

KINNOCK CRAWLS TO SCAB UNIONS Stalinists prop up Labourites

BY GEOFF PILLING

AS THE Labour Party Conference meets in Blackpool, great dangers face the international working class.

The biggest danger of all comes from the Stalinist bureaucracy headed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the name of 'peaceful coexistence' with world capitalism this bureaucracy is preparing to betray the mounting struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

In SOUTHERN AFRICA, Moscow has negotiated the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and has agreed with the Botha regime that the long struggle of the Namibian people for their independence should be ended.

In the MIDDLE EAST, Gorbachev has for months been involved in secret negotiations with American imperialism and others for the diplomatic recognition of the Zionist state of Israel, a gross act of betrayal of the struggle of the Palestinian people for their homeland.

It is Stalinism which years ago took over from reformists like Kinnock the chief role of subordinating the working class to a decaying capitalism.

In Britain, for example, Labour Government after Labour Government has betrayed the millions of workers and sections of the middle class who have vested their confidence in the Labour Party leaders.

These traitors continue to have influence over sections of the working class only because they enjoy the open or tacit support of the Stalin-

ist movement.

This is no accident. For decades the Stalinists have peddled the lie that it is possible to achieve socialism peacefully through parliament. This strategy can lead nowhere except to bloody defeat, as the case of Chile and countless other examples have shown.

For years the leaders of the Communist Party traded on the prestige of the Russian Revolution, pretending that in the Soviet Union, eastern Europe and China 'socialism' had been established. The crisis in the Soviet Union is now cruelly exposing these lies. What sort of 'socialism' is it where millions go without adequate supplies of fresh food, decent housing and other amenities? What sort of socialism is it that resorted to the murder of millions who crossed the path of the Stalinist bureaucracy?

Do these things matter at the Blackpool Conference? Indeed they do.

One of the major issues at Blackpool will be the continued affiliation of the EETPU to the Labour Party.

Nobody should be allowed to forget that the formation of the scab EETPU was made possible only by the ballot-rigging activities of the old Communist Party-dominated leadership of the union back in the 1950s and 1960s.

It was they who were responsible for installing the ultra right leadership that has dominated the union down to this day.

The Communist Party has never explained to the working class how and why this happened.

Willis and Kinnock have already said that they regard Hammond's organisation as a

PETER FRYER TO SPEAK AT 9 OCTOBER RALLY

PETER FRYER will be one of the speakers at the 9 October Rally called to commemorate the founding of the Fourth International 50 years ago.

A regular columnist in Workers Press, Fryer has recently returned from an extended visit to Moscow, and will provide a first-hand account of the great political developments now taking place in the Soviet Union.

Fryer was a central figure in the crisis that hit the Communist Party of Great Britain at the time of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

He was sent by the 'Daily Worker' to report events in Budapest. His despatches, telling the truth of the revolutionary movement of the Hungarian working class against the Stalinist bureaucracy, were suppressed by the leaders of the Communist Party, and Fryer was subsequently expelled from the Party he had joined as a youth.

His report will be of great interest to all workers and socialists and is yet another reason for attending our Rally.

'bona fide' trade union. They have been joined by transport workers' leader Ron Todd, long built up by the Communist Party as a principled 'left' in the unions.

Kinnock, Willis and Todd have made clear what they mean by trade unionism: organisations prepared to jump immediately to the every bidding of the capitalist master.

And what is the response of Tony Benn, another 'Friend of the Soviet Union', leading member of the Gorbachev fan club and frequent contributor to the Communist Party of Great Britain's theoretical journal 'Marxism Today'?

At last week's NEC meeting Benn proposed the suspension of the EETPU pending an 'inquiry' into its activities!

Does any print worker need to 'inquire' into Hammond's activities during the year-long Wapping dispute?

Does the fact that the EETPU is prepared to sign any no-strike, single union deal with the employers need to be

investigated?

Under the leadership of Stalinism and its political fellow-travellers the working class faces defeat.

History has proved this time and again when the Stalinist movement has used its prestige to betray the struggles of the working class.

As Trotskyists, we speak from long and bitter experience: our movement, the Fourth International, represents the continuation of the struggle for internationalism against Stalinism and its reactionary theory of 'socialism in one country'.

We urge all those workers, youth, students, and others who want to fight for a socialist world to join us in the struggle against Stalinism and its hangers on.

It is in this spirit that we invite you to our 9 October Rally that will celebrate 50 years of the Fourth International and consider plans for its building as the world party of socialist revolution.

1992 and all that

WITH HER usual tact and charm, Thatcher poured a bucket of something or other over the heads of the Europeans at Bruges last month. Against their enthusiasm for European integration in 1992, she insisted on maintaining the independent sovereignty of the British capitalist state.

But behind this dispute between bourgeois politicians lies one of the major contradictions of modern society. As two world wars have made only too clear, the international character of twentieth century economic life violently collides with the existence of national state boundaries. In the 1980s, this collision is sharpened still further.

Gigantic transnational banks and monopolies dominate every sphere of production. In some industries, even operation on a European scale is too restrictive.

This is particularly true of the ecological effects of ruthless capitalist exploitation of the environment. It is impossible for this to be controlled by any single government.

* * *

The self-styled European Community (in fact, nothing could be less communal) expresses the absolute necessity for the European capitalists to unite against their US and Japanese allies. But, at the same time, the conflicts between national groups within Europe remain equally powerful.

In any case, we are speaking here, not about Europe, but about Western Europe. The leading Central European nation - Germany - is in fact divided between the Europe of the monopolies and the Europe of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

At bottom, the crisis wracking the economies of the USSR and Eastern Europe has the same source: the impossibility of planning the development of society in a single country or group of countries.

* * *

One of Thatcher's most fervent supporters is 'The Morning Star' - paper of the pro-Moscow wing of British Stalinism. Commenting on her latest outburst the paper said (26 September):

'Common sense dictates that our state should not be part of a super-state. There is indeed an urgent need to retain the little national democracy and sovereignty which remains...An internationalism must necessarily stand for the independence of all nations, so why not begin with our own?'

Whether Armenia is included in 'all nations' is not clear but what is clear is that under the influence of such ideas, many labour and trade union leaders, left and right, try to turn workers towards the notion of saving their jobs by protecting 'our own' British industry against 'foreign' competition.

Against any such reactionary Utopias, Marxists must fight for the only way forward: the Socialist United States of Europe.

Originally propounded by Trotsky in the Comintern in 1923, and revived in the Fourth International a decade later, this conception must now be developed in the conditions of the 1980s.

Only by taking the control of production away from the banks and monopolies and placing it in the hands of the working class can the unbounded possibilities of modern technology be utilised for human need and not for the expansion of the wealth of the billionaires.

This is only possible on a world scale, and the Socialist United States of Europe will be a first giant step on this road.

WORKERS PRESS INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING FUND

BOOST FROM JAPAN!

Total: £4,458.00 Received: £3,506.59

Outstanding: £951.41

AS I write this appeal there are two more days to the end of the month - the deadline for reaching our target. Will we make it? Each day we dive for the post to see if there are any collections and donations. Much depends on the fight to achieve this fund.

Some say we set our sights too high - others say we are too presumptuous to open a Centre for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International. But we were told similar 'home truths' when we expelled ex-WRP leader Healy and his clique in 1985, and when we sent out the 10-point call for an international conference of Trotskyists.

Both of these actions, and the theoretical work to grasp the essence of them have led us to new contacts and work because they are in line with the living experience of millions of workers and youth.

We renewed our work with Peter Fryer, who was expelled from the Communist Party after reporting against Stalinism in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Over the past weeks he has been in Moscow, and will speak at the 50th Anniversary meeting on 9 October (see advert). This week we received £100 from A.D. - an old friend in West London who has never ceased following the progress of the WRP and its work. Thanks very much!

And, 'out of the blue', came £500 in the post from a reader in Japan, after the appeal explaining the decisions of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference to set up the Centre for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International appeared in Workers Press. Again, our heartfelt thanks.

Our enemies, the cynics and sceptics will not deter us. Lets ensure the success of the present stage of our fund, and start on the £2,000 needed for the Fighting Fund by the end of October.

Dot Gibson

Send donations to: Workers Press Fighting Fund
PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

LONDON DISTRICT OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The following meetings will be held on Thursdays in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, starting at 7.30 p.m, entrance £1 (unwaged 50p)

6, 13, 20, 27 October - A series of four lectures given by Tom Kemp on: **COLONIALISM, DEVELOPMENT AND UNDER-DEVELOPMENT**

3 November - Meeting: speaker, Geoff Pilling
WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY - THREE YEARS SINCE THE EXPULSION OF G. HEALY

10, 17, 24 November - A series of three lectures given by Simon Pirani on: **IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN IRELAND**

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party

Name.....date.....

Address.....

Trade union.....Age (if under 21).....

Send to:
Secretary to the Central Committee, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

News briefs...

Public Order Act-Glasnost style

HEAVY fines and 'corrective' punishment have been introduced in the Soviet Union by way of a new decree to clamp down on demonstrations. So far these headline policies have received little publicity but were adopted nearly two months ago. Fines of up to \$500 - one and a half times the monthly wage - on people attending unauthorised demonstrations, or, in some cases, 15 days imprisonment, are being imposed.

A complete ban on all demonstrations which have not been registered and approved 10 days in advance is also in effect. Second offenders are liable to anything from six months' detention, a \$3,200 fine or spending a year in a labour camp.

Poison gas

THE US-OWNED Philips Petroleum Co. has been found to have sold Iraq the means to manufacture mustard gas as far back as 1983. A Belgium unit of Philips sold an Iraqi pesticide company 500 tons of a complex chemical called thiodiglycol which, when combined with hydrochloric acid, produces the deadly material. Other chemical suppliers, including several West German firms, have, through European trading companies, been involved in similar transactions world-wide under the guise of supplying for 'legitimate' commercial products such as pesticides, lubricants, paints and fertilisers.

Injustices

SPEAKING to a conference in Buenos Aires last week, a senior Scottish judge claimed that the problem of wrongful conviction and punishment in the British legal system has begun to assume increasing importance.

'We have to question the lack in our systems of criminal justice of more effective means of remedying an injustice which is real,' he said, 'even although the process of securing the conviction has been conducted in accordance with established rules and the evidence of guilt has appeared adequate.'

He referred to the danger of 'unscrupulous prosecutors', 'perjurors' and 'mistaken' honest witnesses, and called on the legal profession to counter moves to curtail legal aid spending. It cannot stand by, he said, and watch the fundamental principles of legal aid be eroded by accountants and ministers responsible for public finance.

Beater beatified

AN 18TH CENTURY 'Hitler' who kidnapped Indian children, forced baptism upon them and enslaved adults at the missions where violent punishment was meted out to those who broke the rules, has just been blessed by the Pope. The Pope called him 'a shining example of Christian virtue' but a

leading Cahuilla Indian said this was 'a slander and vilification of our people'.

The Spanish missionary, Father Junipero Serra, personally established nine of the 21 missions in operation today; highways, schools, shopping precincts and motels bear his now 'immortal' name. A quarter of a million tourists visit his tomb in San Francisco every year and there is an enormous statue of him.

Detractors claim, however, that Serra fled Spain when it was discovered he had Jewish ancestry, knowing that his career in the church was finished.

Destruction industry

A THIRD of all construction sites inspected in the last year were closed down because they were so dangerous, Health and Safety's Tony Lincham said last week. He was speaking at the launch of a campaign to reduce the growing number of fatal accidents in the industry.

Half a million serious injuries and 1,500 deaths have occurred on building sites in the last ten years.

Holy chauvinists!

SAMUEL Johnson, who once compared women preaching to a dog walking on its hind legs, should be officially commemorated

in the Church of England's calendar as an outstanding Christian, according to the Bishop of Oxford.

Ours was a nice house

THREE out of four people in their twenties do not earn enough to cover mortgage costs on the average first-time house purchase, claims Gordon Brown, Labour's Treasury spokesman. Mortgage arrears were up six-fold in 1979, he said, and the number of repossessions tenfold. Monthly repayments for an average wage earner could have risen £30 since the Budget, he went on, and when the latest round of rate rises begins to take effect, for new home owners in London the additional monthly bill could be over £70.

CORRECTIONS: page 4 of Workers Press No. 133, 24 September: footnote [5] Pierre Naville left the Fourth International before the war after a disagreement about the International's attitude to the movement of Marceau Pivert. page 8: 'SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY SPLIT ON POLL TAX, para 7 should read 'Labour party members ... who are opposed to the Kinnoch Dewar 'no illegality' line...'

Young people hammered by benefit cuts

BY BERNARD FRANKS

FROM this month all Social Security benefits are scrapped for 16 and 17 year olds, their 'alternatives' now being YTS or nothing.

School leavers unable to find work of their choice will be expected either to take the worst jobs at the lowest pay, without prospects, training or safety protection or - what often amounts to the same thing - go on the Youth Training Scheme. This pays £29.50 in the first year and £35 the second for what usually amounts to a normal working week.

Young people currently on Income Support will mostly find it coming to an end this week. Anyone living away from home on benefits will be told 'Accept a YTS place or go back home', but it will be insisted on that no compulsion is involved - 'The choice is yours' says the explanatory leaflet. Exceptions are supposed to apply in the case of young people with disabilities, lone parents caring for a child, and pregnant girls (but not until the eleventh week before the baby is due).

A 'Bridging allowance' of £15 a week will also be available

for those between YTSs, to a maximum of eight weeks. For the great majority of young people who have no chance of a job and whose parents cannot afford to keep them this is compulsory YTS whatever is said to the contrary.

It is the first stage of the Tory government's plan to turn the unemployed into a giant pool of cheap, directed labour, giving employers all the workers they need at dole level pay rates (along the lines of the American Workfare system) and forming a standing 'scabs army' always available for breaking strikers and undermining the pay, rights and conditions achieved by organised labour.

Most unions, far from facing up to the dangers of YTS, collaborated with the Tories in its introduction, through the operations of the MSC.

Now that YTS is firmly entrenched their support has been contemptuously dismissed. Certainly some union leaders will squeal that they were doing a good job, just as they did over NED.

But in the new circumstances, all unions failing to see the threat and continuing to ignore the problems of young people and the unemployed, do so at their peril.

WELSH MINERS REJECT SIX DAY WEEK

THE UNANIMOUS rejection of six-day working by Welsh miners is a powerful blow not only against British Coal's plans for the run-down of the industry but also against those in the National Union of Mineworkers who have been fighting for the introduction of six-day working.

But despite the decision by an area conference of delegates representing the 7,000 South Wales miners, the battle is by no means over.

The scab Union of Democratic Mineworkers immediately threatened to recruit Welsh miners to operate the new 'super-pit' at Margam in South Wales.

It is here that British Coal has demanded production on 300 days a year rather than the present 233. If it cannot force this agreement it has threatened to cancel the £90-million project which it claims will involve more than 800 jobs.

The decision of the Welsh miners is a tribute to the fighting spirit of the miners as a whole.

It is another nail in the coffin for those who have claimed that the 1984-1985 miners' strike ended in a defeat which had undermined the determination of the miners to fight British Coal, the Tory government and those in their leadership who want to implement plans for speed up and a worsening of nationally negotiated conditions.

WORKERS PRESS Subscription rates by post

	10 weeks	50 weeks
Britain	£3.50	£17.00
World (surface)	£5.00	£24.00
Europe/Eire	£5.30	£24.50
Near East etc.	£4.70	£21.50
USA, Central and South America, India	£5.10	£23.50
Australasia, Japan	£5.40	£25.00

Workers Press
Subscriptions Department,
PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

POLITICS FROM THE PRISONS AND OTHER ARTICLES ABOUT IRELAND

FROM
WORKERS PRESS
Weekly paper of the
Workers Revolutionary Party
Price 80p - £1 by post

By post from:
Workers Press, PO Box 735
London SW9 7QS

Reconstruc

of the Fourth International



BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

OUR meeting on Oct 9 to celebrate 50 years of the Fourth International is not a formal commemoration. It is only in the fight to reconstruct the Fourth International and overcome its long-drawn-out crisis that the work of Trotsky and his comrades can be celebrated and continued. For this reason the London meeting is a meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference to Reconstruct the Fourth International.

Fifty years on, the working class in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers' states of Eastern Europe and China comes forward to challenge the Stalinist bureaucracy in a way that could be foreseen and prepared for by no one in the world except the Trotskyists who founded the Fourth International in 1938.

What is at stake in these countries is the political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and re-establish the direct rule of the working class, reunited

with the workers' struggle to overthrow capitalism in the rest of the world.

For this unity to be achieved, everything depends on the building of a revolutionary Marxist leadership whose world outlook, strategy and tactics, and record of struggle corresponds to the nature of the task facing the working class, which is nothing less than the liberation of mankind. That leadership can come from nowhere except the reconstructed Fourth International.

Necessity

What is happening now is that the complete dead-end reached by Stalinism's 'socialism in one country' is forcing upon the working class the necessity which was posed by Trotsky to his followers in 1938: 'The task of the International is to break the working class from its old leadership - from the half-dead body of the bourgeoisie.'

The great upsurge of the political revolution has been the basis on which the Preparatory Committee has clarified this perspective. Even before the Preparatory Committee was formed we had found ourselves under attack (from the Ramos-Assouline group) for insisting on the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism, and we had to hit hard all conceptions that Stalinism has some 'dual nature' or 'progressive side'.

The Preparatory Committee was formed quite consciously as a bloc of Trotskyist organisations who agreed on the necessity

of reconstructing the Fourth International. Ten basic points of delimitation were agreed - on the character of the imperialist epoch, the continuity of Bolshevism and the Fourth International, the Permanent Revolution, the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism and the programme of political revolution, and the necessity of defeating those centrist-revisionists such as Mandel's 'United Secretariat', who have surrendered the political independence of the Fourth International.

Within weeks of the formation of the Preparatory Committee, it began to become clear that the leadership of the LIT (International Workers League) conceived of reconstructing the Fourth International only as textual agreement on programme plus organisational unity - in effect, a modification of the LIT Manifesto together with affiliation to the LIT of those on the Preparatory Committee. When we fought for a different conception of reconstruction of the FI the LIT soon ceased to work in the Preparatory Committee, though they have never explained to the Committee, or publicly, their reasons for this.

Lesson

The first great lesson of this work is that the reconstruction of the Fourth International is the central concern of the working class and not only of those calling themselves Trotskyists. Real reconstruction means a decisive turn to all those forces in the working class who are forced up against this necessity, and not only a 'regroupment' of existing Trotskyist organisations.

At the same time, the nature of the problems of the political revolution and its unity with the socialist revolution demands the most determined struggle for the political independence of the Fourth International and its parties on the firm foundation of the continuity of Marxism. That is why we challenged the LIT Manifesto on the most fundamental point, the very nature of the Fourth International. The LIT Manifesto spoke of a future 'mass Fourth International' with 'Trotskyists in a minority' (while at the same time insisting formally on democratic centralism, i.e., subordination of minorities to majority decisions). This we reject.

Experience

The political experience of our own organisations over the last years consists of a more and more conscious struggle to recognise this objective necessity of reconstructing the Fourth International. For example, the 1985 crisis in the WRP, precipitated by the miners' strike, could be understood only as part of the crisis of the Fourth International and overcome only by the turn into the working class for the means to overcome that crisis.

Today, fifty years on, Gorbachev's search for new economic agreements with imperialism in exchange for collaboration

The smile on the face of the spider

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

THE AFRICAN National Congress(ANC), in their revised proposals for their programme document, the 'Freedom Charter', like SWAPO in Namibia, have dropped any demand for nationalisation. Their new policies are in favour of negotiation as opposed to confrontation, of a 'mixed economy', and a live and let live, peaceful co-existence with capitalist ownership of industries and the land.

The new version of the Freedom Charter was dictated straight from Moscow, through the South African Communist Party (SACP) to the ANC, and is a fair sample of what Gorbachev's perestroika means for revolution in Africa.

The major result of the Soviet Union's new 'openness' in Africa is the negotiation of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola freeing the South African military forces from a damaging and costly conflict, and releasing them to tackle the South African working class.

While Gorbachev postures and sweats on his extremely tight rope, with one eye on world imperialism and the other on the Soviet working class, perestroika reveals itself to be a fancy new name for the same old Stalinist counter-revolutionary butchery. Gorbachev's big problem is that he hasn't got a third eye to keep on the international working class.

'Perestroika' differs from the treachery of the old 'peaceful coexistence' only in that it contains an increasingly panicked response to the pressure of the Soviet workers.

It manifests itself in international politics in the same way as the old policies. Under the guise of openness it reveals itself to be the same grisly, wily old spider manoeuvring to bundle up the the working class through its existing reformist leaderships, and deliver it up to be eaten alive by capitalism

Perestroika is the smile on the face of the spider.

It is now openly stated in Moscow by the bureaucrats engaged in forming the 'new' policies for Southern Africa that 'realism' and 'pragmatism' demand an end to East-West confrontation, and the readiness to develop a 'bilateral policy with the United States.'

Yevgeny Tarabrin, a senior member of the Institute for African Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences says '...I can tell you this, we are not going to go on spending money on armed forces for nothing. Angola has cost us billions. The United States has spent only some £30 million in aid to Unita (right wing group led by Jonas Savimbi)

tion

in policing the world revolution (South Africa, Palestine, etc.) is throwing the Stalinist parties everywhere into crisis. Not only are the great historical questions of Trotskyism and Stalinism inescapable for them, but the rightward course of the Soviet bureaucracy renders them exposed to a growing conflict with the needs of the working class in struggle. The dangers of all this are only the other side of the fact that the conditions for Trotskyists to successfully challenge the Stalinists and reconstruct the Fourth International are highly favourable.

The Preparatory Committee will direct concentrated political work towards the members of the Stalinist Parties in this crisis.

Confident

Along this road we are confident and determined that the false claimants to Trotskyism will be exposed and defeated and the FI will be reconstructed. Already the Preparatory Committee's struggle to clarify these great questions has helped to initiate organised Trotskyist work in several countries, as well as producing a firm internationalist political foundation for the work of the WRP and other member organisations. We think it urgent that all members of the organisations belonging to the LIT should be part of this discussion, of the continuation of the work for the International Conference, and for this reason we cannot accept without explanation the failure of the LIT leadership to continue its work in the Preparatory Committee. We call upon them to explain in the open their reasons, so that the whole movement, including their own members, can profit from the necessary political clarification.

We call on all members of the organisations of the United Secretariat and other revisionist organisations to break with their leaders and join in the work for the Conference for the reconstruction of the Fourth International. The Preparatory Committee is open to them. We shall direct work towards the problems encountered by these militants.

We reaffirm the principal lesson of one-and-a-half years of work of the Preparatory Committee: the reconstruction of the Fourth International is an objective necessity; it is the business of the whole working class; the crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of working-class revolutionary leadership; the building of alternative revolutionary leadership in every country can be carried through only as the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

while we have spent 10 to 20 times more than that. What for? We need the money for other purposes. (Presumably to try and buy off the seething Soviet masses.)

These insects are changing their policy of talking only to the ANC in South Africa, and are 'widening their contacts' by speaking to supporters of the white minority government. This new pragmatic approach of 'what's in it for us?' has been gratefully seized on by the dominant wing of the ANC (which is having some trouble with more militant sections who wish to fight on), and they have had a series of talks with representatives of South African capital.

Whatever deal is being negotiated, one thing is for sure, the South African working class are definitely not invited.

One Soviet African policy adviser is reported as saying 'Africa is in bad shape, and we certainly don't want to see the destruction of its largest and most successful economy, which is in South Africa. That is why we don't want to see too much reconstruction too soon there.'

This is the way Stalinism plays its counter-revolutionary role. It exists in order to say to the rest of the world, in deed as well as word, no change took place in October 1917 - imperialism will always exist - be realistic, be pragmatic, learn to adapt and accommodate - don't ever try to break the existing order up, live within its confines. This is the not-so-siren voice that speaks through the likes of Kinnock and Hammond - and SWAPO, the ANC and the PLO - the old, outmoded leaderships of the international working class.

WORKERS PRESS Subscription rates by post

	10 weeks	50 weeks
Britain	£3.50	£17.00
World (surface)	£5.00	£24.00
Europe/Eire	£5.30	£24.50
Near East etc.	£4.70	£21.50
USA, Central and South America,		
India	£5.10	£23.50
Australasia, Japan	£5.40	£25.00

Workers Press Subscriptions Department,
PO Box 735, London SW9 7QR

Workers Revolutionary Party/Preparatory Committee

50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
MEETING IN GLASGOW

Sunday 23 October 1 pm
Blythswood Hotel
320 Argyle Street Glasgow

The Olympics and the tarnishing of the golden age

ONE of the more bizarre responses to the unprecedented growth of 19th century capitalism was the growth of many exotic cults and sects which tried to recapture the spirit of a lost 'Golden Age' of humanity. Often tinged with mysticism and religion, this retrospective yearning for a 'harmonious' or 'simple' existence has a high cultural and literary expression in what is described as 'literary romanticism'. It also informs aspects of English socialism, and in its more decadent forms, European fascism. The golden age of the 'whole individual' is located by some in the life of the mediaeval craft guild (Ruskin, Morris etc.) the Druidic or Celtic twilight (the cult of Ossian and the Eisteddfod movement) and the golden age of classical antiquity. Marx himself admired Greek art, but as the product of the 'beautiful childhood' of humanity that necessarily had to be negated and not returned to.

Amongst these 19th century cults is the Olympic 'movement' (originally the Olympic society) formed in Much Wenlock, Shropshire in 1850. The first modern Olympic games, held in Athens in 1896 was the brainchild of a Baron Pierre de Coubertin, and sponsored by a Greek capitalist. The aim was to revive a spirit of international friendship and harmony, and the perfection of a moral, physical, and intellectual wholeness of youth through sport.

The history of the modern games are as distant from the ideals of the 'golden age' as were the Roman influenced games, with their gladiatorial events, and 'contests' between slaves and wild animals. Nor have they been free of disasterously

spectacular incidents as in Paris in 1900, when the pigeon shooting champion shot 21 people as well.

Women (banned from the original games) were admitted along with the Germans in 1928. The latter had been banned for being on the wrong (losing) side in an imperialist war from 1914 to 1918. They were banned in 1948 for the same reason.

The 1936 Olympics, with its televised events and films of British athletes giving the Nazi salute, and Jesse Owens infuriating Hitler and Goebbels, was staged like a Neuremberg rally. The Nazis were quick to grasp the propaganda value of a world sporting festival both for national prestige and for the gloss of respectability and wholesomeness it could afford the host state. As the games became politicised they also became the focus of oppressed peoples like the Palestinians, the US black sprinters in Mexico 1968, and the students and workers of South Korea today. (Incidentally the black athletes of Mexico city were severely disciplined for their black power salute unlike the British athletes for their fascist salute in 1936.)

The more recent Olympic games have been drawn into the arena of global power games of American and Soviet boycotts and counter-boycotts.

The 1988 Olympics concentrates all the vices of the modern Olympic movement - hypocrisy, corruption, byzantine intrigue and nationalism. The prestige value of the games have been seized upon by a vicious autocratic state. Behind the pomp and ceremony and the spectacle of the events

are the most elaborate state security arrangements ever staged, to prevent the protests of Korean students and workers spilling over into the sports arenas and on to the television screens. The games are carefully orchestrated to isolate North Korea and deflect the world's gaze from the eyeball to eyeball military confrontation on the partitioning frontier which could unleash a nuclear disaster in four minutes flat.

And what of the athletes? Are they the shining paradigms of moral, physical and intellectual perfection of the eccentric Baron's dreams? Quite the opposite. The extreme athleticism of their training and the one-sidedness and specialisation involved in their development cripples many of them as human beings. The extreme competitiveness often drives them to extend the limits of their performance by the use of dangerous drugs like steroids. A more recent dimension is the possibility of accruing vast personal fortunes since the professionalisation of athletics and the ditching of shamateurism.

Since the Montreal Olympics bankrupted the city, states and cities have become more reluctant to face the financial risks involved, so that the whole circus involves more and more sponsorship from international finance. We in Sheffield are waiting with bated breath for the Stalinist sponsored 'World Student Games' which are promised to bring back economic revival to the ghost steel city in the 1990s. Meanwhile everyone will be pleased to know that Mark Phillips will get a gold medal without getting on his horse if the British equestrian team win. Which reminds me that when Caligula fell off his chariot he declared himself the winner and then closed down the games. British imperialism must be in a bad state of decline and decay - it can still swindle a few gongs but it can't close down the circus.

LETTERS

A contribution to the discussion in Workers Press on the crisis in the trade union movement, from a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union. We invite all our readers to participate.

THE article in 'Workers Press' by Geoff Pilling (24 September) calls for a wide discussion throughout the working class about the crisis now facing the unions and the way to deal with it. I am interested that Pilling is talking about the working class as a whole and not merely about taking sides between the right and left in the trade unions.)

I write as a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) involved in struggles representing a section of workers faced with increased sectionalism through impending privatisation. Like the post office workers, nurses etc, we will fight hard against speed-up of our jobs and cuts in our service but, like them, our fight is blunted by artificial divisions encouraged by 'sectional' trade unions.

Pilling's article provokes me to

write about the way the Broad Left organises itself in the trade unions, maintaining strict demarcation between unions and almost entirely preoccupied with internal union elections.

As a member of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the TGWU Broad Left I participated in the successful campaign to defeat the right wing in the last union elections. But I will not go along with the kind of opportunist 'protection racket' displayed by the Communist Party and Militant members on the TGWU Executive Committee (EC). The Broad Left majority rolled over like a tame tabby cat and voted unanimously to support Kinnock as leader of the Labour Party.

This same Broad Left had congratulated itself that the TGWU took a lead for the withdrawal from the Tory forced

labour scheme at the TUC, and decried Kinnock for, not only urging co-operation with the Tories, but also opposing the expulsion of the EETPU from the TUC and making it clear that he would not expel that union from the Labour Party.

This Broad Left pro-Kinnock vote came when the right wing minority walked out of the EC meeting following their unsuccessful attempt to unseat Steve Riley. They had revealed he was not a paid-up member when elected, but under union rules he could not be removed.

It was against this background that the Broad Left (Communist Party and Militant) capitulated to Ron Todd (TGWU General Secretary) and Eddie Haigh, right wing member of the Labour Party National Executive Committee who is Assistant General Secretary of the TGWU, and voted for the Kinnock/Hattersley ticket.

It is being suggested in the union that a deal was done for Ron Todd to defend Riley in return for a 'left' vote for Kinnock.

This unprincipled capitulation

became even clearer when the Broad Left boasted they had outwitted the right wing, who were anticipating a left vote for Benn/Prescott which they would use as an excuse to break away a section of the TGWU in the direction of Eric Hammond (EETPU).

Instead of mobilising the whole membership to defend the union, the Communist Party and Militant members abandoned the struggle against Kinnock and his policies and turned their backs on their membership whose votes they have been pleased to receive.

Under TGWU rules, the union's delegations to the TUC and Labour Party conferences cannot be mandated, but a vote on the union's leading committee is bound to affect the decisions of such delegations. In any case at this coming week's Labour Party Conference-Kinnock can say that the 'left' in the TGWU has gone on record in his support.

Whatever the outcome of this particular episode, the Communist Party and Militant members cannot avoid the discussion opened up by Workers Press.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MEMBERS AND EX-MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

WE are writing to you in the light of the momentous events now unfolding in the Soviet Union and throughout eastern Europe.

At the centre of these events is a question which each day more and more urgently demands an answer: what happened to the Russian revolution in the years after 1917?

This is the question on the lips of millions of workers, intellectuals and youth, all eager to learn the truth of the past.

We know that you will disagree with many of the historical points we make, but we are certain that a discussion on these issues will only strengthen the whole movement.

As part of this discussion we would like to make the following initial observations.

For years and years the leaders of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Parties of the world told the most blatant lies about the fate of the Russian Revolution and its leaders.

For example, as members of the Communist Party of Great Britain you were for decades told that Trotsky and his followers, working as agents of imperialism, had set out to wreck the gains of October, to break up the USSR and the world communist movement.

Prominent members of the Soviet Communist Party have now admitted what many of you knew all along to be the case: that these were completely lying allegations.

Although Trotsky is the one prominent leader of the 1917 revolution yet to be politically re-habilitated, leaders in the USSR have now been obliged to admit that Trotsky was second only to Lenin in the great events of 1917 and that he was murdered on the orders of Stalin in 1940.

But there still remains a question which cannot be ducked. Why was it necessary, in a supposedly 'socialist' country, to falsify the entire historical record, and why was it necessary for Stalin to murder the leadership of Lenin's party and unleash a reign of terror throughout the Soviet Union?

A scientific account of history cannot explain these events, involving as they do the degeneration of an entire revolution, on the basis of the weaknesses of individuals, by resort to the idea of the 'cult of personality'.

We know that you will disagree with many of the historical points we make, but we are certain that a discussion on these issues will only strengthen the whole movement.

Nor is it possible to explain the crisis now gripping the Soviet Union as a consequence of the 'Brezhnev era'. This is an evasion on the part of Gorbachev and his friends. The roots of the present crisis go far deeper.

They go back to the struggle in the Communist International between the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, and the group led by Stalin.

This was not a clash of personalities, as bourgeois historians often pretend, but involved the struggle between those who saw 1917 as the opening of the world proletarian revolution and those who claimed it was possible to build socialism in a single country. This latter position was the one held by Stalin and Bukharin.

It was this theory that became the basis for the policy

of 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism that the official communist movement down to this day has practised.

It is in the name of peaceful co-existence with the Reagan administration that Gorbachev today prepares to destroy the revolution in South Africa and betray the struggle of the Palestinians by recognising the Zionist state of Israel.

The current crisis in the USSR has demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of this theory. As even official statistics admit, production in the Soviet Union stagnates and in some areas of the econ-

omy actually declines.

of peaceful co-existence and peaceful, parliamentary roads to socialism is long overdue?

And doesn't such a task mean that the struggles inside the Comintern between the proponents of this theory and the opposition to it must be carefully reviewed in the light of the problems facing the movement.

As Trotskyists, we believe that the future of the Russian Revolution depends on the Soviet and eastern European working class overthrowing its present bureaucratic masters and joining hands with the working class of the capitalist countries in a common struggle for socialism.

This was the basis for the establishment by Trotsky of the Fourth International in 1938.

He broke from the Communist International because he was convinced, on the basis of over a decade of struggle against Stalin and his supporters, that the Third International had become a counter-revolutionary instrument, a brake on the struggle of the international working class for socialism.

We repeat: we know that you will not agree with many of the things we have said here. But we ask you to consider them carefully and discuss them with us. We hope we will be able to convince you of our correctness.

In this spirit we welcome you to our 9 October London meeting where we will be celebrating the 50th anniversary of the creation of the Fourth International and discussing plans for its rebuilding as the world party of socialist revolution.

**WORKERS
REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY
1 October 1988**

ALL OUT FOR 9 OCTOBER

50 YEARS ON: REBUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL! DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM! DOWN WITH STALINISM!

WE invite you to join us in celebrating the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Fourth International at our London Rally on 9 October.

All over the world the working class finds itself in mounting struggle against a crisis-torn imperialist system.

From South Africa, to Burma, through South Korea to Latin America the pattern is the same.

And everywhere these struggles run headlong into the Stalinist bureaucracy which seeks desperately to smash these struggles as part of its capitulation to imperialism.

But now the working class of the capitalist countries have been joined by a mighty ally: the working class of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

After years of oppression at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy the working class of these countries are involved in a struggle for the overthrow of its bureaucratic masters and for the restoration of the political power of the working class.

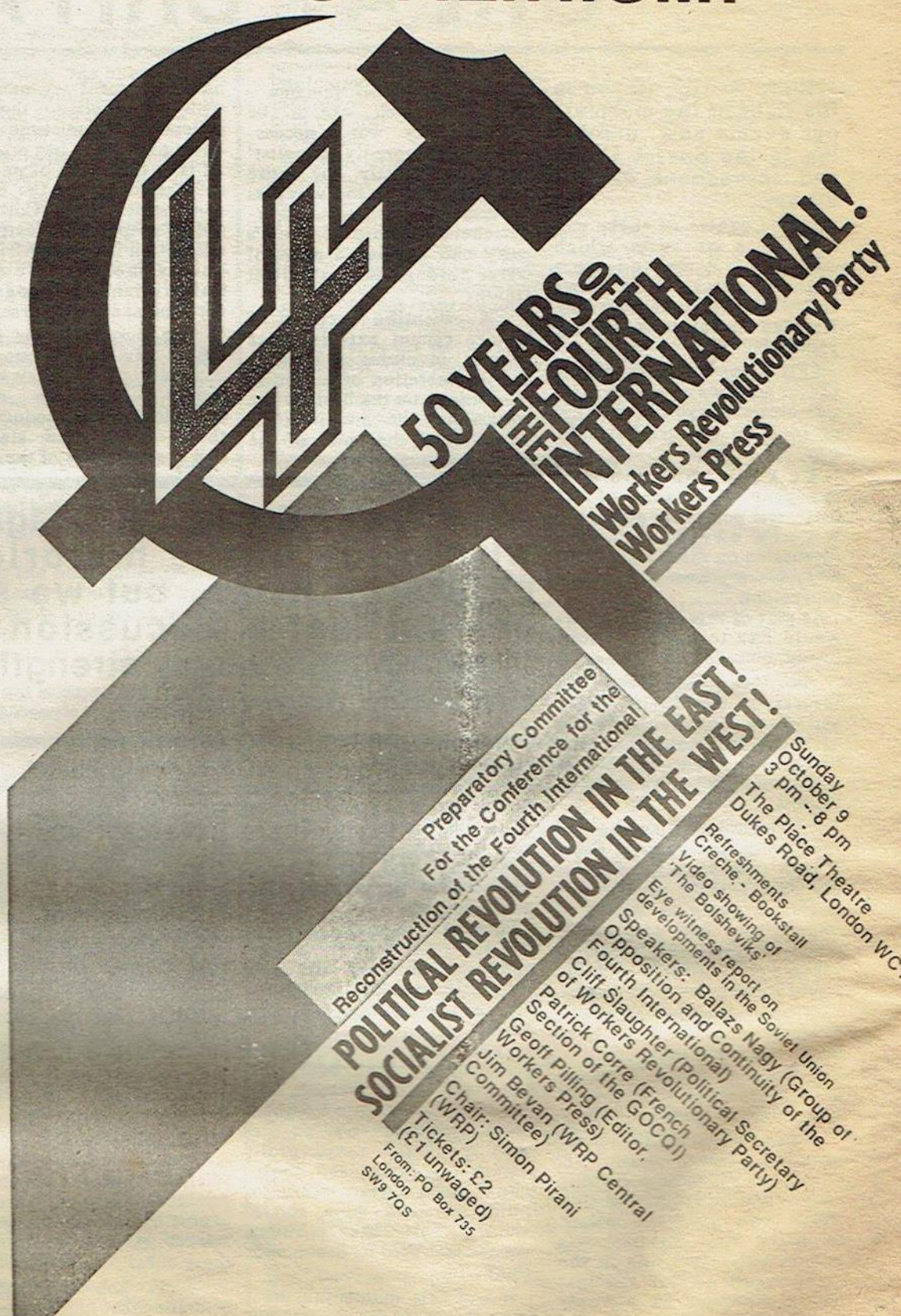
Under the impact of this crisis, the bureaucracy is in turmoil, with the position of Gorbachev far from secure.

We are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the movement founded by Leon Trotsky and his supporters as part of this unbroken struggle against Stalinism within the international working class movement.

These are great times for our movement. We are convinced that the Fourth International can be built and Stalinism defeated.

Apart from the chance to hear Peter Fryer's first hand account of current developments in the Soviet Union, we will be announcing ambitious plans for the next stages in the task of re-constructing the Fourth International.

We ask all workers, youth, students and intellectuals to join with us in this great historical task.



Preparatory Committee
For the Conference for the
Fourth International

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE EAST!

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE WEST!

Chair: Simon Pirani
(WRP)

Tickets: £2
(£1 unwaged)

From: PO Box 735
London SW9 7QS

Sunday
3 October 9
pm - 8 pm
The Place Theatre
Dukes Road, London WC1

Refreshments
Creche - Bookstall
The Bolsheviks

Eye witness report on
developments in the Soviet Union

Speakers: Balazs Nagy (Group of
Fourth International and Continuity of the
Workers Revolutionary Party)

Opposition of the GOCDI

Cliff Slaughter (French
Section of the WRP)

Patrick Corre (Editor,
Workers Press)

Geoff Pilling (WRP Central
Committee)

Jim Bevan (WRP)