honour, of all the accused in the Moscow Trials to be recognised. In the same way, we demand that in Vietnam, Ta Thu Thau and his comrades are restored to their revolution-



Long-standing Party member Katrina Ainsworth, aged 82, chats with Rae Hunter after the successful Rally.

ary dignity, and restored historically to the not inconsiderable place that they occupied in the anti-colonialist struggles of the 1930s and 1940s.

In Vietnam as in the USSR, 'open-ness' in history is an indispensable first step.

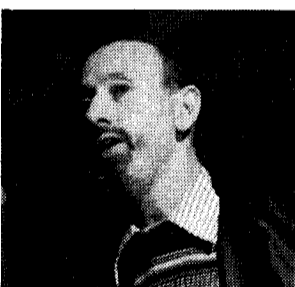
Ha Cuong Nghi

WHAT are the lessons from the Russian revolution, 70 years later? asked comrade Erol Refik from the Turkish Workers Front.

First, he said, revolution was fought on the perspective of permanent revolution — that the gains of the Soviet working class could only be guaranteed by the international struggle.

Second, the communist struggle was for international leadership — they worked to build the Third International, with parties in every country to lead the working class to power.

'Today, in Turkey and all the countries of the Middle East the working class desperately needs such a leadership. The problems of the



Paul Trehwela

Middle East will only be resolved by a struggle for internationalism.

'The Middle East is torn with many struggles: by the ambitions of imperialism, by the Palestinian and Kurdish liberation struggles, by the Turkish occupation of Cyprus, by the endless war in the Lebanon, by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, by the revolution and Islamic counter-revolution in Iran, by the September 1980 military coup in Turkey, by the Arab-Israeli conflict, by social struggles in all countries.'

'Revolutionary Marxists must reject every kind of class conciliation. We must unite the fighting forces of the Arab, Persian, Turkish, Israeli, Kurdish and other proletariats of the Middle East, along with their allies.'

We must undertake the historic task of destroying all bourgeois states, so-called progressive states included, and establish a Federation of Workers' Republics of the Middle East.

'The Middle East has become a complex tangle of various liberation movements, whose leaderships are constantly changing alliances and this overlaps

with conflicting relations between states and diplomatic manoeuvres.

'The present leaderships in the area are bourgeois or petty-bourgeois. Because they rest on traditional power groups, because they are guided by all kinds of reactionary ideology, they often become tools for the militarist-Bonapartist regimes.'

'These leaderships often present themselves as anti-imperialists. But this definition completely ignores their class character. The political lines of these leaderships and these regimes influence broad sections of the working population and also the left. Because of Stalinist ideology and the political position of the Soviet bureaucracy, neither the left nor the working class has achieved ideological independence from the reactionary leaderships.'

'The left assist the one-sided and distorted way the bourgeois media reports the situation by representing the struggle in terms of 'oil interests' or referring to the fight between 'the people' and imperialism, outside the framework of the class struggle.'

'Specifically we address all groups and individuals who uphold the necessity of the class independence of the proletariat, all those who uphold its leading role in the world revolution.'

'We address all tendencies who are against giving first place to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist movements, to all those who struggle for permanent revolution internationally, to all those who are against all theories of building 'socialism in one country.'

'We must fight for the building of Trotskyist parties all over the world. Long live the Fourth International!'

MESSAGE from the PORE (Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain)

THE POLITICAL Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Spain, section of the Fourth International, warmly greets all the participants in this meeting organised by the WRP on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

We have unreservedly joined in with your international meeting and we shall make this clear at the commemorative rallies called in Madrid and Barcelona.

The official speeches of Gorbachev and his people have perfectly clarified things. They are the heirs of Stalin and the Trotskyists are their enemies. The Trotskyists are the enemies of the bureaucratic 'reformers', because Trotskyism is the name and the banner of the party of the new pro-

letarian revolution in the USSR

Your meeting constitutes a magnificent response to the usurpers of the conquests of October. It opens a path along which the reconstruction of the Fourth International can advance

Political Bureau of the PORE

PAUL TREWHELA, former South African political prisoner and former member of the South African Communist Party, spoke about the relationship between the crises of capitalism and big struggles of the working class.

He said that the stockmarket crash of 1929 led directly to fascism in Europe, world war, the systematic extermination of the Jews and horrific destruction of the nuclear weapons dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

He drew parallels with the recent and still continuing crash which has affected the stockmarkets of the world, and which manifests the rottenness of the capitalist system. He spoke of the catastrophic tendencies of capitalism.

The greater the development of the productive forces, the more they threaten the working class — the system is unreformable.

The crash of 1929 signalled war between the classes. The crash of 1987 means that Trotskyists must prepare themselves.

The Soviet system must be protected internally, and for that to happen, communism must expand internationally. There is a crucial need for a development in Marxist theory.

There had been no proper study of the 1929 crash. Mandel published a book called 'The Second Slump'.

It was, however, not the second but the third since the publication of the first volume of Capital. There have been no adequate study of slumps since Marx published the first volume of his work.

South Africa was the product of the first long wave of recession which went up to 1896. The failure to study the nature of that slump meant a failure to understand the development of South Africa.

There have been three long wave slumps since 1873. Marxism has 100 years in theory to make up, Trehwela said.

Rhodes arrived in South Africa four months before the establishment of the Paris Commune. Through each struggle in which the world working class tried to break its productive bonds, the chains tightened on the South African working class.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Message from Long Kesh

Message to 70th anniversary meeting from Irish political prisoners at Long Kesh prison in the north of Ireland.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS to you all from the H-blocks. It is with profound appreciation that we respond to an offer to make a contribution to your activity, and to extend our feelings of solidarity to you.

A human lifespan has passed since the Russian Revolution. It was a momentous event which established a bastion of anti-western imperialism on our globe. For many it heralded a way forward. Man and woman would find themselves reconciled with their dignity and cease to be lifeless appendages of capital. Yet, that is not the way things turned out. It is not our intention here to unravel the mysteries of 1917 and subsequent developments. We are concerned only for the future. However we accept the view of Trotsky that 'the party should and must know the whole of the past.'

What we would like to say is that people born in 1917, and who should this year be celebrating their 70th birthdays are not here to do so. Many others who should also be here are not. That those countless millions have been robbed of the ability to live is, in our opinion, a direct consequence of imperialism and the system of dominance and dependence which it has spawned and continues to reproduce.

We in Ireland have consistently struggled against imperialism. British jails are packed with anti-imperialist fighters and innocent non-combatants. They keep our bodies in concrete cells, but they fail miserably to suppress our minds or prevent our spirits embracing you in comradeship.

Regardless of what tactical differences may exist between ourselves and you, we remain united with you, we remain united with you as anti-imperialists and socialists. Only a socialist solution can end the global problem of imperialism.

In our efforts to acquire a better understanding of socialism we have, within the prison, undertaken a comprehensive study

of socialist thinkers and struggles. We are under no illusions about the enormity of the task that lies ahead.

Belfast of 1987 is not Moscow of 1917, and the British state apparatus, in its repressive and ideological dimensions, is a much more formidable adversary than anything produced by Tsarism. We look at all socialist theory and practice in terms of their applicability to Ireland. For this reason we constantly looked to our own socialist tradition contained in the writings of (James) Connolly, (Liam) Mellows, (Peadar) O'Donnell etc.

Nevertheless, socialism is internationalist, and our reading of Irish socialists is complemented by a rigorous investigation of such profound socialist theorists as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Gramsci, and study of the practical work in which they engaged. In the world today there is a pressing need to clarify socialist theory. While we must not be unthinking dogmatists trying to murder practicality in anachronistic conceptual strait-jackets, we must, more importantly, never dilute what is essential.

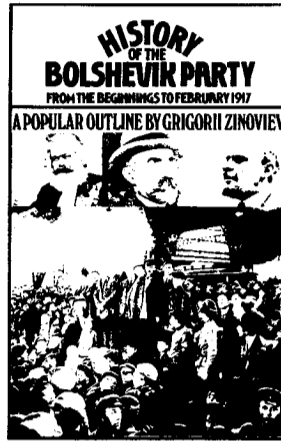
Where we can make allies we must not alienate them through narrow political sectarianism or meaningless rhetoric. Yet we must never go up the road of the revolution's graveyard, by trading the same ground as Marchais and the French Communist Party. Their rejection of the fundamental concept of working-class democracy, in favour of its bourgeois 'equivalent', gives new form to an old and dangerous trend.

As socialists we must be uncompromising on this issue. To do otherwise is to concede that we are no longer socialists. To those who choose such a path, we rebuke them with the immortal words of Trotsky: 'You are miserable bankrupts, your role is played out. Go where you ought to be, into the dustbin of history.'

Solidarity from the H-Blocks.

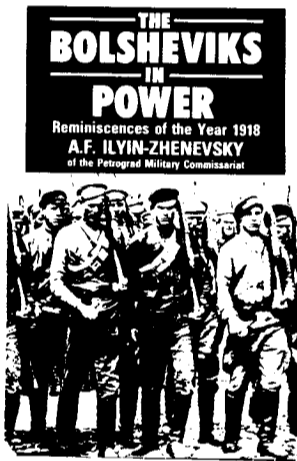
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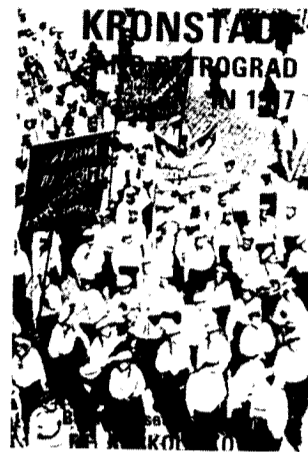
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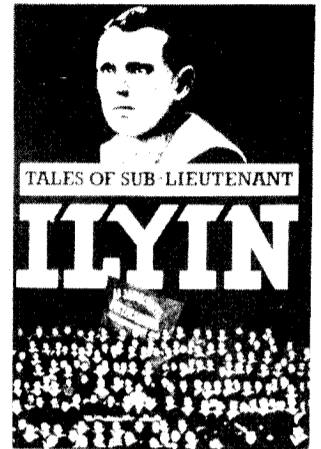
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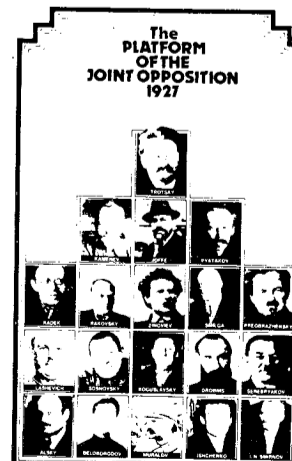


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Chair of the meeting Dave Temple and a Kurdish comrade who addressed the Rally.

New light on history of American Trotskyism

TOM KEMP concludes his review of Alan M. Waud's important new book: 'The New York Intellectuals — The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s'. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London, pp440. 1987.

AMONG those who had left the revolutionary party 20 years or so before Max Shachtman were a number of stalwarts of the Socialist Workers Party who had taken Cannon's side in the split of 1940.

They included Albert Goldman, defence lawyer in the famous Minneapolis trial, and Felix Morrow, best known for his Trotskyist analysis of the Spanish Civil War. Both had served time for violating the Smith Act, and it was while they were in jail that they began to elaborate an oppositionist platform, critical of Cannon's methods and going on to attack the official policy of the SWP.

They reflected a wave of disillusionment in the movement at the end of World War II.

The factional fight which followed is less well-known than that of 1939-1940 but, while conducted at a lower level, it perhaps deserves more attention than it has generally received.

Among those who joined the Goldman-Morrow faction, or took up a similar position, were Jean van Heijenoort (once Trotsky's secretary), Yvan Craipeau in France, Jock Haston and Ted Grant in Britain and most of the German group in exile.

Although Goldman and Morrow began by challenging Cannon's organisational methods, they soon went on to question the prognosis elaborated by Trotsky with its anticipation that the world war would be followed by a revolutionary upsurge.

Basically, their argument was that since the revolution had not taken place according to the prognosis, the perspective derived from it should be scrapped.

Undoubtedly the post-war situation was more complex than Trotsky had envisaged and required fresh analysis and not simply the repetition of revolutionary rhetoric.

The point was that the Goldman-Morrow group was unable to work out a coherent Marxist perspective to supplement or replace the one they wanted to discard.

While Cannon's attachment to 'orthodoxy' had its dangers and limitations, and he may have been too ready to see any criticism or questioning as the beginning of a split, at least his tenacious fight for the party held potential for the survival and development of the SWP and the Fourth International, enabling it to take advantage of significantly favourable factors in the situation.

There was an upsurge of the working class in the advanced countries which was held back from revolution by the Stalinists and the Social Democrats who enabled capitalism to get back on to its feet in Europe after 1945.

There was a crisis of im-

perialism, which lost China and was challenged throughout the colonial world.

Despite appearances, Stalinism too was passing through a deep crisis soon to come to the surface in the Stalin-Tito split and the show trials which followed in Eastern Europe.

Instead of being able to steer a course through the treacherous waters of the post-war world Goldman, Morrow and others became totally disoriented, drifting steadily to the right and to a complete break with Marxism.

After a period in which they moved towards or actually joined Shachtman's Workers' Party, most of them disappeared from the political scene.

By mid-1948 Goldman was calling for support for the Marshall Plan!

Like many others before and since, appalled by Stalinist brutality, he now saw American imperialism as the lesser evil in the Cold War (it took Shachtman himself much longer, as we have seen).

Considering the record of Goldman, Morrow and other ex-SWPers over many years, the *volte-face* seemed extraordinary and almost inexplicable.

(It should have been noted that among those intellectuals who did remain steadfast in their posts in the SWP were John G. Wright, the much maligned George Novak and Joseph Hansen. They deserve some credit for that.)

Similar gyrations were to be found in the case of members of the Communist Party as well as the Lovestonites (American supporters of the Right Opposition).

Waud makes a detailed investigation of the subsequent history of Goldman, Morrow and other renegades from the SWP.

Of Goldman he writes that 'he embarked on a course that veered between pathos and tragedy, while Felix Morrow's was worthy of a performance of the Theatre of the Absurd'.



He depicts the physical as well as political transformation of the SWP leader who acted as defence lawyer in the famous Minneapolis trial. By the early 1950s he was supplying the FBI with information about his former comrades, while proclaiming his opposition to Marxism and the class struggle, saying that he remained a socialist 'on ethical grounds'.

He announced that he was ready to go and fight for the US in Korea and devoted much of his time and legal talent to getting a pardon for his Smith Act conviction.

Morrow, who had once cried at an SWP congress: 'You can't expel me. I'll live and die in the movement,' was finally expelled and moved away from the movement as rapidly as did Goldman.

Soon he, too, had become a small-time informer for the CIA, though insisting that he only informed on 'communists'. In the meantime, he became a successful publisher, specialising in the occult and soft-porn. One of his scoops was 'Flying Saucers Have Landed'.

Subsequently he suffered a severe mental breakdown — which must have been provoked by his apostasy — and had to sell his business as a loss. Later he became a disciple of a Russian mystic, G. J. Gardjief, only to break with his guru and set himself up as a spiritual guide to others. In the late 1970s he joined one of the right-wing socialist groups.

This record of betrayal has more than anecdotal interest since it reflected the experience of a whole generation who had not, of course, joined the revolutionary movement by accident, and did not leave it by chance.

Basically it can be said that this turnabout reflected the defeats suffered by the working class and the post-war betrayals of Social-Democracy and especially Stalinism.

Revulsion against Stalinist crimes, the show trials and the purges was a major factor in the change of front by

so many prominent and often brilliant intellectuals. Because hopes and expectations were not realised, they lost confidence in the revolutionary capacity of the working class.

'In sum', concludes Waud, 'the primary determinants in the deradicalisation process were the political situation in the nation and the world in addition to the ascension of the intellectuals in status.' By the latter he means the new job opportunities opened up by the war and the post-war boom.

What Waud does not discuss fully are the lessons for those striving to build a revolutionary party, in which the recruitment of intellectuals plays a necessary and important role.

We cannot simply deplore the turn of events and hope that it will not happen again. Something has to be said about the theoretical commitment of American intellectuals to Marxism.

While a few, like Hook, had made a serious study of Marxist philosophy and Louis Corey (a sympathiser of the Lovestone group) had written the only Marxist study of American capitalism, the average level seems to have been low, derived at second hand from various interpreters or from a fairly superficial acquaintance with a few of Marx and Lenin's more popular works.

These weaknesses were sharply revealed in the SWP in the 1939-1940 split. Of course, some key works like Lenin's 'Philosophical Notebooks' or Marx's 'Grundrisse' were not available at this time. All the same, not enough use was made of works which were available. There was a lack of a fundamental study of 'Capital', especially Vols. II and III.

This meant (despite Corey) a failure to understand the crisis of the 1930s or, despite Corey, of the nature of American capitalism. This led in turn to an underestimation of capitalism's capacity to survive where it was not challenged by a powerful working class under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Without this central principal, even serious theoreticians like Corey became disoriented, leading him, for example, to renounce his *magnum opus* and to espouse Keynesianism. He, like others, had tacitly accepted a breakdown theory, and when the breakdown didn't come he wanted out.

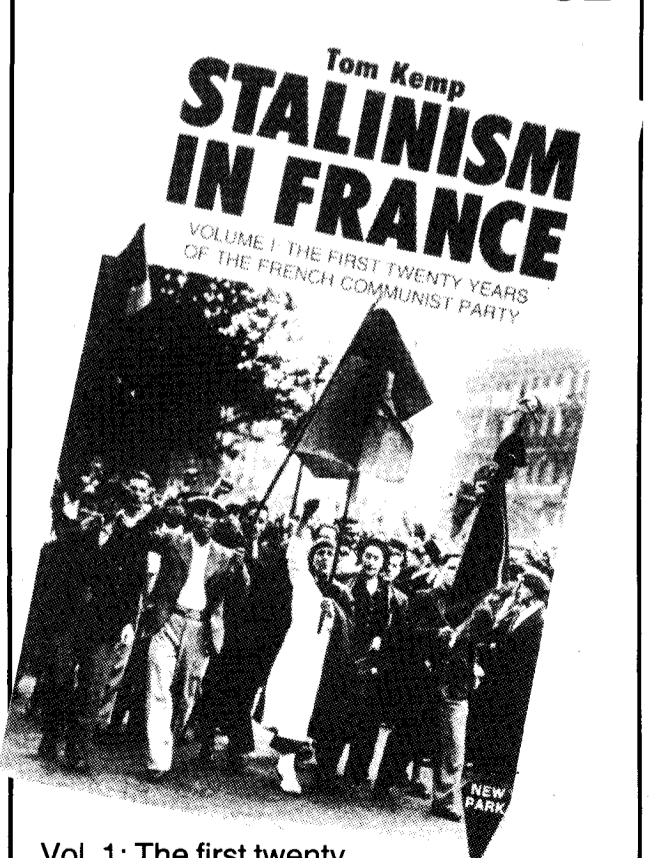
The historical movement of the class struggle was not their starting point. Thus Burnham could see a new class of managers emerging world-wide; Shachtman saw

a new exploiting class in the Soviet Union. This turned out to be the beginning of acceptance of capitalism in the US as eternal, the lesser evil in the Cold War.

Waud tends to neglect the importance of the subjective factor. His book is a valuable contribution, but it stops short of a fundamental explanation and does not, therefore, draw all the lessons required by revolutionary intellectuals today.

CONCLUDED

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PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

English empiricism's guilty secret

TELEVISION has recently given us its once-over-lightly accounts of John Locke and David Hume without so much as a whisper about the racist skeletons in English philosophy's cupboard.

Yet Locke was the pivotal figure in the early development of English racism, while Hume was an out-and-out racist.

It's hardly surprising that those talking heads on our screens had nothing to say on this aspect of their subjects' careers. Quite possibly they didn't know about it; few people do, and many people are quite irrationally outraged when racism is mentioned in connection with such venerated figures.

A few years ago we had the scandal of a bailiff attending a history of philosophy seminar in a London polytechnic, by order of a judge, precisely in order to prevent the word racism being used in reference to Locke or Hume.

Anyone who dared to defy this monstrous piece of judicial censorship was thrown out of the seminar on his ear.

This was to spare the feelings of a student who was a national official of a fascist organisation, and whose 'education' was deemed so important that he was escorted to those stupidly emasculated philosophy seminars by a posse of police.

But facts are stubborn things: more stubborn, in the end, than judges' fiats or policemen's truncheons or bailiffs' bums. And the facts about the racism of Locke and Hume are beyond dispute.

John Locke (1632-1704) played a large part in the creation of the Board of Trade, the architect of the old colonial system. And, as a senior administrator of slave-

owning colonies in the New World, Locke helped to draft instructions to the governor of Virginia in which black slavery was regarded as justifiable.

While in one passage in his 'Two Treatises of Government' (1690), Locke concedes that slavery is 'vile and miserable', elsewhere in the same work he defines slavery as 'nothing else but the state of war continued between a lawful conqueror and a captive'.

This enables the first systematic exponent of liberalism in political theory to justify the enslavement of Africans, who are assumed to be captives taken in a just war.

Locke's casuistry is less surprising when one discovers that he had £600 invested in the Royal African Company, which by the beginning of the 18th century had transported 100,000 African slaves to the New World plantations and had imported into England 30,000 tons of slave-produced sugar. £600 was a very large sum of money in those days, and his investment enabled the great liberal thinker to live very comfortably indeed.

Locke's contribution to emerging racism was his provision of a model which allows skin colour to be counted as an essential property of human beings. This model became the foundation of the racist theory of intellectual gradation, according to which black people were not, and could not be, the mental equals of white people — were not indeed, as some held, members of the human species.

Locke wrote in his 'Essay concerning Human Understanding' (1690):

'A Child having framed the Idea of a Man, it is probable, that his Idea is just like that Picture, which the Painter makes of the visible Appearances joyned together; and such a Complication of Ideas together in his Understanding, makes up the single complex Idea which he calls Man, wherof White or Flesh-colour in England being one, the Child can demonstrate to you, that a Negro is not a Man, because White-colour was one of the constant simple Ideas of the complex Idea he calls Man: And therefore he can demonstrate by the Principle, It is impossible for

the same Thing to be, and not to be, that a Negro is not a Man.'

Locke's successor David Hume (1711-1776), described by Professor Basil Willey in 'The Eighteenth-Century Background' (1940) as 'the fine flower of the English (or shall we say the Anglo-Scottish) eighteenth-century mind', made no bones about his racist views.

Hume added the following footnote to the 1753 reprint of his essay 'Of National Characters', first published in 1748:

'I am apt to suspect the negroes, and in general all the other species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites.

'There never was a civilised nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufacture amongst them, no arts, no sciences. . .

'Not to mention our colonies, there are negroe slaves dispersed all over Europe, of which none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity; tho' low people, without ingenuity, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every profession.

'In Jamaica indeed they talk of one negroe as a man of parts and learning; but 'tis likely he is admired for very slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly.'

Racism emerged in England in the eighteenth century as an ideological justification of slavery. And it was this country's leading philosophers of the day — our great empiricists — who furnished the conceptual building blocks used in its construction.

By 1773 Samuel Estwick, son of a Barbados planter, owner of immense sugar plantations there, agent for Barbados in London, and an MP for 16 years, was quoting both Locke and Hume to back up his argument that black people were not human beings, and that a law to prohibit their entering this country would 'preserve the race of Britons from stain and contamination'.

The part played by racist philosophers

in the origin and early development of English racism — the fact that there are poisonous blossoms among those 'fine flowers of the English mind' — is, in our racist society, a closely guarded secret.

The other Victorian values

THOUGH he's often sentimental or melodramatic, there are few English novelists so consistently admirable as Charles Dickens. He's always readable, generally enjoyable, and frequently a rebel against hypocrisy and injustice.

My admiration for Dickens shot up still more when I read, in the current issue of the 'London Review of Books', his version of 'The Fine Old English Gentleman', 'To be said or sung at all Conservative Dinners':

The bright old day now dawns again; the cry runs through the land,

In England there shall be dear bread — in Ireland sword and brand;

And poverty, and ignorance, shall swell the rich and grand,

So, rally round the rulers with the gentle iron hand,

Of the fine old English Tory days; Hail to the coming time!

This good old radical broadside, which hits its target as fair and square in 1987 as it did on the day it was written, is quoted from 'The New Oxford Book of Victorian Verse', edited by Christopher Ricks.

Judging by the reviews, Ricks's recently published anthology gives readers a fresh and often unexpected slant on 19th-century English poetry and its preoccupations.

LISTINGS

LISTINGS are published free by WORKERS PRESS each week for organisations in the labour movement. Please send details to arrive by mid-day Monday for publication the following Thursday.

EDUCATION MEETING Opting Out and the Implications for Tower Hamlets. Monday 23 November, 8p.m. Oxford House, Derbyshire Street,

London E2. Organised by Tower Hamlets Trades Council. All welcome.

THE THATCHER YEARS: BRITAIN AND LATIN AMERICA A Conference for Activists. Saturday, 14 November 11a.m.-5.30p.m. London School of Economics, Portugal Street, London WC2. Organised by the Latin American Bureau.

PRISON PICKETS Frankland and Durham. Sunday 15 November 1.30p.m. Coaches leave Birmingham 1 at 9a.m.

EXHIBITIONS: Anne Frank in the World; The Aliens Act; both at Hackney Town Hall, Mare Street, E8.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE — TOWARDS A SOCIALIST AGENDA Day Conference, Saturday 14 November. Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Organised by Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice. For further details phone Ruth Allan, Northwood (65) 24666; Bron Roberts, 01-903 4921; Chris Naylor, 01-226 3396.

RACISM AND EDUCATION Are the teachers doing their job? Will the Tories let them? Does Anti-Racist Education deal with anti-semitism? 2 London teachers give their views. Jewish Socialists' Group meeting. Sunday, 22 November, 8pm Friends International Centre, Byng Place, London WC1

NON-STOP PICKET OF SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE For the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa. For sanctions against the racist South African gov-

ernment. Outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Square. Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION (CAPR) Weekly planning meetings every Tuesday 7.30p.m. Stoke Newington Community Centre, Leswin Road, N16. All welcome. Contact: Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, N4 (01-991 2938.)

FROM GRUNWICK TO WAPPING AND BEYOND. . . WHAT LESSONS? Major Review Conference. Saturday 14 November 10a.m.-5p.m. Brent Town Hall, Forty Lane, Wembley (near Wembley Park tube and Wembley Stadium).

BRING BACK VICTORIA WILLIAMS! Campaign meetings second

and fourth Wednesdays of every month. 7.30p.m. UCA, Acton Technical College, Mill Hill Road, W3.

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VIRAJ MENDIS LONDON SUPPORT GROUP Weekly organisational meetings: 7.30p.m. at Camden Town Hall.

BULLETIN OF THE IRISH HUNGER STRIKE COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE (BIRMINGHAM) Now available on subscription: £2 per year (3 issues incl. pp). From: Tiofaidh Ar La c/o IHSCC, PO Box 540, Sparckhill, Birmingham, B11 4AU

manchester martyrs commemoration



WILLIAM ALLEN



MICHAEL O'BRIEN



MICHAEL LARKIN

Sunday November 22nd 1987

MANCHESTER

FREE THE Framed Irish Prisoners!

'If the (Birmingham Six) win it will mean that the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the convictions were erroneous. . . This is such an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: it cannot be right, these actions should go no further. (Lord Denning, denying the Birmingham Six the right to proceed with an action against the police for injuries received while in custody). 1980

10p

A new pamphlet outlining the cases of framed Irish prisoners, including the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four. Copies available from Free the Framed Irish Prisoners, c/o BM 1320, London WC1 3XX.

Workers Revolutionary Party
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 St George's Methodist Hall, Cable Street, Stepney, E1 (nearest tube: Shadwell) all at 7.30p.m.
 Friday 6 November: Stalinism in Britain
 Friday 4 December: The Stalinist Theory of Socialism in a Single Country

BLOODY SUNDAY
 COMMEMORATION MEETING
 Sunday 22 November 11a.m.
 Conway Hall
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 Main speaker: Rodney Mace, Author of 'Trafalgar Square — Emblem of Empire'
 Slides Reading from William Morris

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 Writing for the revolutionary press
 Tutor: P. Fryer
 Sunday 6 December
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 There will be three sessions:
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 3. Writing a feature article
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GREEK APPROACH TO THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

Our participation in the struggle for the world conference

From a Group of ex-members of the EEK (formerly WIL), Greek section of the International Committee of the Fourth International (Healy).

1. Since the founding of the International Socialist movement in the middle of the 19th century, the working class all over the world has passed through great historical struggles, fighting to build an international leadership.

The decisive issue that Leon Trotsky and his comrades formulated in the Transitional Programme — i.e. that the world political situation as a whole is characterised mainly by the crisis of the leadership of the working class — remains unchanged today.

This constitutes the decisive historical issue upon which are tested the different varieties of revisionism in the Fourth International (which, from time to time, discover 'revolutionary tendencies', or various substitutes in populist bourgeois movements, nationalist leaders, professors in eastern countries' universities etc).

The struggle for the reorganisation of the Fourth International means a struggle for internationalism and vice versa. 'Internationalism is not an abstract principle, but a theoretical and political reflection of the nature of the world economy, the world development of the productive forces and the international nature of the class struggle' (Trotsky).

An Internationalist is he who always refuses to put the interests of his own bourgeoisie, leading caste or of his own organisation on a national level above the interests of the international working class and the struggle for the building of an international revolutionary leadership.

2. Trotsky was able to establish the Fourth International because, in those years, on an international level, it was he who had the richest political experience from his long participation in the international workers' movement and his rich theoretical contribution.

(1903: Second conference of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, 1905 revolution, theory of the Permanent Revolution, mistakes in relation to party organisation and their correction, struggle against World War I, Zimmerwald, 1917, Red Army, bloc with Lenin against the rising bureaucracy and Stalin, Left Opposition, banishment from the USSR, struggle against fascism, 'Revolution Betrayed', founding of the Fourth International in 1938).

The decisive issues that Trotsky and the Fourth International formulated, such as:

- The Permanent Revolution;
- 'The Revolution Betrayed' and the struggle for the political revolution for crushing of the Stalinist bureaucracy;

c) The struggle for the building of the Fourth International based on the nature of the epoch and the Transitional Programme;

d) The struggle for the development of Marxism, are the foundations upon which the Fourth International is based.

3. The WRP's call (for an International Conference of Trotskyists) and the principles it establishes constitute a step towards the political cleaning of the Trotskyist movement and the emancipation of the Fourth International from all those forces that either from within its ranks (revisionism) or from outside (bourgeoisie and Stalinism) have tried and are trying to destroy it.

4. The reorganisation of the Fourth International can begin only from organisations and groups that, despite their contradictions, mistakes and weaknesses, have fought and are fighting inside the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its state, against Stalinism, for the continuation of Trotsky's International.

5. There can be no reorganisation of the Fourth International, as the call correctly stresses, without a principled foundation.

These principles will be able to acquire a revolutionary content if the forces present at the conference become capable of analysing and explaining the contradictory historical process of the Trotskyist movement and the history of the ICFI.

This is a basic condition to obtaining a series of neces-



Special studies on World War II, the new international developments it inaugurated and on the guerrilla movement during 1941-1949 are among the proposals from this Group of ex-EEK members. Above: A Greek partisan column.

only occur in combination with a conscious effort to break its isolation from the working class, having a steady class orientation towards it.

7. We are politically opposed to those tendencies within the Trotskyist movement which totally reject the existence of points (conditions) in the struggle for the reorganisation of the FI, but also to those who object to some of the ten points.

They usually reject point eight, which stresses the necessity of building sections of the Fourth International in every country. Mainly they come from or are influenced by the United Secretariat (USec), and this is closely connected with its own revisionism.

Even though Pablo abandoned the USec and Trotskyism over 20 years ago, the consequences of Pabloite revisionism are still present

participated in the 'Simon Bolivar' Brigade. In this case they had the same policy as G. Healy's ICFI and EEK in Greece.

In the US the SWP officially renounced the Permanent Revolution and in West Germany the Pabloites merged with the Greens and the Stalino-Maoists without any essential political resistance to this day.

In Greece the Pabloite QKDE split into two groups without the appearance of serious different political platforms. Meanwhile, in the confines of the USec there also exists the movement around the journal 'Marxist Gathering'.

Parallel degeneration phenomena can be observed in Australia, England, South America and elsewhere.

The USec's revisionism and its withdrawal from the working class have led many of its members and cadres to become disillusioned and to no longer believe in the revolutionary role of the working class and the revolution-

The principles of the Trotskyist movement have been developed and defended with thousands murdered by Stalinism, Trotsky and his best comrades murdered and the combined murders of most of the Trotskyists by the Stalinists, the fascists and the liberal bourgeoisie during World War II.

Only a handful of Fourth Internationalists in the whole world during the World War II raised the banner of internationalism with the slogan 'Proletarians of all countries unite!'.

8. Today the Fourth International is in the most crucial phase of its history. Basically two opposite currents are indistinguishable on an international scale:

One consists of those talking about the reorganisation or rebirth of the Fourth International;

The other consists of those who renounce Trotskyism and the struggle for the building of the FI and are liquidating into Stalinism, the 'Greens', guerrilla or populist movements.

Every tendency towards inertia, capitulation or reconciliation must be fought now, immediately.

The danger of the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement today is greater than it was during the 1930s or during Pablo's period. Now the Stalinist epigones, led by Gorbachev, facing their historical crisis and wanting to get rid of the spectre of Trotskyism, are thinking of formally rehabilitating Stalin's victims, in order to incorporate, castrate and finally liquidate the Trotskyist movement so that they can continue their counter-revolutionary politics. In this task of his Gorbachev has as ideological assistants G. Healy, M. Banda and S.

Savas Michael maintained (in the party as well as publicly) that the split in the WRP and the IC in 1985 was a combined operation of agents of Stalinism and imperialism.

sary lessons, since it will have become clear what the reasons were for the abandonment of basic principles of communism in the past by the ICFI, leading it to a huge political degeneration, as was proved by G. Healy's expulsion and the successive splits in the WRP and the ICFI.

6. Today the necessary theoretical revolutionisation of the Fourth International movement can

today. Mandel's theories of 'Neocapitalism' have led the sections of the USec to marginalisation, to single-issue politics, to the adventurist support of various guerrilla movements, to the unconditional support of various bourgeois nationalist movements and governments.

The USec gave unconditional support to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua while it imprisoned, tortured and banished hundreds of Trotskyists who

ism of Trotskyism.

Today, essentially, the USec is a multi-factional confederation and not a Bolshevik international Trotskyist organisation.

Especially in our days, capitalism and Stalinism, because of their historical crisis and bankruptcy, need the assistance of people speaking in the name of Trotskyism, but who in essence are revising it (Posadas, Healy, Savas Michael in Greece etc).

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ROBSON'S CHOICE

Politics of despair

LAST Tuesday ITV's Viewpoint 87 transmitted the long awaited Mike Grigsby documentary, made in collaboration with John Furse, Living in the Edge.

The canvas was vast — fundamental social changes in post-war Britain. It focussed on a family in Birkenhead, two miners' families in South Wales, unemployed youth in Glasgow and a Devon farmer about to lose his farm to the banks after working it for 40 years.

Grigsby has always been a superb craftsman, and *Living on the Edge* was no exception. The old lyricism was there in abundance, enhanced on this occasion by a newly-acquired passion for dolly and crane which, in the hands of cameraman Ivan Strasburg, produced some spectacular moving shots of graveyard, railway and cityscape.

But the politics that informed this rich tapestry of sounds and images were unfortunately the middle-class politics of despair. Mike Grigsby appears not to have advanced politically one inch in the past fifteen years, and this is his greatest weakness as a filmmaker, in my opinion.

He accepts that society is divided into classes — one exploiting and the other exploited. He accepts that Britain's loss of empire sharpened the class struggle at home. He accepts that the post war dreams for a better future have been shattered for all time by the collapse of the post-war boom. But his conception of 'socialism' is purely abstract and must therefore remain merely a dream.

The ruling class is equally abstract, introduced symbolically or in the form of disembodied voices from the past. Not a class you can get your hands on, so to speak. His choice of interviews reflects his pessimism: 'In the thirties people had principles, but now there is no solidarity anymore, no give and take in our own class'. Thousands of miners across the country would take violent exception to such a statement.

Grigsby is moved by what is gone or going. He has absolutely no inkling of the profound molecular changes taking place in British society which heralds the coming of the new. He sees the working class as an injured and suffering class, and this one-sidedness leaves no room for even a modicum of revolutionary optimism. On the contrary, the film was permeated with a yearning for the days in which reforms were still possible.

'You were saying that the affairs of this country', a miner said in discussion with his mates, 'were not run from Westminster but from Whitehall, by civil servants. I wonder now whether globally we are being run by Brian's multinational companies, the finance houses, who just shift the balance of power by moving money from one bank to another or

one country to another, and I don't know how socialism can beat that sort of power, and I mean power in its raw sense, not authority' (my emphasis).

A very interesting contribution was made by a man discussing with his cronies in a pub when he explained how his expectations of life, and those of thousands of others, had been raised by the war.

Not, as he stressed, by the experience of the war itself, but by contact with 'enlightened lecturers' in the army where he had received much of his basic training.

It was a clear-cut example of how theory must develop from the whole of class society and how, often quite accidentally as in this case, it is brought into the working class, transforming it for ever.

Grigsby has no theory, that is why he presents the following contribution uncritically and without explanation. A young man from Birkenhead, one of thousands of alienated youth living today in Thatcher's Britain, had this to say:

'The worst thing you can do is be born with brains in a non-working class society. Were non-working class - were not working. Were not even part of the class structure because were not working. Were getting pushed further and further toward the edge, where you've either got to stand up and scream and do something to better yourself, or go down.'

But what does 'stand up and scream and do something to better yourself' mean in capitalist society today, whether in Britain or South Africa? When Mike Grigsby begins to address this burning question he will begin to acquire real stature as a filmmaker. Without it he will merely 'go down' the road of protest and despair. As one who has worked closely with him on more than one occasion I would hate for that to happen. He is worthy of much more.

* * *

BBC2 seem to have gone all out to monopolise the airwaves this week. On Saturday, for instance, at 2.30p.m.(BBC2), they offer the ebullient Busby Berkeley musical, *Goldiggers of 1935*, followed at 3.40p.m.(BBC2) by Edward Dmytryk's film noir, *Corned*. At 7.35p.m.(BBC2), a portrait of Lanca shire artist L.S.Lowry, followed by a performance of Shostakovich's *Fifth Symphony* (a simultaneous broadcast with Radio 3). At 10.05(BBC2), Luchino Visconti's operatic *Senso*, made in 1954.

On Sunday, at 1.40p.m.(Radio 3), Wagner's *Lohengrin*, in a 1987 Bayreuth Festival production. At 2.20p.m.(C4), Vittorio de Sica's *Miracle in Milan*. At 5.10p.m.(BBC2), *Music in Camera* plays Telemann. At

5.50p.m.(BBC2), *Review* looks at this year's winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, the Russian emigre, Joseph Brodsky. At 7.50p.m.(BBC2), *The Great Philosophers* concentrates on Hegel and Marx. At 8.35p.m.(BBC2), *The Natural World* takes a fascinating look at wildlife in the volcanic island of Hawaii. At 10.25p.m.(Radio 3), *Faure Piano Music*. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), *The South Bank Show* looks at the work of American writer Gore Vidal.

On Monday, at 7.40p.m.(BBC2), *Open Space* investigates the plight of domestic servants working in Britain for 'wealthy visitors'. At 9p.m.(BBC2), Woody Allen runs wild in *Bananas*. At 10.10p.m.(BBC1), part-two of John Le Carre's *A Perfect Spy*. At 11p.m.(C4), part-four of *The People's Flag*.

On Tuesday, at 7.20p.m.(Radio 4), *File on 4* broadcasts the final programme in the series *Revolution Without Shots*. At 8.05p.m.(Radio 3), *The Cunning Peasant*, a comic opera in two acts with music by Dvorak. At 9p.m.(C4), *Hot House People*, a new series, opens with *Super Babies*, a look at the 'Better Baby Institute in Philadelphia, a small private school dedicated to the creation of genius' — sounds like another instance of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie in search of the master-race. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), *Footsteps* retraces the steps of Karl Mauch (1837-1875) into deepest Africa where he discovered the remains of an early civilization which greatly strengthened the cause of black nationalism.

On Wednesday, at 6.30p.m.(C4), first in a new series called *All In a Day's Life*, which examines the concept of work, leisure and unemployment around the clock. The first documentary, directed by Peter West, looks at the dawn of a new day for those in and out of work. At 9.30p.m.(BBC2), part-three of *A Perfect Spy*. At 10.30p.m.(ITV), Robert Redford's directorial debut, *Ordinary People*.

On Thursday, at 3.50p.m.(C4), John Schlesinger's *Sixties* documentary, *Terminus*. At 7p.m.(Radio 3), *A Left-Handed Legacy*, a survey of piano music for the left-hand inspired largely by two concert pianists whose careers were ended by injuries sustained during the First World War. At 9.20p.m.(Radio 3), *Music for Guitar*: a programme of flamenco music.

On Friday, at 9.50p.m.(BBC2), Arena presents *Revolutionary with a Paint Box*, a portrait of Mexican artist Diego Rivera. At 11.40p.m.(BBC1), Peter Sellers in *Prisoners of Zenda*.

TOM SCOTT ROBSON



Who Runs the Country, fourth programme in the series *The People's Flag*, spans the years 1964 to 1979 — from Wilson's Labour Government to the return of the Tories after the 'Winter of Discontent'. Written by Stuart Hood, directed by Chris Reeves. Above: Demonstration at Pentonville Prison demanding the release of five dockers in 1972.

Michael in Greece.

The struggle for the success of the Conference means a strong blow against Stalinism, which is the greatest danger to the independence of our movement today (Gorbachev worship). The bourgeoisie attempted an analogous effort of incorporating Marxism by 'legalising' it, trying to deprive it of its revolutionary content.

Only the Trotskyists are genuine anti-Stalinists. Anti-Stalinism means the struggle for the political revolution for the overthrow of the bureaucracy. It means the struggle for the victory of the world socialist revolution and for the building of the Fourth International.

9. The ten points in the WRP's call are necessary as a minimum basis for the beginning of a principled discussion to clarify the most important issues occupying the Fourth International and the working class, aiming to destroy capitalism and Stalinism, for the communist future of humanity.

10. From this point of view and for the success of the conference we propose:

- The writing of International Perspectives.
- The re-examination of the history of the FI (the course of the class struggle internationally during the whole imperialist epoch must be understood as the dialectical interaction of these two factors: the world economic crisis of capitalism with the wars and revolutions, which is the motive force, and the unsolved crisis of working-class leadership).
- A special study on World War II and the new international developments it inaugurated.
- A re-examination of the birth of Pabloite revisionism and the founding of the International Committee of the Fourth International in 1953.
- A re-examination of the split in the ICFI of 1985 and of the events that followed.
- Systematisation and development of the discussion on the developments in the USSR, and the general crisis of Stalinism, in connection with the further course of our movement.
- Preparation, as soon as possible, of a political platform for the struggle against militarism and war.
- A conscious effort must be made to develop the Transitional Programme in the light of all the new developments in the international arena of the class struggle.
- The call correctly stresses that the Stalinist methods brought into the Trotskyist movement of the well-known slanders, violence and frame-ups designed to strike political opponents must be condemned. But at the same time any tendency of 'legal Trotskyism', which is a product of the long-existing parliamentary bourgeois democracy in the main capitalist centres after World War II on the one hand and of the activity of revisionism in the Fourth International on the other, must be fought along the course towards the conference.
- The Trotskyist organisations must combine legal and illegal work and train their members against penetration and provocation by capitalism and Stalinism.
- Constant struggle for the development of Marxism as the revolutionary theory for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism world-wide. We be-

lieve that the political clarification on these points is a necessary precondition for the accom-

plishment of the aim of the conference, which is the reorganisation of the Fourth International.

Who are we?

OUR political formation as a group is directly connected with the split in the ICFI in 1985 and the stand taken by the leading petty-bourgeois clique which controls EEK (formerly WIL), the Greek section of the ICFI.

Savas Michael organised an international secret faction with G. Healy, A. Mitchell, S. Torrance (WRP) and E. Romero (Spain) and played a decisive role in the first split in the WRP and the ICFI (October 1985).

In Greece he misinformed the Central Committee and the whole party, hiding the real issues which led to G. Healy's expulsion and consciously distorting the true facts. Not a single document by the WRP or the IC of that period was circulated in Greece. Instead, S. Michael maintained (in the party as well as publicly) that the split was a combined operation of agents of Stalinism and imperialism. In fact, he openly accused before the party the then secretary of the ICFI, C. Slaughter, of being an agent of Moscow, and D. North, Secretary of the American Workers' League, of being a CIA agent.

Meanwhile, inside the party a situation of terror and hysteria prevailed, aiming to suppress any probable protest or dissension. Members were directly threatened with expulsion.

The situation became unbearable for S. Michael and his clique, especially after October 1986 and the struggle undertaken mainly by members of our present group against the clearly pro-Stalinist positions which G. Healy formulated at an 'International School' during that period. The reaction of the clique was violent and spasmodic, since in view of the second regular Conference of EEK (March 1987), and using Stalinist methods (lies, threats, 'spontaneous confessions', slander etc.) it proceeded with suspensions and expulsions, thus finding a 'way out' from the impasse of a difficult situation.

From the moment of our formation as a group we realised the necessity of an international orientation which today, through a course of contradictions, difficulties and retrogressions, has brought us close to the effort for the organising of an International Conference aiming for the reorganisation of the FI.

Our struggle in Greece

OUR immediate aims for our struggle in Greece are:

- We are proceeding with the publication of the most important documents of the 1985 split in the ICFI for the first time in Greece.
- We shall publish in Greek the necessary documents concerning the coming conference.
- Based on these documents we will begin an open discussion with other tendencies of Trotskyism, advanced workers, trade unionists and youth. We will struggle to intervene in the crisis of Stalinism, to expose the Healyite revisionism, while showing interest in the important centrist currents created by Pasok's crisis (already most of its trade unionists have deserted it).
- We will try to make known the long-standing history of Trotskyism on a national and an international level.
- We will study the guerrilla movement of the 1941-1949 period.
- We shall study the history

of the Greek section of the ICFI which was founded in 1963. More concretely — the founding, the 1966 split, dictatorship, the 1976 split, stand in the 1985 split — and its further course.

g) We shall try to make a Marxist analysis of the development of capitalism and of the workers' movement in Greece, and develop a programme of transitional demands.

h) Based on the international directions and the necessary struggle we must undertake on a national level, we aim to contribute to the building of a new workers' party, a section of the Fourth International.

On this basis, we ask to participate regularly in the Preparatory Committee for the international conference. Awaiting your reply,

Comradely greetings
Group of ex-members of the
EEK, Greek section of the
ICFI (Healy)

**FREE
VLADIMIR
KLEBANOV**

Free Trade Unionist

DEMONSTRATE

**At the
Soviet Embassy
Wed 25 November**

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1.30 to 3.00**

Vladimir Klebanov
- do not let them
kill him!



Alexey
Nikitin
did not
intentionally
kill...



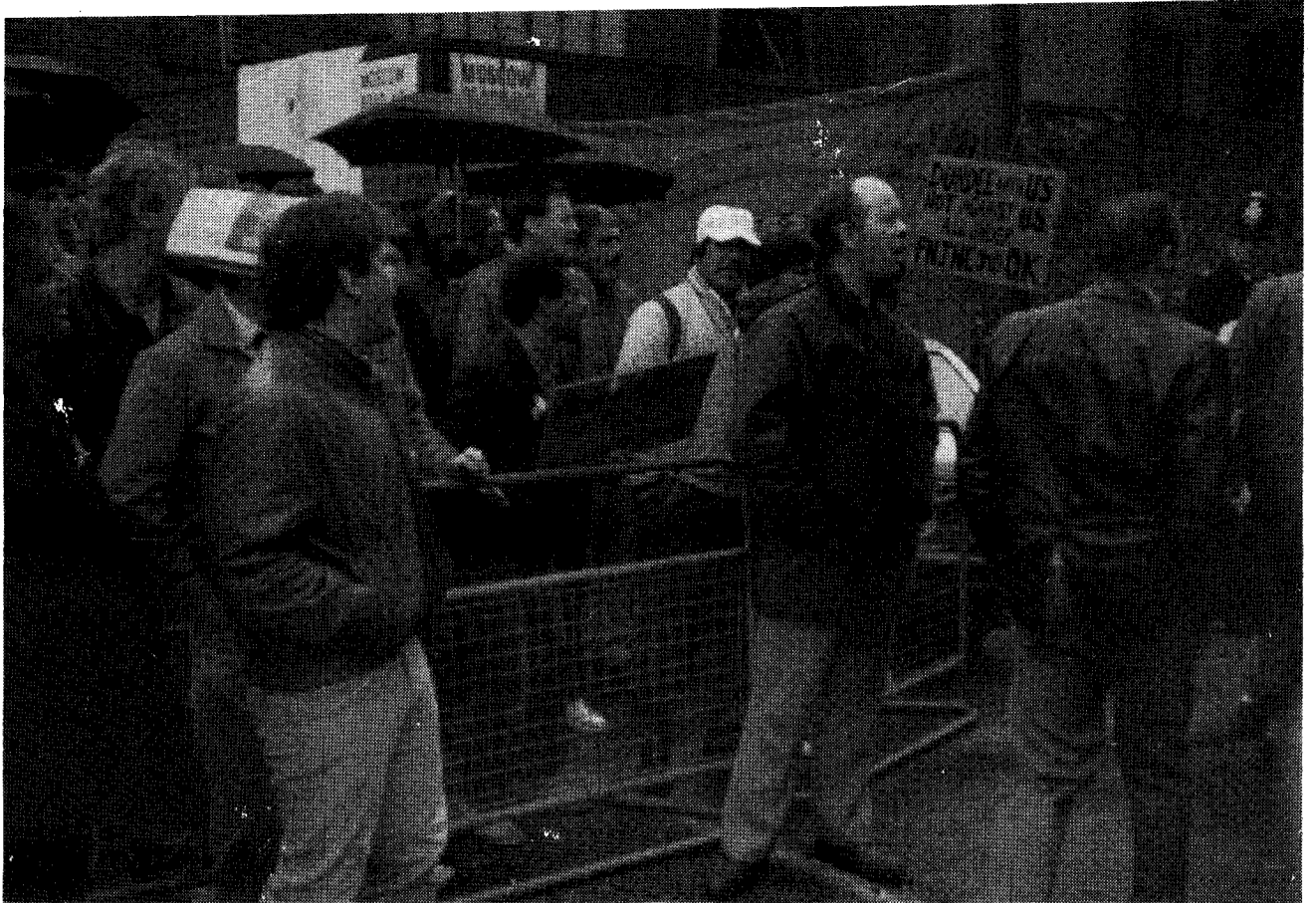
Workers Press

Saturday November 14 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

FORD LOBBY

HUNDREDS of Ford workers lobbied their pay negotiations in Bayswater last Wednesday in angry opposition to Fords' proposed three-year pay deal (right).

Union negotiators' secretary James Airlie was greeted by workers singing 'Sell you out, sell you out, I'm the famous Jimmie Airlie and I want to sell you out', and general derision over his signing of the single union agreement at Dundee. Tens of thousands of Ford workers, technical staff and foremen have taken strike action around the country in protest at the job-cutting, speed-up deal and 4.25-per-cent pay offer.



Dundee deal splits 'Morning Star'

THE SINGLE UNION deal for the proposed Ford plant at Dundee has severely split the Stalinists and other 'lefts' around the 'Morning Star'.

On 30 October a letter in the 'Morning Star' signed by only nine AEU local officials supported the deal. It claimed that this anti-union deal 'as being in the best interests of British trade unions' and 'that it is to their long term advantage'.

The letter ended by calling 'for an end to public disagreement on the deal which can only help the enemies of trade unionism'.

Prominent members of the Communist Cam-

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

paign Group ('Morning Star') supporters are amongst the signatories.

Despite this call for an end to public disagreement, a reply by 19 trade union officials was received the following week (4 November)

denouncing 'these distinguished trade unionists', to be followed by a letter from Ford shop steward Rod Finlayson (11 November).

Finlayson said: 'The Dundee agreement acts like a Trojan Horse attacking Ford workers, attacking the 100 per cent closed shop, Ford workers' national trade union structure and all the current agreements — fought for over many years.

'It attacks our wage rates, conditions, work-time, discipline procedures, working practices, shop-steward representation and inter-union

cooperation. 'There is mass indignation and opposition to all this in other Ford plants in Britain — Liverpool, Wales, Southampton and London.'

The 'enemies of trade unionism' are not those who expose such deals but the likes of James Airlie, Stalinist member of the AEU national committee and right wing general secretary of the Union, Gavin Laird, who held secret meetings with the Ford management behind the backs of the NJNC (joint union committee) in order to perpetrate this most 'chauvinistic' anti-

union deal. Airlie claims the deal is the best possible but has admitted that new elements of flexibility have been conceded by the union which worsen working conditions in force at other Ford plants.

Despite a slump in union membership the leadership was even two weeks ago pushing for a new flexible agreement on hours. The deal would have brought further job losses but was defeated at a full meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

Airlie is becoming something of a specialist in negotiating such deals. When the Caterpillar workers in Glasgow took the struggle into their own hands and occupied their factory for several

weeks it was Airlie who ordered a return to work.

It was Airlie who confused the struggle when he told the AEU national committee that the Scottish Development Agency was to take over the Caterpillar plant and that victory was in sight. This brought an end to the occupation and the loss of 800 jobs.

Airlie has lined up completely with the right wing advocates of 'new realism' in the unions. The unions were built as a result of generations of struggle. The time has come to throw out such leaders and replace them with ones who will fight for a trade union movement independent of the capitalist state.

● See Jordan defeated on engineers' deal — page 3

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