

# TWO-FACED TODD PROPS UP KINNOCK

**MILLIONS of ordinary people in Britain are confronted with slashing cuts by local authorities, rising rents, rising prices, a collapsing health service that makes treatment for even serious illness more and more difficult to get. Homelessness is rising, hundreds are forced to live on a pittance handed out by the state for so-called 'training'.**

These acute problems found hardly a reflection at the Labour Party Conference that ended in Blackpool last week.

The Conference refused to support those fighting the poll tax, ditched any commitment to future nationalisation and made clear that the Labour leadership's main role is to support a decaying capitalist system.

As Kinnock said in his so-called 'keynote speech': 'We have got to make it [capitalism] work better than the Tories.'

'Work better' means intensifying the attacks on the unemployed, the sick, the infirm and the poor.

## Deficit

Kinnock proposes this course in a period when inflation is starting to rise rapidly, when a record trade deficit threatens to destroy completely Thatcher's credit-fuelled boom and when key sections of the working class and the middle class are involved in a fierce struggle against the Tory government. There are some important lessons from the Conference. The collapse of the 'left' challenge to Kinnock and Hattersley was one of the most striking features of the week. For months and months

the various 'Trotskyist' groups now propping up the Labour Party campaigned for Tony Benn and Eric Heffer as leader and deputy leader respectively.

Virtually all other political work was suspended as they fought valiantly for the Benn-Heffer ticket, the victory for which was going to lead to a socialist revival in Britain. Some of them even fused their forces to wage this battle.

The ignominious votes recorded for both - not merely in the unions but also in the Constituency parties where their heartland was supposed to lie - is fitting commentary on this 'Trotskyism'.

## Attack

Just as revealing was the performance of transport workers' leader Ron Todd. His attack on the Labour leaders at the 'Tribune' rally on Tuesday came the very day after this same Todd had voted for 'Aims and Values' - the document in which Kinnock and Hattersley spelt out in the clearest terms their intention to remove every vestige of socialist language, let alone socialist deeds, from the Labour Party programme.

Over the last months Todd has prepared behind the scenes to swing his union's vote behind Kinnock and Hattersley. His main support in this venture came from the Stalinists in the working class.

After securing Kinnock's position in Monday's session he then spouted empty words against him at an evening fringe meeting! Such is the two-faced nature of the Labour left.

The same day Bryan Gould - contributor to the current 'Marxism Today', theoretical

## TWO VITAL REPORTS FOR 9 OCTOBER

**THIS SUNDAY'S** rally to mark the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Fourth International will hear vital eye-witness reports from the Soviet Union and Hungary.

**PETER FRYER** has just returned from an extended trip to Moscow where he was able to discuss with leading figures in the anti-Stalinist opposition. Fryer was expelled from the Communist Party of Great Britain following his on the spot reports of the 1956 uprising of the Hungarian working class against Stalinism.

**SIMON PIRANI** has just returned from Budapest where he spoke at a large rally of oppositionist youth. He will report on his trip and the discussions and contacts he made with Hungarian youth.

**Balsz Nagy**, a leading figure in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, and **Cliff Slaughter**, political secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party, will be among other speakers at the rally.

journal of the Communist Party of Great Britain - had made clear that nationalisation is going to be explicitly removed from any future Labour Party election programme.

## Supported

The general line of Gould's approach was supported by the manufacturing union MSF - headed by 'Morning Star' Stalinist Ken Gill. The resolution proposed and carried by MSF merely asked a future Labour government to restore British Telecom, the public utilities, and the aerospace industry to public ownership. It means precisely nothing, as Gill well knows.

One of the few prominent leaders to speak out against Gould was miners' leader Arthur Scargill who moved a resolution calling for the nationalisation of banks, insurance companies and financial institutions. It was overwhelmingly defeated, with all the major left-led unions voting for Kinnock.

## Vacuum

Blackpool revealed a huge political vacuum in Britain. Millions are fighting the Tories, or getting ready to fight them.

In a period of deepening capitalist crisis, the Labour Party leaders, aided and abetted by the Stalinists, are turning their guns on this mounting struggle.

The task of Workers Press is to fight for the leadership of the millions who have been deserted by their traditional leaderships.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

**Bronwen Handyside** is the new editor of Workers Press.

Previous editor **Geoff Pilling** will continue to be a regular contributor. He is now engaged in international work for the Centre for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International.

# New times, reactionary rubbish

ANYONE doubting our contention that Stalinism is the main enemy of bolshevism in the labour movement, and that other trends are ideologically and politically subordinate to it, should struggle through the October issue of 'Marxism Today'.

The 'Theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party', as it still refers to itself, is devoted this month to the theme 'New Times'. Following the line of the document 'Facing up to the Future', it enthusiastically proceeds with the work of ridding itself of any last pretences of Marxism.

It is no coincidence that it appeared in the same week that Kinnock tore the 'socialist' mask off the Labour Party Left, ramming 'Democratic Socialism: Aims and Values' down their throats. There is no doubt that the CPGB leaders have for some time been providing Kinnock with ammunition against the remnants of any socialist ideas in the Labour Party.

Indeed, 'Marxism Today' features a 'round-table discussion' about the two documents, between Labour MPs Bryan Gould and David Blunkett, and MT persons Charlie Leadbeater and Beatrix Campbell. The four of them have a great time together, decrying the 'fundamentalists', who persist in sticking to ideas about the working class fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

If you want to read the 'theoretical' material presented in MT, you need a strong stomach and a willingness to learn the special language in which these things are written. The discutants try to impress us with the newness of the latest stage of capitalism and technology, but the terminology is designed to hide the contradictions within these developments.

What they call 'coming to terms with New Times' implies accepting them at their face value, and trying to adapt the labour movement to them, and that means adapting it to the capitalist state.

These people have always been very impressed with the power and modernism of Thatcher: 'It is the Right which now appears modern, radical, innovative and brimming with confidence and ideas about the future,' they intone.

Robin Murray, once Livingstone's economic guru at the late GLC, writes about 'post-Fordism' as the technological basis of New Times. It is not easy to discover just what this is, but it seems to be mainly about computerisation and the more flexible forms of production it has made possible.

Stuart Hall has been a pioneer of this kind of pseudo-scientific chatter since the days of the 'New Left Review' in the 1950s. In his contribution he gives us some splendid specimens of the word-spinner's art: 'Post-Fordism' is...associated with broader social and cultural changes. For example, greater fragmentation and pluralism, the weakening of older collective solidarities and block identities, and the emergence of new identities associated with greater work flexibility, the maximisation of individual

choices through personal consumption... 'One boundary which 'new times' have displaced is that between the 'objective' and subjective dimensions of change. The individual subject has become more important.'

And here is a good example of Hallian newspeak: 'The really startling fact is that these 'new times' clearly belong to a time-zone marked by a march of capital simultaneously across the globe and and through the Maginot Line of our subjectivities.'

A few paragraphs earlier, we read: 'The problem is also theoretical. Classical Marxism depended on an assumed correspondence between 'the economic' and the 'political': one could read off our political attitudes, interests and motivations from our economic class interests and position.'

This reveals that what Hall and his friends think was 'classical Marxism' was really old-fashioned Stalinism, with its bureaucratic conception of the movement of the working class. They now seek to replace this crudity with a brand new one.

They have 'discovered' what bourgeois sociology and economics always told us: society is a collection of individuals, each following his or her perceived 'interests', and the solidarity of the labour movement just gets in the way.

They are also marked by a complete indifference to anything happening outside Britain. Their 'New Times' end at Dover.

And just what are we supposed to do about all this newness? Leadbeater, (who, by the way, doubles as Labour Correspondent for the 'Financial Times'), explains:

'The choice the Left should offer is between Thatcherism's constrained, narrow, materialistic individualism, and an expansive individualism which offers people rights to influence decisions in production as well as in consumption; political and civil rights as well as the right to buy; access to a set of universal rights to health care, education and training...The Left's great weakness is that its vision of social organisation leaves little room for individuals'.

Then we see where all this stuff is taking

us: 'The dynamic of individualism should be expanded to production ... Individual rights to consultation and participation at work should be written into contracts of employment. Moves towards social ownership should be based on the idea that individual workers have the right to own a share of the assets of companies they have built up.'

So, after all, this pretentious jargon is merely an attempt to cover up for the crudest forms of opportunism, tying the working class to capital. Far from being new, the exponents of 'post-Fordism' bear an uncanny resemblance to those social-democrats of the 1920s, who discovered the 'modern' answer to Marx - in Fordism!

The open abandonment of Marxism by the 'Marxism Today' crowd is met by some people with head-shaking disapproval. On the contrary, their outspokenness ought to be welcomed. For many decades, Stalinism was able to cloak its counterrevolutionary deeds in phrases drawn from the works of Marx and Lenin. Now, in the 'New Times', it is forced into the open.

Stalin's 'Socialism in a single country' in the 1920s led to direct counter-revolution in the 1930s and 1940s, and then to 'peaceful coexistence' and 'peaceful roads to socialism'. Martin Jaques and his trendy colleagues have merely taken the process a stage further.

Thus, while 'Marxism Today' gives ideological sustenance to Kinnock, the 'Morning Star' tries to provide a basis for Benn-ite opportunism.

Of course, Marxists must analyse the enormous changes which have taken place within world imperialism in the past decade or two. Sections of the Trotskyist movement have certainly not been immune to the tendency to ignore such changes, trying to force them into older formulas.

But our task is to grasp them consciously as the explosive new forms of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, in which are contained the foundations of a socialist world.

It is precisely these which are driving forward the development of revolutionary leadership, and the putrefaction of Stalinism and social democracy.

## WORKERS PRESS INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING FUND

OUR FUND IS IN!

Total received: £4,471.25

Thanks to all who sent in donations and made collections amongst readers. It was great when members of the West London branch of the WRP came in 'full o' beans' with £125 from their jumble sale.

What a run-up to our 9 October meeting to celebrate 50 years of the Fourth International! Everybody rallied to ensure the success of our fund; Peter Fryer has returned from Moscow brimming with enthusiasm and news; Simon Pirani has a lot to tell us about a conference of dissident youth he attended last weekend in Budapest; some old friends in Belfast have decided to come into the work of the Centre for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International; Cyril Smith's book 'Communist Society and Marxist Theory' is now on sale, and so is Balazs Nagy's (Michel Varga) pamphlet on the Soviet Union. Our funds are certainly giving us the opportunity to carry out important work. Campaigning on Brixton High Street (South London) for the last few Saturdays has given us food for thought. Almost every passer-by wants to talk. There was the young unemployed man from Glasgow, in London to escape the poll tax for a while; a woman from Sierra Leone, who had assisted to build a school in her home village because she felt 'helpless' about the situation there; a young African who wished to remain anonymous said his visit to Britain had convinced him the fight for socialism was international; the middle aged woman who said this was the first time she had ever bought a political newspaper; the nurse torn in two by the crisis in the NHS; the part-time worker who had a skilled engineering job before the closure of Vickers; the Muslim student worried about the situation in the Middle East; the 17-year old girl just deciding that she is a socialist.

The rebuilding of the Fourth International is not merely the concern of small groups of Trotskyists, it is the concern of the international working class. Raising the necessary funds for this purpose is vital.

Dot Gibson

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

# News Briefs...

## What winning's all about

THE SEOUL Olympic Organising Committee (SLOOC) announced a provisional profit of \$349 million. It was not clear whether the enormous security operation against possible disruption by students and other protesters from both North and South Korea had been deducted from this figure. But North Korea, along with Albania, Cuba, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Madagascar and the Seychelles - all of whom boycotted the 1988 Games - would not, it was stated, be receiving any of the dividends.

## Premature deaths

DESPITE claims by Tory Health Minister, Kenneth Clarke that they used 'unfounded figures' the Royal College of Physicians has refused to back down on its statement last week that many of the 3,500 babies who die in the first month of life every year were potentially treatable. The College said that the number of intensive care cots in England and Wales needed to be doubled and about 70 senior doctors and 2,500 nurses required to prevent the waste of lives.

## Last waltz

FRANZ Josef Strauss, a month short of celebrating ten years as Prime Minister of Bavaria died last Monday, aged 73. Head of the Christian Socialist Union for 27 years, this notorious anti-communist and witch-hunter of all on the left nevertheless made his deals with the Stalinist bureaucracy. He extended millions in credit to Honecker's East German regime and only recently paid a visit to Gorbachev who will doubtless be at the funeral.

## Self-determination

A TWO-DAY meeting of 3,000 delegates in Tallinn, Estonia, heard demands for self-rule, protection for Estonian culture and language, greater religious freedom and a civilian alternative to military service. The occasion was the officially sanctioned founding congress of the Estonian Popular Front which claims to have recruited 300,000 members since it was formed six months ago. Speakers representing similar movements from Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Byelorussia, as well as Moscow, Leningrad and Odessa, however, reported continued harassment from Soviet authorities.

## Poor turnout

A FURTHER drop in the number of people who bothered to vote in the second round of

French local elections saw only 47 per cent of the population going to the polls. Five elections in as many months is the main reason given for the massive abstention, the lowest on record. The Socialists were the only party to make significant gains with over 80 seats in departmental assemblies. The National Front registered less than 0.45 per cent of the overall vote.

## Cab-free zone

ANTI-POLLUTION measures restricting cab circulation in Athens have resulted in 17,000 taxi drivers mounting a two-week boycott of the city.

## Human chain

IN AN ATTEMPT to persuade the authorities to abandon plans for a huge hydro-electric power plant on the Danube, hundreds of demonstrators assembled in the centre of Budapest to link arms along the banks of the river. The contract involves joint construction by the governments concerned of dams at Nagymaros in western Hungary and at Gabčíkovo in Czechoslovakia. Envirometalists say that the re-routing of the Danube will destroy a unique underground water-filtering system, water levels will be seriously affected and the ecological balance irreparably damaged.

## KENNEDY AND THE SPOOKS OSWALD'S WIDOW SPEAKS OUT

MARINA Oswald, widow of Lee Harvey Oswald, now believes that her husband was a government agent and did not act alone in the Kennedy assassination 25 years ago.

She names a friend of Oswalds, George de Mohrenschildt, a wartime OSS intelligence agent, as being possibly involved.

De Mohrenschildt killed himself in 1977 after stating that there was a conspiracy.

At the Warren Commission hearings, FBI chiefs including J. Edgar Hoover lined up to shake her hand.

Afterwards the FBI kept her under strict surveillance - even trying to arrange her boyfriends for her.

She says that Oswald had the traits of professional training, and was taught Russian while serving in the Marines.

# GCHQ FIGHTERS DEFY THATCHER

CIVIL SERVANTS throughout Britain are preparing to take 24-hour strike action over the Tories' decision to force a showdown with trade unionists at Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). Power workers may also be balloted on taking action.

Eighteen workers at the Cheltenham spy base who refused to give up their union membership have been given two weeks to either accept compulsory transfer or quit their jobs.

The announcement brought prompt walkouts by fellow trade unionists in other government departments, including the Passports Office, Companies House, and the Vehicle Registration Office at Swansea.

The government first moved to ban unions at GCHQ, appropriately enough, in 1984. For the 'Big Brother-is-listening' base to house a working class organisation, however tame, was an anomaly Thatcher could no longer tolerate, especially when the security services which use its facilities were increasingly targetting the labour movement for surveillance and 'dirty tricks'.

Trade unionists at GCHQ were insulted by a cash offer to abandon their organisation and principles. (A curious way of selecting people for loyalty and security!)

Union leaders were outraged by the implied slur on their patriotism, in declaring union membership a security risk.

When the unions' offer of a strike ban was ignored, it was clear the government's pretended concern, about possible industrial action interfering with round-the-clock electronic eavesdropping, was just a cover.

Even the EEP TU leadership, under Eric Hammond, decided to make a show of militancy. It balloted power station workers on industrial action, in 1985,

and there was a 60 per cent vote in favour.

Now, with the EEP TU having got itself expelled from the TUC, the government may have reckoned it time to resume the offensive.

What's really involved is an end to the past cosy relationship between state and union bureaucracies.

Ironically, one of the GCHQ rebels now facing the sack originally only joined the union under pressure from management, after four years in the job.

Now he's resisting with equal stubbornness as a trade unionist. Alongside him are workers who have had to re-learn trade unionism as it was in the olden days, outlawed and underground.

Some got round a ban on meetings by forming a pub skittles team! The government is reportedly offering "generous" payoffs, and "flexible early retirement" terms to the union members, both to weaken their resistance and undermine wider union solidarity. Behind the wedge being driven in at GCHQ, the Tories want to open a wider attack.

The end of the check-off system for civil service union dues is part of the next phase, in which they want to break-up union organisation in Whitehall, and throughout the civil service.

This is not just about workplace rights and conditions in the civil service. It is part of a process by which the ruling class, needing to change the way it rules, sets about establishing unfettered capitalist dictatorship, and smashing all workers' rights.

It is with that in mind, and not the union leaders' pleas for compromise or the Labour and Communist Party leaders' crap about 'New Realism', that we have to fight back.

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY/PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

MEETING IN GLASGOW

Sunday 23 October 1pm  
Blythswood Hotel  
320 Argyle Street  
Glasgow

# Interview with Peter Fryer

back from Moscow

IN THE Soviet Union it is the beginning of the process of political revolution. Gorbachev and the bureaucracy are trying to deal with severe economic problems and after three years they have failed. Everybody says that it is just as bad if not worse. People are saying that in March 1921 Lenin's New Economic Policy produced goods in the shops, increased agricultural production, and overcame shortages but after three years with Gorbachev there is nothing.

There are shortages of everything - for instance a young man in his 20s who had returned from fighting in Afghanistan put his name down for a house and thought he would be first on the list. He will be 51 years old by the time he gets it.

There is very little sugar and in some places it is rationed. On one day I stopped for a coffee in a cafe, and the waiter said 'nyet sugar'. I was drinking a bitter cup of coffee disconsolately and reading an English newspaper when a man and a woman came in and stood opposite (because you have to stand up).

The woman took from her handbag a neatly wrapped blue paper packet of sugar, and carefully doled it out - some in his coffee and some in her own.

I must have sighed audibly, because she took a teaspoon and put two spoonfuls of sugar in my cup.

This action moved me deeply and I took out my last pencil and gave it to her. Her face lit up, and then, on the newspaper, she drew a stick figure of a woman dancing and smiling and waving a bunch of flowers.

They are drastically short of many basic commodities - of sugar, razor blades, light bulbs everything.

Kostroma, 300 kilometres from Moscow, is supposed to be a meat producing town, but they have no meat, no milk products, and sugar is rationed. In winter and spring they have no fruit and vegetables. If they want any sausage they have to go to Moscow. The roads are so bad that factories have to deliver milk and cheeses by helicopter.

There is also a lot of selling off the back of lorries of products like cauliflowers and grapes. They sell for one and a half times the normal price.

For necessities and luxuries they queue for hours. Gum, which is a big department store in Moscow,

continually had huge queues. All shops had big queues outside them. And they move very slowly.

It is a huge strain after a days work - particularly on women, who still do the shopping. They have no tampons, but cloths that they have to wash out every month - these are 19th century conditions. In Moscow there are thousands of prostitutes thronging the tourist hotels - I was accosted twice. They pay rake-offs to the doormen, to the militia, to the restaurant managers to the porters and everyone.

They asked for £20, which is 20 roubles, but you can get 200 roubles for £20 on the black market. So they would be getting far more than the average wage. The Soviet Union now has its first 80 Aids cases, which it is blaming on foreigners. This trip in fact is a kind of delayed disillusionment for me. When I worked on the Daily Worker I used to say to the editor that I would love to report from Moscow. He always said 'don't go there, because you will be disillusioned'. He was an honest man you see.

Wages are low - so the rents need to be cheap. Average wage is 50 roubles which is £50. A pair of women's shoes costs 30, 40 or 50 roubles. A hat costs 40 roubles. The cheapest meal in a restaurant is 5 roubles.

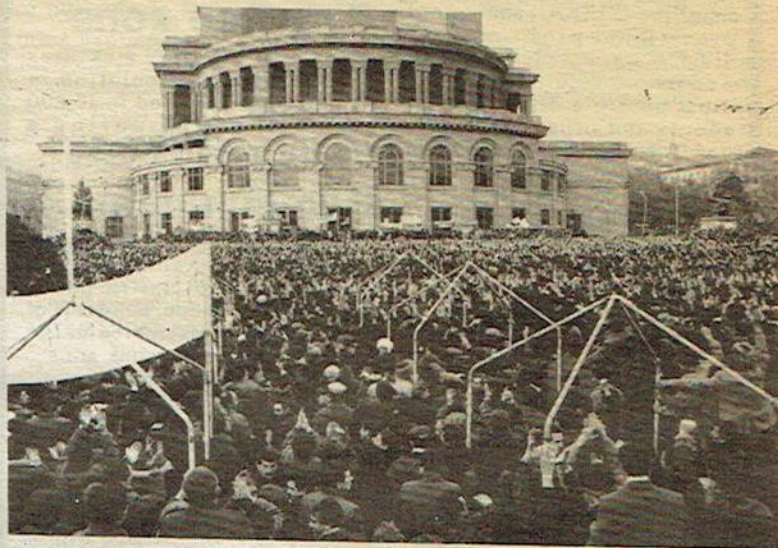
With the failure of his promise that the introduction of new 'efficiency' would produce more goods for the working class Gorbachev is running into big problems. Workers are seething. He was badly heckled in Siberia.

The bureaucrats still have privileges. They still have big houses. The party bosses in the regions have several villas in case they have important visitors and these stand empty the whole year staffed and stocked with food and drink. They are like feudal lords and the ordinary people hate them for it. There are special shops for Party bosses where they get everything that is in short supply at special prices.

I did see a lot of people wearing Yeltsin badges. They support him because they say he opened his mouth and went amongst the people and into the shops and he knows the conditions.

A dissident newspaper called The Herald of the Popular Front of Tataria held a popularity poll for the leadership. Gorbachev got 30 to 40 per cent. Ligachev got three to four per cent and Yeltsin got 60 per cent. In people's consciousness he is the one who stood up to Gorbachev and got disciplined.

The bureaucrats themselves take differentials for granted. I stood



demonstration of workers at Erevan, USSR

near the Kremlin where the bureaucrat's cars come out. The police blow a whistle and stop the traffic. The huge square is completely emptied of traffic and then a car comes out with flashing lights - in the middle is a big limousine with drawn curtains and another car behind it. They don't want the gaze of the populace.

This is one of the things that sparked off the Hungarian uprising in 1956. The Hungarian working class said at that time as well 'We are hungry and they go about in limousines with drawn curtains after shopping in their special shops'. Since the lid has been taken off there is a huge upsurge of dissenting organisations and magazines.

Alexei Zverev who is part of a dissident group said of the position of the bureaucracy: 'If you analyse what Gorbachev is doing, he is doing what doesn't interfere with the privileges of the bureaucracy. In fact he has said the bureaucracy is entitled to its privileges'. Gorbachev has scaled down the privileges but it is still a privileged caste.

Right now everybody is expecting big price rises which will intensify the situation enormously.

Some of the organisations which have sprung up are rather hippogriff-like - (heads of lions, bodies of goats, and tail like a snake). One describes itself as Euro-communist and says it is anti-Lenin.

I met Kalalisky, a member of a group called Socialist Initiative, which has a paper called The Left Turn.

Kalalisky served 18 months in jail under Brezhnev for producing this paper. Last year a group he helped to form decided to re-issue it. They are not Trotskyists but they describe themselves as a

Marxist group.

They regard themselves as training cadres for a socialist movement. I asked what we could do to help them and they gave me a shopping list of things they need. First of all they said they had only one copy of Revolution Betrayed in Moscow, and it was passed from hand to hand. They wanted:

1. Books (copies of articles from journals, and any sort of Marxist analysis of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Trotskyist or otherwise. They particularly want Revolution Betrayed and the Bulletin of the Left Opposition.
2. They want small journalistic tape recorders to record lectures.
3. They want blank cassettes 60 to 90 minutes.
4. Binos.
5. Walkmans to sell in the Co-ops to make money for their organisation.
6. Any unwanted fashion journals - German, English and French to sell in the Co-ops to make funds for the organisation.
7. Instant coffee - to offer hospitality to visitors from the West.

At the moment in the Soviet Union there are a number of possible ways for the situation to develop. There could be an army takeover or a mass uprising. If prices rise dramatically there will be mass strikes.

I would like very much to say at the end of this interview that I am very grateful to all the people who contributed for me to go and have this fascinating experience.

Readers will be glad to know Peter Fryer's regular column will be back next week.

# LEON TROTSKY ON THE FOUNDING OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

This speech of Trotsky's, delivered in English in October 1938, was recorded in Mexico and played to a meeting held by the Socialist Workers Party in New York a few days later. An earlier attempt to relay a speech by telephone to a New York meeting had failed when the equipment had broken down or been sabotaged. At this time, of course, Trotsky was not allowed to enter the United States.

I hope that this time my voice will reach you and that I will be permitted in this way to participate in your double celebration. Both events - the tenth anniversary of our American organisation as well as the foundation congress of the Fourth International - deserve the attention of the workers incomparably more than the warlike gestures of the totalitarian chiefs, the diplomatic intrigues, or the pacifist congresses.

Both events will enter history as important milestones. No one has now the right to doubt that.

It is necessary to remark that the birth of the American group of Bolshevik-Leninists, thanks to the courageous initiative of Comrades Cannon, Shachtman and Abern[1], didn't stand alone. It approximately coincided with the beginning of the systematic international work of the Left Opposition. It is true that the Left Opposition arose in Russia in 1923, but regular work on an international scale began with the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.[2]

Without a personal meeting we had reached an agreement with the American pioneers of the Fourth International, before all, on the criticism of the programme of the Communist International. Then, in 1928, began that collective work which after ten years led to the elaboration of own programme recently adopted by our international conference.

We have the right to say that the work of this decade was not only persistent and patient, but also honest. The Bolshevik-Leninists, the international pioneers, our comrades across the world, searched the way of the revolution, not in their feelings and wishes, but in the analysis of the objective march of events.

Above all we were guided by the pre-occupation not to deceive others nor ourselves. We searched seriously and honestly. And some important things were found by us. The events confirmed our analysis as well as our prognosis. Nobody can deny it.

Now it is necessary that we remain true to ourselves and to our programme. It is not easy to do so. The tasks are tremendous, the enemies - innumerable. We have the right to spend our time and our attention on the jubilee celebration only insofar as from the lessons of the past we can prepare ourselves for the future.

Dear friends, we are not a party like other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means.

Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves.

The old Internationals - the second, the Third, that of Amsterdam[3], we will add to them also the London Bureau[4] - are rotten through and through.

***... we are not a party like other parties. Our ambition is not only to have more members, more papers, more money in the treasury, more deputies. All that is necessary, but only as a means. Our aim is the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution. Nobody will prepare it and nobody will guide it but ourselves.***

The great events which rush upon mankind will not leave of these outlived organisations one stone upon another. Only the Fourth International looks with confidence at the future. It is the World Party of Socialist Revolution! There never was a greater task on the earth. Upon every one of us rests a tremendous historical responsibility.

Our party demands each of us, totally and completely. Let the philistines hunt their own individuality in empty space. For a revolutionary to give himself entirely to the party signifies finding himself.

Yes, our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to us the highest happiness: the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle

of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain.

The fidelity to the cause of the toilers requires from each of us the highest devotion to our international party. The party, of course, can be mistaken. By common effort we will correct its mistakes. In its ranks can penetrate unworthy elements. By common effort we will eliminate them.

New thousands that will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of the necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level.

But we never forget that our party is now the greatest lever of history. Separated from this lever, every one of us is nothing. With this lever in hand, we are all.

We aren't a party like other parties. It is not in vain that the imperialist reaction persecutes us madly, following furiously at our heels. The assassins at its service are the agents of the Moscow Bonapartistic clique.

Our young international already knows many victims. In the Soviet Union they number by thousands. In Spain by dozens. In other countries by units. With gratitude and love we remember them all in these moments. Their spirit continues to fight in our ranks.

The hangmen think in their obtuseness and cynicism that it possible to frighten us. They err! Under blows we become stronger. The bestial politics of Stalin are only politics of despair.

It is possible to kill individual soldiers of our army, but not to frighten them. Friends, we will repeat again in this day of celebration... it is not possible to frighten us.

Ten years were necessary for the Kremlin clique in order to strangle the Bolshevik Party and to transform the first workers' state into a sinister caricature.

Ten years were necessary for the Third International in order to stamp into the mire their own programme and to transform themselves into a stinking cadaver. Ten years! Only ten years!

Permit me to finish with a prediction: During the next ten years the programme of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and those revolutionary millions will know how to storm the earth and heaven.

**• Long live the Socialist Workers Party of the United States!  
• Long live the Fourth International!**

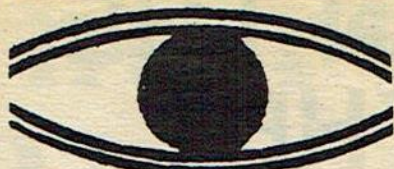
[1] James P. Cannon (1890-1974) and Martin Abern (1898-1949) were among the founders of the American Communist Party, and Max Shachtman (1903-1970) was a leading member. In 1928, they supported Trotsky's fight against Stalin and were expelled as Trotskyists. They then formed the Communist League of America. Cannon played a leading part in the foundation of the International Left Opposition and then of the Fourth International. Shachtman and Abern broke with Trotsky in 1940.

[2] The Sixth Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in 1928, had before it a Programme drafted by Bukharin and based on the reactionary concept of 'socialism in a single country.' Trotsky, expelled from the International and exiled to Alma Ata, wrote a critique of this draft, which his supporters succeeded in distributing to the delegates, among them Cannon.

[3] The Amsterdam International was the right-wing International Federation of Trade Unions.

[4] The London Bureau was formed in 1935 as a loose association of centrist groups, opposed to the Second and Third Internationals, but refusing to join the Fourth. The British Independent Labour Party, the German SAP (Socialist Workers Party) and the Spanish POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) were the most significant of these groups, referred to by Trotsky as the 'International of Squeezed Lemons'.

**AS I SEE IT...**



**BY TOM OWEN**

# Media hype

WHEN I read Charlie Pottin's well-informed piece on 'Politics and Olympics' with its appreciation of the joy of watching human beings transcend the outer limits of physical achievements I must admit to having had some self-doubt about my attitude to sport.

Had too many years in educational institutions, smoking behind bicycle sheds as an absentee from sports days and non-riotous assemblies finally cast me in the role of cynic and decadent?

Well, the 'Johnson affair' rescued my confidence (and I suspect that of many other old boys and girls of the bicycle shed school of games) and furthermore I seemed to have had the gift of prophecy.

Let me assure readers that I have no truck with oracular fantasies, though looking back I suspect that many who had been 'surprised' by the miraculous transformation of a middle of the road runner into a muscle-bound bullet will be re-interpreting their 'wonder' as coded denunciations.

How else could we understand Carl Lewis' statement that something extraordinary must have 'stimulated' the hapless Johnson.

The secret of the oracle is out - it was steroids.

The 'fastest man on earth' is now condemned as the biggest cheat on earth or in the more liberal columns pitied as a slow witted, fleet footed, sacrificial pawn in a cynical game of greed and hypocrisy.

The sort of cheat detection equipment of the Korean Advanced Institute of Science and Technology will no doubt expose more unfortunate pill poppers in the future.

The side effects of these 'herbal concoctions' are listed as cancer, lung damage, uncontrollable aggression etc...

From hyped up sprinters we were panned to the mid-west to watch the mediocre front-runners in what was billed variously as the debate of the hour, the month or the century. The average viewer here got only a few minutes of the Dukakis-Bush encounter.

The contenders for a rather serious world title fight demonstrated all the political elegance and spontaneity of a Yorkshire Television Saturday afternoon wrestling match.

We were informed that the main negotiations in this war of Titans concerned the relative heights of lectern and soap box from which Dukakis was to deliver. It is reported that certain centimetres were conceded to the Democratic camp.

I can only conclude that while small may be beautiful to the American middle class it is not an attribute looked for in a potential President, although Dukakis certainly follows in that long line of diminutive actors, with or without purple hearts, who had to stand on a box to kiss the heroine. (May I offer 'sizeism' as a critical campaigning issue for radical and

revisionists groups?)

From casual interviews with the largely non-voting American public, we are advised that Dukakis won by a whisker (a centimetre?).

What I saw of the contest Dukakis, hand on heart, proclaimed his patriotism and Bush mumbled his lines as instructed in the video playback studios with the dignity of a man who is used to dealing with B-movie actors.

Talking of B-movie politics, there is a spanking new edition of 'Marxism Today' just in time for the Labour Party Conference.

After their recent denunciation of the class struggle, our intrepid paxiologists have set out to demonstrate to the unregenerated ultra-lefts and sectarians of the Labour Party that a political and cultural sea-change has taken place.

As with all sea-changes our eyes may have crystallised into hardened pearl-like opaqueness so Euro-Communist Enlightenment will lead us from Chaplin's Modern Times to Jacque's New Times.

'Marxism Today's' cultural cartographer has even devised a chart to guide us safely into the new era. In Modern Times we had modern Ford. World wars, bingo, Roosevelt, to be replaced in the period of New Times with post-modernism, Toyota, terrorism, the Big Bang and Regan respectively.

May I suggest another column: 'Neo-new realism' and ask Workers Press readers to complete the following lists when on a bus?

Butlins...Theme Parks...; Marlon Brando...WilliamHurt...; Raspberry 'Ripple'...Hedgehog crisps...; Stalinism ...Glasnost....

No prizes, we don't believe in them, but I'll make sure the most perverse are published.

## LETTERS

WELCOME as it was, Charlie Pottins' 'The Olympics and Politics', expressed one sentiment with which I strongly disagree.

'There is no doubt that it is a joy to see human beings transcend the outer limits of physical achievements'.

Of course, in the context of competitive sport under capitalism this is an extremely naive statement to make and completely obscures what really takes place as currently highlighted by the Ben Johnson controversy.

Exactly what risks are run by these athletes transcending 'the outer limits' has been known for a long time.

Workers Press ran an article 'Death of a Young Athlete' last September which showed quite clearly what pressures are exerted in this decaying system on people who wish to excel at their chosen sport.

The outcry among professional commentators sports administrators and the media in general over Johnson and his wretched colleagues who have been 'found out' is sheer cant and hypocrisy.

We can confidently assume that ALL top athletes take drugs or medicants to assist their

performance; some products - those that are detectable - are banned; others are being developed precisely to prevent detection, known in the industry, I believe, as 'designer' drugs.

And it is not only a matter of drug-taking.

Many of these top athletes suffer irreparable damage to their bodies as they grow older because of the unnatural stresses they are forced or encouraged to undergo in order to make the grade.

Particularly I am thinking of the young gymnasts committed to performing unbelievable feats of athleticism and who face the prospect of arthritic pain and crippling disability in later life.

It took days of indescribable physical torment for Birgit Dressel's body to finally expire on April 10, 1987, aged 26, her system having literally collapsed from the over-stimulation of medicants and drugs PRESCRIBED with her training to become a superbeing in the world arena of big business sport.

Some 'joy' indeed!

Jeff Jackson,  
South West London

• The line in question, quoted by both Tom Owen in this week's column, and by Jeff Jackson in his letter, was not written by Charlie Pottin's, but inserted by the editor.

It was placed in the article on the grounds that amidst the distortion that capitalism has imposed on athletics - as on all aspects of our lives, including culture - there are some positive elements to be found - as we do in bourgeois literature for example. I, together with millions of other people, take delight in seeing a trained human being excel in any field - whether it be violin playing, ballet or pole-vaulting. Workers Press welcomes a continuation of this discussion.

Editor, Workers Press

### 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

### 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

# The long temptation of Christ

**I**n one of a number of not very convincing sequences in Martin Scorsese's 'The Last Temptation of Christ', Lazarus - who has recently experienced a rather strikingly executed resurrection - is asked for an authoritative opinion on whether life is better than death.

'I was a little surprised', he replies, 'There wasn't that much difference.' And there are times during this nearly three-hour-long film when - despite some stunning photography and haunting music - boredom mounts to such an extent that you wonder if Scorsese is trying to prove the truth of this view.

At other times it seems that the main lack has not been a really ruthless editor but someone who might have persuaded the director to decide which of several different films he wanted to make.

The one potentially most interesting concerns a village carpenter called Jesus (William Dafoe) who starts out, to the violent disgust of freedom fighter Judas Iscariot, (Harvey Keitel) and most of the local people, as a supplier of crucifixes to the imperial Roman oppressors.

Through a process of much doubt, self-examination and suffering, Jesus finds in himself a capacity for exposing the truth and for leadership which convinces Judas that ideals (centring on a combination of love and righteous anger) offer a more secure path to justice than armed struggle.

The historical moment, it turns out, has not yet arrived at which ideals, even noble ones, can change the world. Only martyrdom can universalise the higher meaning which inspires the Jewish revolutionaries, but which cannot fully be expressed in the immediate form their struggle has to take.

Judas is Jesus's chosen instrument to betray him to the imperial power he once served. Pilate (David Bowie), a matter-of-

fact bureaucrat, without reference to the Jewish authorities and not so much as bothering to wash his hands, condemns this 'most dangerous' of men to the cross.

In his 'last temptation', when he imagines an angel releasing him from crucifixion, Jesus considers a compromise between his ideals and a mortal life of normal duration with all its emotional ups and downs.

Convinced by, amongst other things, the arguments of St. Paul, that even if he did this, human beings would create a divine myth out of his life, he decided to return to the cross, and a bloody, but uncompromised, mortal end.

In a period when liberation theology echoes the anti-imperialist struggle of many of the 'third world' masses, when the struggle against bureaucracy in Eastern Europe finds one distorted but powerful reflection in Catholicism and orthodoxy, and when, even in Britain, some of the most passionately anti-Thatcher speeches in the Scottish coalfields during the miners strike were made by clergymen, this could have been a genuinely controversial film about politics and Christianity.

Alas, the controversy there has been - mainly about Christ's imagined night of marital bliss with Mary Magdalene (Barbara Hershey) - is entirely bogus, though no doubt the religious establishment and the sincere cranks who stand outside the cinemas with Bible quoting placards have delighted the moneybags by boosting the film's takings hugely.

Alongside the politically interesting movie I have perhaps over-optimistically described, there seems to be at least two other films vying for attention.

One is about the historicity of Christ and how the 'miracles' can be reconciled with historical fact. Another - more rambling and elusive - seems to be about Scorsese's personal

religious crisis.

In the film's best moments the three come together, but often they coexist rather than integrating into a single whole. Scorsese's desire to make a personal statement too often dominates - which may account for the many longeurs and the miscasting of the central character.

Dafoe is too beautiful, too silken-tongued, too ingenuous to be convincing in the Christ-as-real-man side of the story. His best moment by far is in the agonisingly realistic crucifixion scene.

The film is based on a novel by the Greek writer, Nikos Kazantzakis, published in the 1950s.

'My principal anguish and the

source of all my joys and sorrows...' Kazantzakis wrote, 'has been the incessant, merciless battle between the spirit and the flesh.'

This battle gives Kazantzakis's writings, even in translation, a compelling coherence and inner tension.

He was also, I suspect, very much a writer whose concerns, however universal they may appear, were related in a very particular way to a generation born in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Had Scorsese been more ruthless - with the novel, but also intellectually more rigorous, he might have made a more original though perhaps less commercial film.

Terry Brotherstone



Barbara Hershey as Mary Magdalene in 'The last Temptation of Christ'

# GIBRALTAR KILLINGS - THE REAL FACE OF IMPERIALISM

By Liz Leicester and Charlie Walsh

'JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE', the majority verdict which ended the Gibraltar inquest, could not cover up the obvious - that the three unarmed IRA members were cold-bloodedly executed by the SAS -

The battery of lawyers defending the British state's death squad did not get the unanimous verdict they wanted - two jurors courageously held out against them.

Gigantic discrepancies in the state 'evidence' emerged at the inquest. Scientific experts demolished the laughable fairy-tales that they were shot to prevent them triggering a remote-control bomb.

The affidavit from the Spanish police chief who had shadowed the three made it clear that the British knew exactly where Sean Savage, Mairead Farrell and Danny McCann were, and could have arrested them. There was close surveillance of their journey to Gibraltar, but they were allowed to reach their destination to be murdered in the British colony.

SAS death squads are allowed to operate outside the law with the full support of MPs, judges and courts. A shadowy figure called 'O' - the man from MI5 - was the main link in the chain of conspiracy connecting those who pulled the triggers with Thatcher and the British ruling class they serve.

Under the heading 'No more Gibaltars' and 'Gibraltar, what next?' most of the Labour left and Irish nationalist groups are giving the impression that these killings were extraordinary - different from the usual activities of British imperialism. It is true that the Gibraltar inquest attempted to give the SAS 'legal' cover, but many similar deaths in Ireland do not merit even an investigation.

The British soldier who shot Aidan McAneaspie in the back was set free just as the Gibraltar inquest was closing. He claimed his finger 'slipped' on the trigger of his gun. There has not been - nor will there be - a thorough investigation of the killing of eight IRA men by the SAS at Loughhall in 1987, or more recently, of the three men murdered at Drumna, County Tyrone.

The application for a new inquest into the deaths of three young men gunned down in Strabane in 1985 has been turned down. Their families walked out of the previous one after police intimidation in the court room.

In an attempt to keep the lid on, Thatcher's government is

increasing its control over the media following the ITV programme 'Death on the Rock' which raised some questions about the SAS role in Gibraltar.

A 'Panorama' television programme on the role of the SAS in Ireland was withdrawn shortly before it was due to be transmitted last week.

No doubt there was concern at the programme's look at murders committed by British troops in Ireland for which no inquests were held. The ban was on the order of Thatcher's friend, BBC Deputy Director General, John Birt, in spite of clearance given only 24 hours earlier by eight senior BBC executives and lawyers.

And the Labour Party and trade union leaders - left and right, in or out of government - have always supported the British state in its occupation and oppression of Ireland. 'Unity by consent', a recently released Labour Party policy document on Ireland

maintains that position.

News of the Gibraltar killings prompted Eric Heffer and a group of Labour MPs to call for an inquiry. But only 46 of Labour's 300-odd MPs supported this move.

The 'left' since then have said little and done nothing. Presumably it was not a campaign they wished to pursue in their 'fight' for leadership of the Labour Party. In total opposition to the pro-imperialist Labour leaders, Workers Press supports the IRA against British imperialism.

The Gibraltar killings were not 'extraordinary' or a mistake on the part of a section of the British state - this is the real face of the capitalist state.

The struggle in Ireland is part of the world socialist revolution and will only be successful when a leadership is built which will mobilise the revolutionary strength of the Irish and British working class to overthrow

## Where next for Gorbachev

THE EMERGENCY meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party saw the victory of Mikhail Gorbachev over his opponents in the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Far from mitigating the crisis in the USSR, this victory will intensify the political and ideological struggles now sweeping the country.

Millions of workers, youth and intellectuals will now say to Gorbachev: you have got rid of those who you said are standing in the way of reform, now you must deliver!

The fact is, as Peter Fryer indicates in this issue, Gorbachev is grappling with a mounting economic crisis.

The Soviet Union, the country where Stalinism claims that 'socialism' triumphed decades ago, cannot provide even the basic necessities of life for millions of its peoples.

The isolation of Soviet economy lies at the root of this inability. The productive forces of the Soviet Union are trapped within the national frontiers.

To the extent that closer ties have been forged with the capitalist world market, this has involved mounting indebtedness to the world bankers.

Only the removal of the bureaucracy, an overthrow of the Stalinist policy of 'socialism in one country' (which Gorbachev fully supports) can tackle this economic crisis.

On the political front, the real nature of Gorbachev's 'glasnost' was revealed when he assumed the role of state president while retaining his position as secretary of the Communist Party. So much for his avowed intention of loosening the ties between state and party!

His decision to assume both functions is in line with his earlier declaration that party officials should take the leadership of the 'soviets'. These are not of course the soviets that existed at the time of the 1917 revolution but in reality instruments to discipline the working class.

What is becoming ever clearer is that the Soviet working class cannot tackle its most elementary problems except as part of the struggle to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracy that imposed itself on the Soviet working class in the years following 1917.

## Kings Cross horror continues

RELATIVES of those killed in the Kings Cross underground fire found themselves on a sickening merry-go-round as the three week inquest opened at the Shaw Theatre, London last week.

It goes like this: first your loved ones are killed; then London Regional Transport (LRT) make compensation payments to you (which can never make up for the loss); but you are forced to use this 'compensation' for legal representation at the inquest!

'Callous indifference' was the way some of the families described the refusal of LRT to pay their legal costs. Mr. Ian Walker, lawyer representing 27 of the families told the coroner they could not afford the estimated £10,000 cost of employing him.

Although the bereaved families were unrepresented at the opening of the inquest, there were three rows of lawyers, including six barristers appearing for LRT, its subsidiary, London Underground and other interests. LRT maintains that it does not have the moral duty to meet the legal bill for the bereaved; it has already stated that it will give compensation as if it was liable for the disaster.

The families were hoping that the inquest would be about how their relatives met their deaths. They were told it would be straightforward but discouraged from attending. Then they discovered that the questions being put were 'trying to exonerate LRT from blame for the disaster'.

After a confused first day the families were trying to engage legal representation. Mr. Tarrasenko, whose brother, aged 25, died in the Kings Cross fire, said hiring a barrister would be the best memorial the families could give to the dead. If necessary he would spend all the £7,500 compensation London Underground had offered to discover the truth.

### 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