

# FORWARD TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Workers Press presents edited texts of the speeches made at the successful meeting held to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International, especially for those who were unable to attend. The first contribution is by Balasz Nagy - a leading figure in the 1956 Hungarian revolution.

**A**FTER all these contributions by my comrades, I would like to say only a few words.

The Preparatory Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, of which we are members, organised this meeting to celebrate the foundation of the Fourth International, as well as its extraordinary history, in which all the previous achievements of Marxist thought and all the experiences and lessons of the Marxist vanguard of the world proletariat, were concentrated, maintained and developed. That is why the Fourth International always constituted a main target of attack, for all the enemies, bourgeois and bureaucratic, and centrists, of the international working class.

## Banner

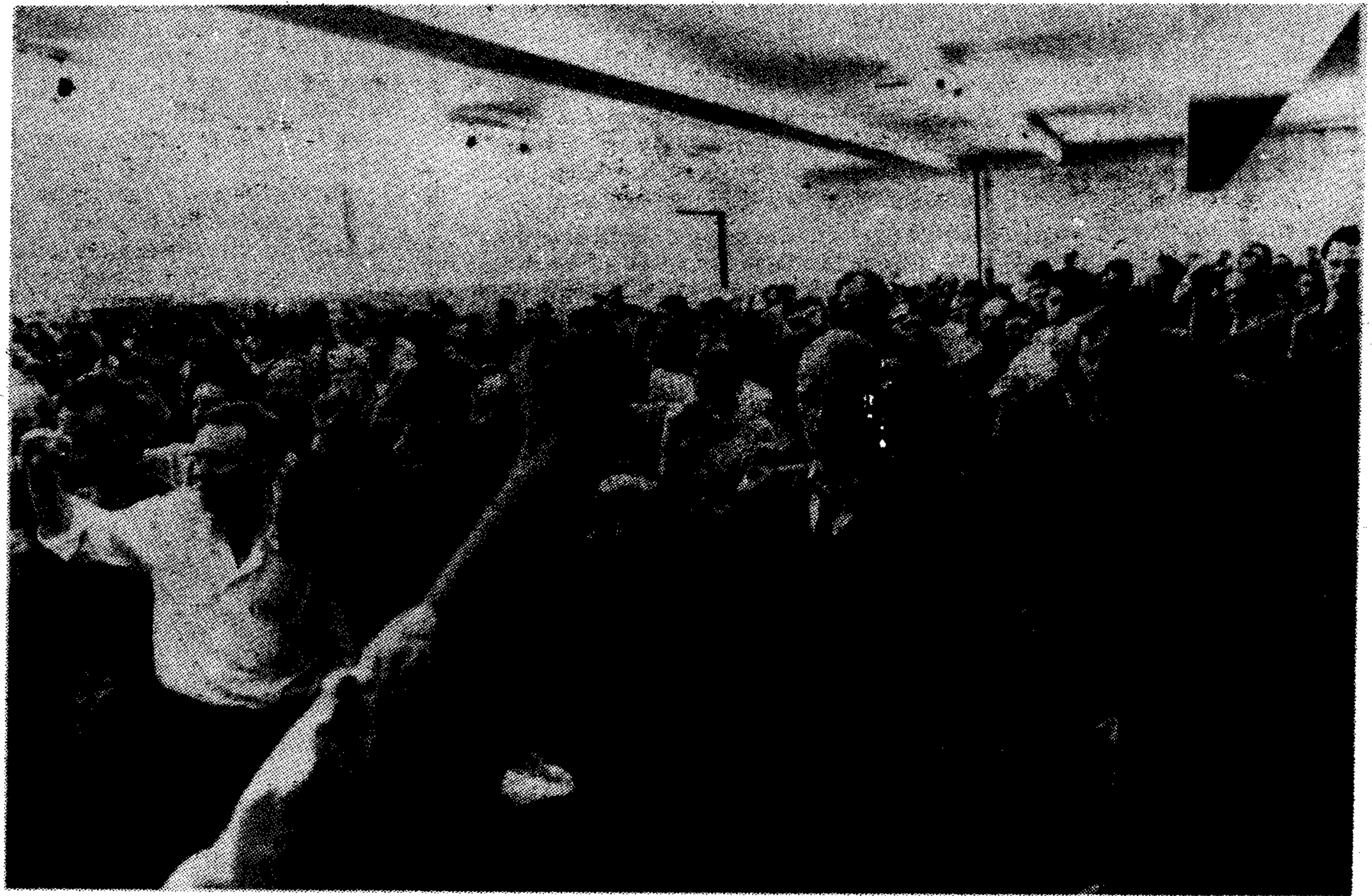
Therefore, comrades, today I think our first concern is to raise our banner in front of this history.

Long live the fighters and organisers of the Fourth International!

Long live above all one of the greatest revolutionaries in history, our teacher and comrade, Leon Davidovich Trotsky, murdered by Stalin and the Stalinists!

Long live the greatest Trotskyist party of the world, of the Soviet Union - that is to say Lenin's Bolshevik Party, continued and maintained in the prisons and the camps until the war!

Long live its leaders and members exterminated physically by



Members of the audience at the meeting to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International

## Stalin and the Stalinists!

Long live the great Chinese and Vietnamese Trotskyist parties and all Eastern European Trotskyist parties destroyed by Stalinism!

Don't forget this comrades. Don't forget all the leaders and members assassinated by Stalin and the Stalinists: Leon Sedov, Rudolf Klement, Irwin Woolf, Piet Tresso, Ta Thu That and the hundreds and thousands of others, known and unknown Trotskyists, murdered by Stalin and Stalinism.

Also all those who fell under bourgeois fascist repression Abraham Leon, Marcel Hic and thousands of others. They died for the life of the Fourth International.

But it was these assassinations, this murder of the whole generation of the Bolshevik Party, of

the Trotskyists, it was on the basis of such a terrible blow against the organised consciousness of the international working class that Stalinism could continue to mislead the world proletariat, subordinating it more and more to imperialism and saving the latter.

## Degeneration

It also provided the material ground for the revisionist, centrist, degeneration of the majority of leaders and organisations of the Fourth International itself.

That is why we - who are partly participants and partly inheritors of this history - will pay tribute to all those leaders and members who, swimming against the current, facing adversity, struggled to maintain and continue the Fourth International, and, even if we must criticise many of them very har-

shly, just remember, comrades, James Cannon and others.

This is our history from which all of us come and are thus here today.

Nevertheless, many people repeat, even today, that the Fourth International is dead.

Comrades, neither the bourgeois nor the Stalinists make such a dangerous statement. They fought always, and continue to fight, against the Fourth International, which is not an idea or a fighting spirit, not even only a problem, but the very embodiment of the whole continuity of the revolutionary working class movement.

Where are the big forces of the 30s, of the years of the foundation

Continued on Page 3

# **Workers Press**

## **Blackpool Illuminations**

THE 'Morning Star' is the paper of the so-called 'hard line' wing of British Stalinism, that wing most directly identified with the Moscow bureaucracy. An article by the paper's editor, Tony Chater, 'Mass Struggle: How the British left can gain ground' (Morning Star 13 October) purports to provide a summary of the lessons of the recent Blackpool Labour Party Conference.

It illuminates once more the role that Stalinism plays in relation to the deepening crisis of social democracy.

What actually happened at the Labour Party Conference? First, the left was routed. Benn and Heffer's challenge to Kinnock and Hattersley collapsed, neither gaining any significant support even in the Constituency Parties, previously the stronghold of the left.

For months the 'Morning Star', with the majority of the 'left' groups (many of them self-styled 'Trotskyist') in tow had built up Benn, Heffer and union leaders such as transport workers' boss Ron Todd as people bringing about the 'revival of socialism in Britain'.

\* \* \*

Not unexpectedly, Chater has nothing to say by way of explanation for this ignominious defeat. Indeed, he concludes that Blackpool showed that 'the left has a base on which to build and win advances'.

Second, Todd and other 'left' trade union leaders went along with Kinnock's 'review documents' that commit Labour explicitly to the management of a crisis-torn capitalist system. As Kinnock said: 'We have got to make it [capitalism] work better than the Tories'.

Todd voted for the Kinnock review documents on Monday and then, having got them safely through for the right wing, made some criticisms of the Kinnock-Hattersley leadership outside the Conference the following day.

An innocent might think Chater had been to a different conference. He tells us it would be 'helpful if on future occasions important sections of the left could avoid giving the impression of facing both ways when they cast their votes.'

But it was no 'impression' that the left spoke from both sides of its mouth at Blackpool, as Chater pretends. This is what it did. Similarly, the resolution pledging Labour to the repeal of anti-union laws was a worthless sham, given the clear intentions, spelt out in the review document for state-imposed ballots prior to industrial action.

\* \* \*

Chater's cover up for the reformist servants of capitalism is not an accident. For Stalinism shares precisely these conceptions. Thus, says Chater, 'Obviously we cannot get socialism overnight. There is bound to be a mixed economy for a time. The issue is the relationship between the public and private sectors'. Stalinism accepts the 'mixed economy' - a euphemism for capitalism.

The fact is that like the lefts, the Stalinists have no fundamental disagreements with Kinnock's programme.

Ken Gill, a prominent 'Morning Star' supporter is leader of the industry and services union MSF. His union moved a resolution that was in effect in opposition to that sponsored by the miners calling for the nationalisation of basic industry and the major financial institutions.

Chater lyingly claims that this former, Stalinist-supported, resolution 'seemed to concede some points to the review documents, for example on majority and minority shareholdings'. There was no 'seemed' about it. This is precisely what the resolution did.

Workers should keep the closest eye on the Stalinists of all varieties. All of them are carrying out Gorbachev's line of ever greater accommodation to capitalism and its reformist servants. As such they represent the greatest danger within the working class movement.

## **WORKERS PRESS INTERNATIONAL FIGHTING FUND**

In so far: £369.13

Workers Press fund column (Issue 129, 27 August 1988) 'Our fund is in danger', asked readers not to 'take this lightly' and said we will not continue to produce Workers Press if we cannot sustain it financially.

Therefore some thought we were mad, when in Workers Press (Issue 130, 3 September 1988) we made an urgent appeal for finance for the Centre for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International (in addition to the Workers Press Fighting Fund).

However, the response was dramatic. Not only did members of the WRP and readers of Workers Press respond, we also received an individual donation of £200 from a Japanese Trotskyist and then a £500 donation from a Japanese Trotskyist organisation.

A letter arrived from Japan on the eve of our 9 October meeting to celebrate 50 years of the Fourth International telling us that a further £500 was on its way. Many, many thanks! Just as important, these comrades very much want a discussion with us about the history and development of the Fourth International.

When some of our friends warn us that we should 'cut our coat according to our cloth', we reply: if you are telling us that in your opinion 'our cloth' is limited to the so-called 'real world' you see at the end of your noses, then we do not agree. The crisis threatening world capitalism is deeper than at any previous time. This 'real world' is being sustained by the circulation of credit running into billions and by the poverty, starvation and destitution of millions of people throughout the entire planet, including the USSR where Stalinism would have us believe it was possible to build socialism in one country. The onrush of revolution is worldwide, and this international arena is our 'cloth'. Masses of people are now becoming conscious of their power to overthrow the enemy. The possibility and necessity for socialism is the basis on which we seek support for Workers Press and the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

Dot Gibson

We need £1,500 by the end of October for our Fighting Fund. Please send in your 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 pm. Entrance £1 (unwaged 50p)

20, 27 October - third and fourth of a series of four lectures given by Tom Kemp on: **COLONIALISM, DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT.**

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/PREPARATORY COMMITTEE**

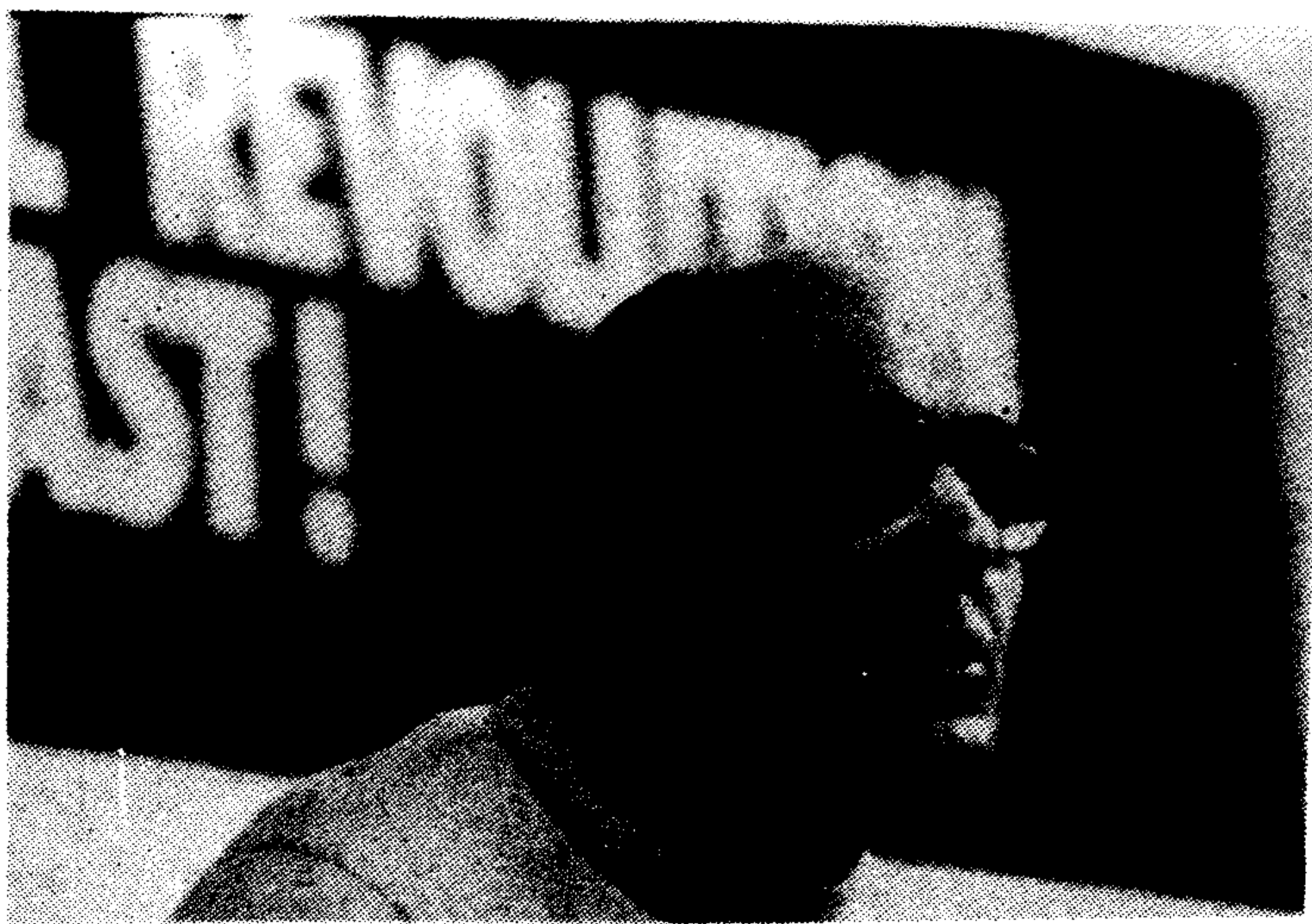
50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL MEETING IN GLASGOW. Sunday 23 October 1 pm, Blythswood Hotel, 320 Argyle Street Glasgow

### **Leicester Education Alliance**

Demonstration to defend Education and Health - assemble 12 noon Saturday 29 October Victoria Park Gates. After the demonstration there will be a rally in Nelson Mandela Park. For information contact: Leicester Hospitals Branch NUPE, or phone Leicester Education Alliance on Leicester 707730 or 551537.



# Balazs Nagy speaks at the meeting to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International - continued from page 1



## BALAZS NAGY

of this little, small Fourth International? Where are the big centrist parties - the Sozialist Arbeiter Partei of Germany, the Spanish POUM, the Independent Labour Party? They have almost all totally disappeared.

The London Bureau is only a disgusting memory, serving the Fourth International as a lesson. The great force of the Fourth International, its vitality, is proven again by the fact that even centrism itself is now obliged to appear as if it were the Fourth International. The London Bureau disappeared but not the centrists.

## Social Democracy

Furthermore, where is reformist social democracy, almighty force of the 30s? It is now completely integrated into imperialism, being not only part of this system but its main political element, more and more taking the place of the old radical and liberal parties. The latest example of it is the Blackpool Labour Party Conference.

With their union leaderships, these parties are indispensable components of the bourgeois state. If they continue to influence a big sector of the working class, this is only because of the Stalinist betrayal and acceptance of this kind of policy. Also because of the adaptation by centrists like Lambert and the Militant Tendency who rehabilitate, alongside the Stalinists, the already historically condemned social democracy.

Now this rehabilitation is at the centre of Gorbachev's orientation towards the international workers' movement. We

must say to workers: be cautious! If the Soviet bureaucracy, in order to avoid the revolution, organises its links closer and closer to imperialism, it prepares also the political rehabilitation, not at all of Trotsky, but of social democracy, organising in the present as in the past, a united partnership necessary today for disarming the revolution and saving imperialism.

And finally, where are the strong Stalinist parties which after the war dominated the majority of the world working class particularly in Europe, east and west? They have lost all their influence in the east. The comrades' contributions showed us how these parties not only compromise themselves but compromise the very idea of socialism itself. This is the greatest crime of the Stalinists. As the Hungarian worker's leader said, the greatest crime of Stalinism is to murder the class consciousness of the workers.

In capitalist Europe these parties are in decline, in a deep crisis with splits. But Stalinism is still alive. Don't forget comrades - there is no absolutely lost situation for Stalinism, because only the uprising of the proletariat, led by the Fourth International, can destroy Stalinism. There is no automatic destruction, and this task is still before us. Previously, over long decades, Stalinism almost succeeded against the Fourth International, nearly submerged the continuity of Bolshevism, from outside as well as from inside the Fourth International.

But now the situation is changing - radically changing. We are in a new period. This period is that of the Fourth Inter-

national. The Fourth International not only didn't die: on the contrary its forces are preparing the final settlement of Stalinism.

Its destruction is on the agenda, which is the same process as the reconstruction of the world proletariat revolutionary leadership. Our Trotskyist predecessors had to swim against the current. Today we are swimming and we must learn to swim with the current, in the current, with confidence but without illusion, basing ourselves on the current, but without giving anything - because if Stalinism is in confusion and disorder it is at the same time also rapidly making its armed reorganisation

## Weakness

No illusions comrades, but this is a sign of its weakness and not at all of its strength. It indicates to us that it does not disappear automatically but it must be smashed, and we are just in the preparatory stages of this fight.

But comrades, if the Fourth International is dead, as some people affirm, from where are we coming and gathering today on a world scale in a new international centre for clarifying and organising this preparation of the destruction of Stalinism, which is concentrated in the rebuilding of the Fourth International?

Where are we coming from? How could we otherwise, in expressing the leading force in the international world working class, warn that if the deep crisis of Stalinism, and also its efforts to overcome it, give great possibilities for the preparation of its destruction, they represent also, at the same time, a danger even for the Fourth International itself.

If so called revolutionaries, so called Trotskyists, like the United Secretariat and many others like Lambert and all of them renounce the theoretical, political and organisational independence of the Fourth International - that is to say entrust the bureaucracy and its parties or even the most radical wing with the impossible task of their own self-reform and consequently the peaceful regeneration of the Soviet Union or the peaceful road to socialism - they disarm the working class and prepare its crudest defeat in history, cruder than even before.

Comrades, but what is this preparation of the destruction of Stalinism? In other words, what is the preparation of the victory of the Fourth International, and first of all that of its reconstruction? What does it mean?

It means changing the relationship between the Fourth International and the working class. This is the real content of its reconstruction, precisely this preparation.

When the Fourth International had to swim against the current in the 30s and the 40s, that is to say, when it was forced to be at the margin of the working class movement, it was clear for workers however where this Fourth International was and who represented it. Only Stalinist gangsters and murderers could obstruct the way between the Fourth International and the masses.

Now, when these very masses begin to reject Stalinism, and are more and more receptive to the Fourth International, this way is occupied by revisionists and centrists, whose main function is to form a screen between the Fourth International and the working class.

So, turning towards Marxism and revolutionary organisation, the masses are faced with these people who renounce the permanent revolution, and therefore the revolution. With their new capitalism a-la-Ju quin, they in reality represent the second line of defence of Stalinism.

So to change the relation between the Fourth International and the working class means eliminating this screen and thus presenting to the proletariat and youth the Fourth International in place of its negation.

## Linked

That is reconstruction. That is linked extremely strongly to our overturning of revisionist and centrist destruction in the trade union field.

Some people say: yes, if it is reconstruction to eliminate this revisionist-centrist screen, the Fourth International will not necessarily become a strong, a big, international.

And, they say, only when the Fourth International really influences and leads big sections of the world working class can you reconstruct the Fourth International. Or they say: if the Fourth International can take power in one important country, then, yes, on this basis you can proclaim the reconstruction of the FI.

But what was the founding conference of the Fourth International 50 years ago this year, in the 30s, after a great fight of theoretical, political and organisational delimitation?

It was clear who represented the continuity of Marxist thought and Marxist practice.

And this was the construction, the necessary condition, for the

# Speeches from the meeting to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International continued from page 3

proclamation of the Fourth International against Stalinism, who betrayed this continuity.

In this time also there were sceptics who worked against the proclamation of the Fourth International.

There are always sceptics and everywhere they use exactly the same arguments. The very same arguments which were used against the proclamation of even the Third International.

The Fourth International will be reconstructed when this screen is removed and the working class can easily recognise and choose the Fourth International.

That is why there is no room for conciliation with centrists, with revisionists.

How can we change this relationship between the Fourth International and the working class?

We insist on the necessity to recognise that the most important thing is the advanced workers.

The whole of the working class could really see and understand that the Fourth International represents the historical continuity of Marxist thought and of the worldwide revolutionary workers' movement, that is to say, the only hope for socialism - the only hope for the whole of mankind.

This task - the real theoretical and political foundation of the reconstruction - is now already representing itself by a mass movement, and concentrated in the Soviet Union, in more and more widespread discussion imposed by the Soviet working class and youth about the history of the Bolshevik Party and particularly Trotsky.

Today even the Stalinist bureaucracy is obliged to speak about Trotsky. Now this bureaucracy explains that if Stalin was against the people, Trotsky was also.

The bureaucracy establishes a parallel between Stalin and Trotsky, trying to prevent the Soviet working class and youth choosing and knowing Trotsky.

So, the great clarification is now starting about Bolshevism and Stalinism. This is the question. This is the most important problem of our day and no force will stop the workers and youth from clarifying this problem.

But continuity is not only history.

One of the crimes of the revisionists and centrists is to falsify this continuity of revolutionary thought and revolutionary practice. They present their ideology and policy of adaptation as if it were the continuity of Bolshevism.

Their policy is in reality a continuation of old Menshevik ideas, becoming Stalinist policy: on the two stages of the revolution, on the part that the working class play (a secondary role) and even on the capitalist crisis - on everything.

These are old Menshevik ideas renewed by Stalinism and now represented by so-called Trotskyists.

That is why the reconstruction of the Fourth International is necessary. There can be no conciliation with these people. Like organisations with which we would like to clarify these problems - like the Latin American LIT. The crisis of this Fourth International is all one.

**Even our Preparatory Committee can make mistakes, and naturally it does. But they are committed on the basis of a correct line. While the centrists have a rotten line of liquidation of the Fourth International, the Preparatory Committee bases itself on the new situation in the world proletariat, characterised by its mobilisation, and more and more its turn against Stalinism.**

The fight against revisionism is old also, expressed mainly and necessarily in the centralised fight of the International Committee. This is the continuity living in this fight. Without this there could be no reconstruction.

Some people are coming to say that there was no continuity because even the Fourth International after Trotsky died made mistakes and the International Committee made mistakes.

So, it was a fight with its own limitations and mistakes, even grave mistakes.

On this basis some people do not see the difference between revisionism and centrism and the forces like the International Committee struggling against that.

They establish a list of positive and negative side of each, but this book keeper's philosophy is the way of thinking of all those who declare the Fourth International dead. They are

therefore disarming, for instance the Soviet working class and youth who are seeking for the Fourth International.

Even our Preparatory Committee can make mistakes, and naturally it does. But they are committed on the basis of a correct line.

While the centrists have a rotten line of liquidation of the Fourth International, the Preparatory Committee bases itself on the new situation in the world proletariat, characterised by its mobilisation, and more and more its turn against Stalinism.

The Preparatory Committee turns untiringly to this class, its most advanced elements who are often organised by Stalinist parties but more and more in opposition to their leadership.

Only on this basis, in the framework of this fight, do we pay particular attention to win old revolutionary members of the revisionist organisations.

The reconstruction of the Fourth International is not an internal affair of those who already consider themselves Trotskyist but is the first and the most important affair of the whole working class.

Our first task is to introduce the Fourth International, its history, its programme, directly into the ranks of the workers and the youth, especially amongst its advanced elements, firmly in a fight for the Marxist-Bolshevik continuity as the Fourth International, in a struggle against any other so-called traditional leadership, or other leadership than that of the Fourth International.

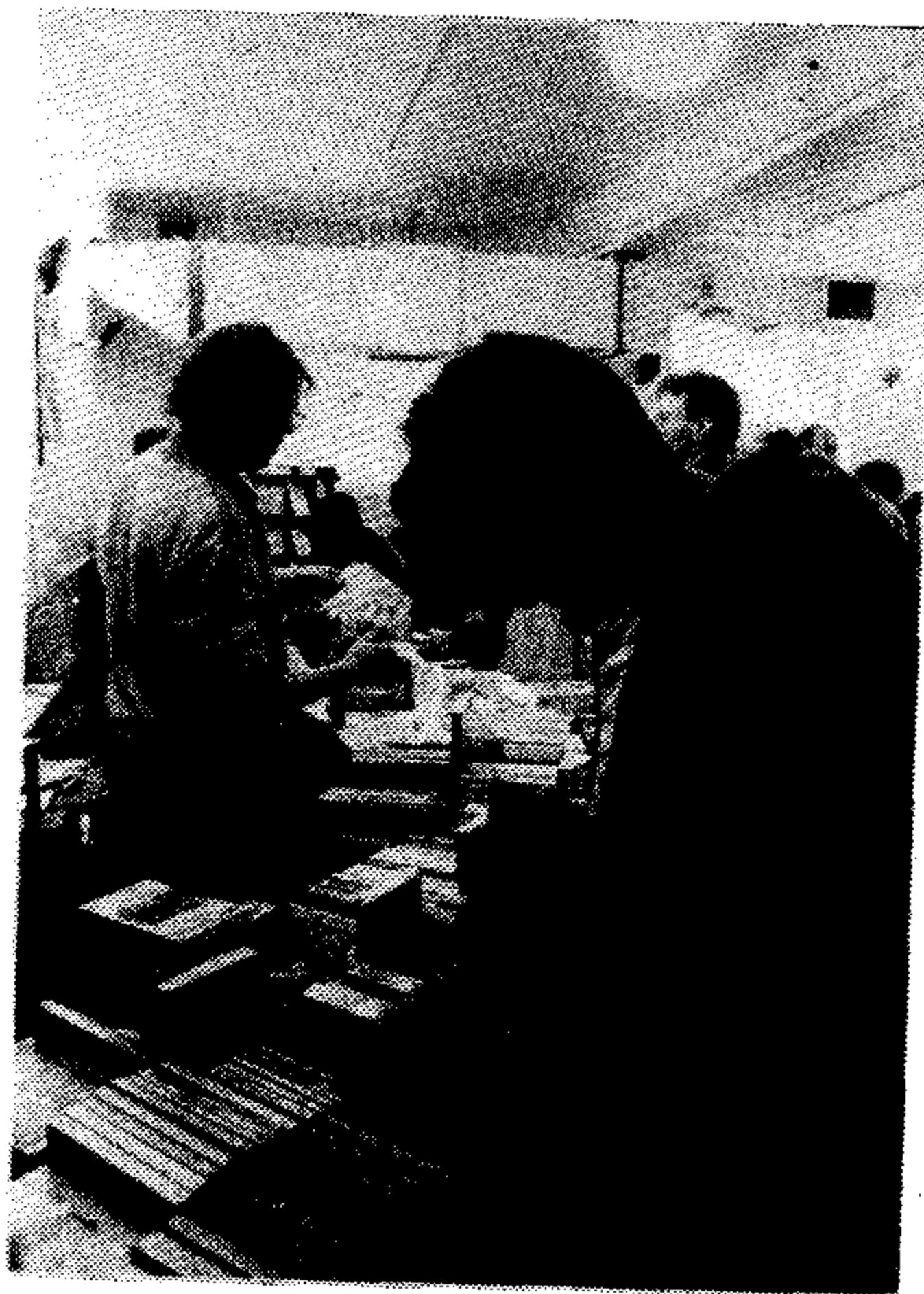
We present our banner. We are not representative of other forces, of other organisations. We are Trotskyists and this task is now concentrated, not limited, but concentrated, in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet working class is now ready to give confidence to the world proletariat by overturning the bureaucracy in its political revolution.

But it can do it only when those advanced workers who are fighting to maintain and continue the Fourth International - those who are engaged in the task of its reconstruction - pass to them the flame of Bolshevism which they preserved in the Fourth International and in the fight for it.

Go forward for the reconstruction of the Fourth International!

Go forward to convince the most advanced elements of the working class of the world, and first of all of the Soviet working class!



The popular bookstall at the meeting

## Simon Pirani

gave a report on the League of Democratic Youth conference in Hungary, which he had attended on behalf of the Preparatory Committee.

The League, Hungary's first political youth organisation independent of the Stalinists, was founded in March. Members were threatened with denial of job opportunities, given police warnings about 'forming an illegal organisation', and in one case forced to end studies by a military call-up. But Hungary's bureaucracy, torn by serious economic and political crisis, had had to tolerate the League's conference, attended by 700.

'There was great interest in Trotskyism, in the Hungarian Trotskyists' paper and the Transitional Programme. But Trotskyism is little known to this generation of Hungarians.

'The greatest crime of the bureaucracy is to have educated them to believe that the stifling police regime under which they live is 'the dictatorship of the proletariat', and that the bankrupt Hungarian economy is 'socialist', said Pirani. 'They have been nearly completely cut off from a knowledge of Bolshevism in the genuine sense of the word.

Hungarian youth were coming into political activity on issues such as the nuclear war threat, and ecological questions. A recent demonstration of 25,000 had demanded a referendum on the Nagymaros dam project, which will have catastrophic consequences for landscape and villages around the Danube. Above all, said Pirani, the Hungarian youth are calling for democracy.

'Unlike us Trotskyists, they



make no distinction between working-class, or 'soviet' parties, as mentioned in the Transitional Programme, and bourgeois parties. They demand legality for all parties.

'Such is their concern for democracy, and their belief that the domination of one person or faction in their own organisation could be prevented by properly democratic statutes, that the entire weekend conference was spent discussing this question.'

Pirani reported that he had addressed the conference, welcoming the League's determination to 'take responsibility for their own future', and asking the congress 'not to have illusions in western bourgeois democracy. Look to the workers of western Europe, to the students, to the Irish and South Africans who are struggling for democratic and national rights against imperialist 'democracy' - not to Thatcher and the bourgeoisie'.

(A further report on the 'League of Democratic Youth' conference will appear in next week's Workers Press).

A TREMENDOUS £745.23 was collected at the meeting. In making the collection,

## Geoff Pilling

said a decisive stage had been reached in the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

In 1985 the Workers Revolutionary Party arrived at a point where it almost broke completely asunder. Healy had systematically used his position of authority to sexually abuse a large number of female comrades and physically abuse many, many others.

The old leadership was expelled and a number of members decided a Trotskyist party could only be rebuilt on the basis of a profound struggle, theoretically and politically against the philistinism that dominated and almost destroyed the WRP.

The struggle to resolve this crisis had enabled contact with important forces, separated from the movement for a long time. The presence of an Irish comrade on the platform was proof of this.

'We are not celebrating the 50 years of the Fourth International as historians. We are celebrating these 50 years from the point of view of serious consideration of the possibilities of rebuilding the international and the great responsibilities that fall upon the shoulders of every one of us in that task'.

On the basis of a series of struggles the stage had been reached where a Centre could be launched for the rebuilding of the Fourth International as the World Party of Socialist Revolution, on the foundation of all the accumulated theoretical and political experiences of the movement which must be continually reappropriated and developed in line with the enormous new upsurge in the class struggle.

Referring to Peter Fryer's report, he said the primary task was to build a section of the Fourth International in the Soviet Union.

Workers Press had reported that £500 had been donated by a Japanese Trotskyist organisation with whom contact had been lost since 1966. They had now written saying a further £500 was coming, and indicating they want discussions about the Fourth International and its rebuilding. This response showed the enormous impact the call for the rebuilding of the Fourth International would have and already was having.

Pilling went on: 'How better can we commemorate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International than by saying that we will dedicate ourselves now to this task?'

'The International was founded upon the greatest ideas - the ideas of Marxism. It was also founded on enormous sacrifice, resulting as it did from a long bitter struggle against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy.'

## Patrick Corre

brought greetings from the French comrades grouped around the paper, 'Rebuild the Fourth International'.

He said that the anniversary

couldn't be separated from the great political developments under way all over the world.

'Workers are taking back the initiative and taking up a merciless struggle against the decaying capitalist system,' he said.

'The current situation is one of revolutionary upsurge of the working class trying to free itself from its bankrupt leadership.'

'This anniversary for those in the Preparatory Committee is much more than a simple celebration - it is a real call to fight for Trotskyism to put down its roots in the heart of the working class. It is only Trotskyism that is capable of leading workers to victory.'

Patrick went on to say that the enemies of the working class all over the world are common enemies. 'There are many examples of the counter-revolutionary alliance of Stalinist bureaucracies and the bourgeoisie,' he said.

'To those in the meeting who are not Trotskyist,' he said, 'the reconstruction of the Fourth International is not just an internal matter for Trotskyists - it is your matter too.'

The crisis of the Fourth International has its roots in the Stalinist extermination of the Bolsheviks which inflicted very serious blows on the world vanguard of the working class. But the Preparatory Committee is testimony to the struggle carried on against all those who have tried to liquidate the Fourth International, such as the Unified Secretariat.

In response to the Ten Points which gave birth to the Preparatory Committee, Patrick said that the group in France is preparing for a Trotskyist Conference in France to develop the struggle against Stalinism and Pabloism.

'Such a conference would give courage to the militants in the working class disgusted by their old leadership's opportunism,' he said. The forces are now present in France to build the revolutionary Trotskyist party. 'The best homage we can pay to the memory and struggle of Leon Trotsky,' Patrick said, 'is to carry

# News briefs. . .

## US nuclear danger

THE SAVANNAH River nuclear weapons plant in South Carolina had been shut down between nine and 12 times a year for nearly two decades, the US Department of Energy disclosed recently.

A study which had taken five months to be made public also revealed that exposure to radiation for some workers at the plant greatly exceeded US safety limits.

Many of the country's nuclear experts have stated that if civilian reactors had experienced the same serious problems, they would have been closed immediately.

According to Energy Department officials the report was sent to Washington at the beginning of May but not received by the agency's chief safety operator until 22 September. Two of the reactors, designed to produce plutonium and tritium for nuclear weaponry, have been taken out of service permanently.

## Save it!

ANY illusion that consumers might benefit from improved efficiency when the electricity industry is privatised have been quickly dispelled. The latest announcement of the Tory government's plans makes it clear that most of the savings from cheaper coal and other cost savings will be allowed to be passed on to shareholders of the electricity generating companies.

## Toll of China's missile programme

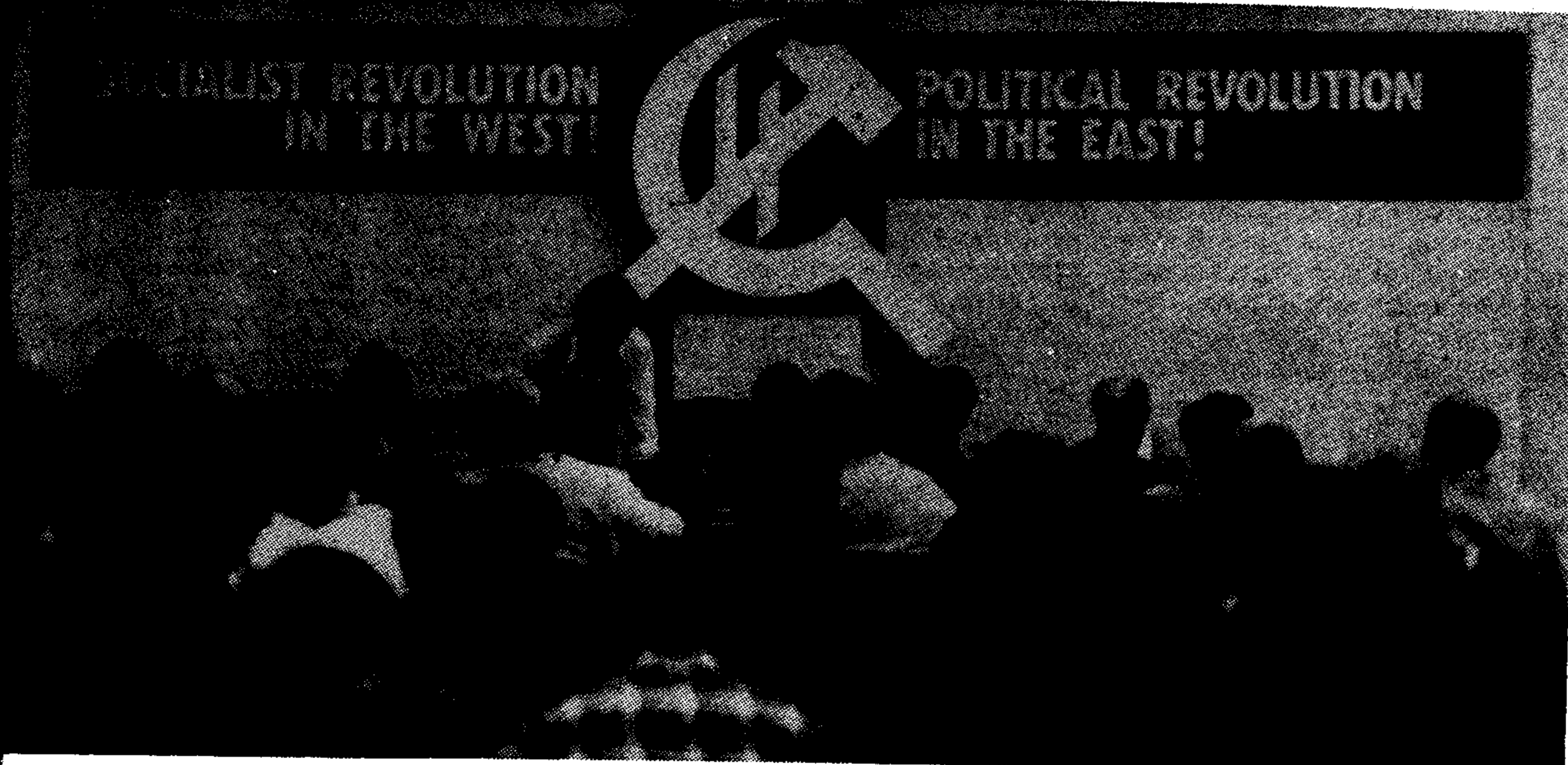
OVER 400 people, among them three army generals, have died at the Jiuquan rocket launching site in China's western province of Gansu since it was built 30 years ago. A state radio announcement said that nearly 1,000 missiles and rockets and 19 satellites has been launched in that period but it gave no details of how the victims met their deaths.

## Job training discrimination

WIDESPREAD racial discrimination exists in employer-based training schemes, according to statistics included in a report from the Youth Employment and Training Resource Unit in Birmingham.

More than 40 large companies, some of them engaging 300 trainees, were discovered to have no black or Asian trainees at all; a further 27 companies who provide job training for over double that figure had at most one or two from ethnic minorities apiece.

Black people nationally represented only 3.3 per cent of YTS trainees in all schemes.



The audience and part of the platform at the 50th anniversary meeting

## More about Moscow

LAST week's interview with me in Workers Press was done in a bit of a hurry, and a few mistakes, or misunderstandings, crept in. Perhaps those had better be cleared up first.

Most important, I don't want to go on record as claiming that there are 'thousands' of prostitute women working the Intourist hotels in Moscow. That was hyperbole.

But there are in fact several hundred such women, and anyone who doubts it should read the article in the weekly 'Moscow News' for 18 September last, with the rather twee headline: 'Ladies of the Night and Travelling Musicians.'

It pinpoints the spot where 'the most expensive prostitutes gather. Splendid ladies in Cardin dresses and girls in their teens who'd do just as well in school uniforms. ... Japan has already brought out a catalogue 'Two hundred Moscow Girls' with their photographs, measurements and telephone numbers.

'At the corner we met Yevgeny Chaikovsky, head of the criminal investigation department in charge of combating prostitution. He knows practically everything about his wards. One, he says, knows four languages in addition to Russian. Another has been caught more than 20 times.

'He knows them personally but he can't take legal action against them. The law doesn't allow him to. ...

'Whether because it was nasty weather or to keep out of sight, almost all the girls waited in taxi-cabs and private cars parked

by the hotel entrance while smart guys in leather jackets did their bidding for them.'

It was recalling the days when the British Communist Party claimed - and I claimed with them - that prostitution and venereal diseases had been done away with for ever in the 'Land of Socialism' that led me to speak of a 'delayed disillusionment' when I read this article and then saw for myself the sad reality it describes.

The black market rate for £20 is 100 roubles, not 200. My allusion to the hippogriff was a reference to the Democratic Union, which was launched last May under the leadership of a former camp inmate called Valeria Novodvorskaya, jailed in 1969 for throwing leaflets against the invasion of Czechoslovakia from the balcony of the Palace of Soviets.

Her organisation, which claims to be a political party, consists basically of two factions: one of social-democrats, the other of Euro-Communists.

'Kalalisky' is in fact Boris Kagarlitsky, whose important book 'The Thinking Reed', an account of Soviet intellectuals and their relationship with the state from 1917 to the 1980s, was recently translated by Brian Pearce and published by Verso.

More than one friend who read the interview has asked me: 'Didn't you find anything good in Moscow?' The short answer is: of course I did.

No one could come away from a visit to the Lenin Library, for instance, without a feeling of deep admiration for that exemplary institution, with its stock of over 35 million books, journals, annual newspaper files, sheet music, and maps, in 247 languages.

The Lenin Library recently declassified over 6,000 books that had been suppressed

under Stalin, and put them back on the stacks. Eight hundred of them are currently on display in a public exhibition, where I saw people eagerly examining these long-hidden volumes and making notes. The library also boasts a splendid museum of book history, and it was a pleasure to see parties of schoolchildren being shown round and introduced to its riches.

Another place I visited, and found it hard to tear myself away from, was the Central Lenin Museum, which assembles something like 13,000 memorabilia.

There's even a scale model of the British Museum Reading Room as it was when Marx and, later, Lenin used it, indicating the seats they habitually sat in. A half-hour film, shown every hour, incorporates rare footage of Lenin speaking in public, chatting, and nursing a cat.

But when I searched this museum's 34 rooms for any reference to Trotsky, I found only one: in a list of members of the first Soviet government, as printed in Pravda in November 1917. Stalin has also been virtually written out of the record: all I found were two tiny pictures of him as a Central Committee member, and two more of him as a participant in the Yalta and Potsdam conferences.

This is history as ideology.

Lastly, it's always said that one of the best things in Moscow is the Metro, and I found this to be quite true. Unlike the London Underground, it's clean, cheap (the longest trip costs five copecks), and efficient.

I rarely had to wait more than two minutes for a train, and never more than three. And the digital clocks on every platform, that tell you the time and the interval that has elapsed since the last train, are invariably correct.

## AS I SEE IT BY TOM OWEN

### MUSEUM POLITICS

FOR ME this year's Labour Party Conference is shot through with historical and political ironies. I wonder what those Young Socialist and Young Communist League members of the Cardiff University Socialist Society Committee, who watched Hugh Gaitskell promise to 'fight, fight and fight again' against the TGWU's support for the Norwood CLP's unilateralist resolution at the Scarborough Conference of 1960, are saying and doing now. I know what one of them is saying and doing now. He is not cheering Ron Todd with the same enthusiasm as he cheered Frank Cousins!

If you haven't guessed, one of our comrades then was Kinnock, who replaced his childhood dream of being a policeman with policing the working class - like more successful gendarmes such as Gorbachev and Felipe Gonzales. These 'new' leaders are at great pains to dress up their threadbare opportunism in the trappings of 'modernisation'. That 'market forces' are seen as

new phenomena after nearly two centuries of full blown capitalism in Britain gives us a clue to the speed of Kinnock's mental and political reflexes, but will not convince the modern proletariat, which is in desperate need of that 'antiquated' form of modernism - revolutionary leadership.

There was also nothing new in the behaviour of those 'left' Labour MPs who voted against their constituency mandates in the leadership context, like Richard Caborn (Sheffield Central) and David Blunkett (Sheffield Brightside). That they should have voted for the modernisers is ironic. Behind the arthritic Stalinist rhetoric and the Methodist cant of these two gentlemen lie the deep uncertainties that the crisis generates in the Soviet Union and as far afield as provincial Sheffield. After 50 years of Labour rule, the city which was hailed as a model of municipal socialism is an urban and industrial wasteland.

The 'modernisers' of the Labour group claim that they are reshaping the city for the 21st century. Their planners have now abandoned high density functionalist structures which dominate the city skyline for less dramatic 'post-modernist' shopping

complexes. These look like sand-blasted mill yards sporting Dickensian cheese shops and delicatessen, surveyed by 'Swiss' clocks with revolving statues of 19th century knife grinders.

In fact the city is awash with municipal nostalgia for the steam age. As with all nostalgia the memory is selective to the point of fiction. There is not much nostalgia for the 'Sheffield Outrages' nor the physical force Chartist insurrectionary incidents, nor for that matter the Sheffield Shop Stewards Movement of the First World War, whose internationalism contributed to the fledgling Communist movement in Britain and stands in stark contrast to the present grovelling Social-patriotism of the various Communist parties and the Labour Party.

What remains of the working class movement of the past are those 'modern' leaders of the 'traditional' working class, who manage as civic entrepreneurs the public sector workers, the newly skilled, the recently deskilled, the diminishing skilled and the part-time, mostly women, workers.

They are the bureaucratic husk threshed out of the mill of Thatcherism. Their only cultural refuge is 'nostalgia'. Its mater-

ialisation is museums. Not the kind of museum which the shrewd 19th century philanthropists founded in the face of the English aristocracy's rush to flog off the national heritage during the crises of Victorian capitalism.

The two new museums recently opened to the public are both ambitiously and ambiguously nostalgic. The first - 'Kelham Island' - is a vast industrial museum which preserves and reconstructs the Sheffield trades of cutlery, steel production, light and heavy engineering. The ultimate insult is that workers being retrained are taken on trips to view the monstrous engines which so recently stood over them like avenging angels.

The other is the new Ruskin gallery. It was a reasonably civilised wine lodge. It is now a little temple to the Muses, an ERAKTHAON in the corner of a 19th century vintner's shop. That the Sheffield left, after 50 years of Labour rule, should celebrate Ruskin because of his fleeting acquaintance with the city demonstrates the cultural bankruptcy of this brand of municipal socialism. Ruskin's guild socialism, puritanism and reactionary aestheticism has its most literal and material expression in Italian fascism.



# Spain and the International Brigades

BY KEITH SCOTCHER

TODAY in Southern Africa and in Palestine Stalinism seeks to betray the international working class, as 50 years ago it betrayed the Spanish workers into the hands of fascism. Today it preaches the same dirty cant of compromise and subservience to bourgeois parties and forces.

But 50 years ago the Communist Party could still assume the mantle of Bolshevism and 1917. Today it has much greater difficulty in doing so as the political revolution gathers force in the Soviet Union, and class conscious workers in South Africa raise a banner at their annual conference proclaiming 'Down with Stalinism'.

This weekend Stalinists and some survivors are 'celebrating' the withdrawal of the International Brigades from Spain 50 years ago. Stalin ordered the withdrawal, six months before Franco's final victory in the Spanish Civil War, as he turned towards Berlin and the signing of a pact with Hitler less than a year later.

Once again, as in China 1927 and Germany 1933, the policies of the Comintern under Stalin's leadership had proved not only disastrous, but the main factor in the strangling of revolutionary struggles. Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, had formed the International Left Opposition to fight to win the Communist Parties back to the revolutionary path. The victory of Hitler meant that new revolutionary parties had to be built and Trotsky strove to rearm the movement with a revolutionary perspective, insisting that in Spain even a small movement, armed with a correct theory, could make a decisive intervention by providing a revolutionary programme, party and leadership.

## Republic

The Spanish revolution began following the 1929 financial crash with the collapse of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the proclamation of the Second Republic in April 1931. The fall of the old regime aroused every kind of dissatisfaction and hope amongst the mass of workers and predominantly the

landless peasants. The bourgeois republican government would resolve none of their problems and within months suppressed a wave of strikes with artillery.

At this time the Communist Party with just 800 members was following the ultra-left 'third period' policy of the Comintern (1928-34) and was isolated from the majority of workers led by anarcho-syndicalists (CNT.)

## Asturia

The development of strikes and peasant uprisings grew and in October 1934 the Asturian workers rose, led by the miners. The republican prime minister, Leroux ordered General Franco to suppress the rising with the Spanish Foreign Legion.

5,000 were killed and 30,000 taken prisoner, but this blow did not prove decisive. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern in August 1935 adopted the Popular Front policy of unity with 'progressive' bourgeois and abandoned all pretence of revolutionary aims.

## 1936

A popular front government was elected in Spain in February 1936 and was supported by the Communist Party, the Anarchists and the POUM. Only the Trotskyists, few in number, opposed the bourgeois coalition.

In July the fascist rebellion began in Morocco, spreading to Spain. The outbreak of armed struggle brought the revolutionary situation to a head. Workers rose to seize their factories and defeated the military on the streets of Madrid and Barcelona.

Peasants seized the land, churches were burnt and factory bosses, landowners and army officers fled in terror as tribunals were set up to deal out revolutionary justice.

Meanwhile, in Moscow Zinoviev and Kamenev were being tried and executed in the first of the Moscow Trials.

The Communist Party joined the 'socialist' led popular front government in September. In reality there was no unity with a bourgeoisie who had gone over to Franco, only with its shadow - a few liberal politicians. The power was there for the taking but the civil war was engaged

by the government in a non-revolutionary defence of bourgeois democracy.

Stalin wrote to the popular front government insisting on the protection of private property.

## Barcelona

A month after the bombing of Guernica in April 1937 the Stalinist chief of police in Catalonia ordered assault guards to attack Anarchist and POUM held positions in Barcelona. Thousands of workers came out to man street barricades challenging the power of the capitalist-Stalinist government. The Anarchist and POUM leaders accepted a truce and a promise of no reprisals. Troops from Valencia were brought in to occupy Barcelona and a repression began.

Anarchist, POUM and militia members were arrested on sight, many were shot.

## Poum

The Stalinists accused the POUM of being Franco's agents and demanded they be outlawed. Antonov-Ovseenko, the Russian Consul General, ordered the POUM headquarters be closed. The POUM was declared illegal and its central committee arrested.

Andres Nin, a former leader of the Communist Party, was handed over to the GPU team led by Orlov, Vidali and Gero who murdered him after failing to make him sign a confession to being a fascist agent.

## Stalin

The Stalinists consolidated the bourgeois character of the republican government and cut off the route to victory by the revolutionary mobilisation of the workers and peasants. They promised nothing but the continuation of bourgeois rule.

There was not even a declaration of independence for Morocco in order to undermine Franco's army made up largely

of Moroccans.

After the Barcelona events, the fortunes of the republican side went into rapid decline as revolutionary hopes waned. Franco's forces gradually cut off and surrounded the republican held areas, closing in on the government which had retreated to Barcelona.

By his policy in Spain, Stalin had hoped to win an alliance with France and Britain against Germany, but in 1938 Chamberlain and Daladier made the Munich agreement with Hitler. The Spanish revolution was sacrificed for the Kremlin's diplomatic manoeuvres. Now Stalin was anxious to extricate himself from Spain.

The International Brigades fought their last battles in the Ebro campaign in September 1938 and had withdrawn by November.

By the following April Franco declared the complete victory of fascism.

The republican bourgeois and CP leaders fled leaving the working class to suffer the consequences of mass repression. 200,000 were executed after the fighting had ceased.

On 22 August 1939 Stalin signed his peace pact with Hitler. Stalinism had become the main counter-revolutionary force within the workers' movement, wanting to eliminate the need for fascism by proving that they themselves would strangle the revolution in the name of 'democracy'.

The only movement to draw the lessons and fight these betrayals was the Trotskyist movement which founded the Fourth International 50 years ago in the heat of these struggles.

As the founding document stated, the crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of leadership of the working class. Today these lessons are decisive in the rebuilding of the world revolutionary movement.



October 1936. The first International Brigaders -from Europe- march through Barcelona

# ALGERIA

BY TOM KEMP

THE situation in Algeria, revealed by the recent riots, shows once again the inability of the national bourgeoisie, however radical, to carry through the tasks of the bourgeois revolution in underdeveloped countries.

Independent Algeria came into existence as a result of a prolonged and bitter struggle against French imperialism, which began in November 1954, and ended with independence on July 1, 1962.

The present regime rests on a one-party system based on the FLN, which led the national struggle, and is backed by a powerful army. Despite the claim to have carried out socialist measures, Algeria remains dependent on the capitalist world market. Virtually all its exports consist of primary products, mostly petroleum. Indeed without oil money, the country would be completely poverty stricken.

With the population growing at a high rate, three percent annually, there is increasing pressure on the job market and the food supply. Twenty percent of imports consist of food, and another 50 percent of manufactured goods.

The attempt to industrialise the economy through state-owned enterprises has not tackled the root problem of an underdeveloped country with an overabundant labour supply. While part of agriculture has been collectivised in imitation of Eastern Europe, the growing population has crowded into a few big cities, where unemployment and under-employment are rife.

The official figure of 20 percent is not taken seriously.

The safety valve of immigration has been cut off by mounting unemployment in France and the growth of racism. Masses of young people with high school or university education find that there are no jobs, and prospects of using their talents or skills are poor.

Repression of political opponents, bureaucratic misrule, and the consolidation of the privileges of a state bourgeoisie have characterised Algerian politics since independence.

While oil prices were high, problems could be glossed over. Imports of food and manufactured goods could be paid for, the military and the plethoric civil service could be kept happy. The fall in oil prices exposed the weaknesses of the economy, its dependence on the world market, and its one sided nature. Earnings from petroleum exports fell from some \$1250 million in 1985 to under \$800 million in 1986 and \$900 million last year.

While oil prices were high, the government borrowed heavily from the international banks, leaving Algeria with a debt now over \$2,500 million. Servicing the debt has become increasingly onerous.

Although it was kept out of the direct clutches of the IMF and the World Bank, the government of President Chedli Benjedid has moved in the same direction as those tools of international finance have ordered other developing countries to take; cutback on state projects, open the way for private capital, impose austerity on the population. Algeria has moved closer to the United States and to the 'moderate' Arab regimes. Some of the state farms have been dissolved, and

# Moscow offers peace to Zionism

BY CYRIL SMITH

When the Palestinian National Council next meets on 1 November, it will have before it a proposal from the PLO executive to declare an independent state of Palestine. The declaration, it is claimed, has a legal basis in United Nations resolution 181, passed in 1947. This proposed the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and was superseded by the declaration of the State of Israel.

The idea was floated by Arafat and his supporters in August of

this year, after King Hussein made his announcement that Jordan would drop all responsibility for the administration of the West Bank.

After the declaration of a Palestinian state, the next step would be the setting up of a 'government in exile', but this is not being recommended at this stage. Instead, the Council will be asked to give the Executive powers to form it at some future time.

The implications of this move are far-reaching. After decades of struggle against the Zionist state, under the slogan of a 'democratic, secular Palestine', the PLO would be implicitly recognising Israel's right to exist as a Jewish theocratic state. The state of Palestine would in fact be claiming only the West Bank and Gaza Strip areas, at present occupied by the Zionists.

The 'Intifada', in which the occupants of these areas have been battling against the Zionist troops, would be channelled into this limited aim. Palestinians living within Israel would be effectively abandoned.

The PLO spokesman who announced the new decision refused to answer questions about whether it would be followed by open recognition of Israel.

Two factors have delayed this move, one is the situation in Algeria, which was the most probable venue for the National Council meeting. The other is the forthcoming general election in Israel. Some sections of the PLO are worried that the declaration of a Palestinian state would frighten voters into increasing support for the right-wing Likud party.

There is increasing evidence that the more conciliatory stance of the PLO leadership has been adopted under pressure from Moscow. Two PLO delegations are abroad at present consulting with international leaders - one in Libya and the other in Moscow.

These activities are certainly part of the preparation for a Middle East 'peace conference' which would cement a US-Zionist-Moscow deal at the expense of the Palestinian people.

more encouragement has been given to the private sector.

These crisis measures have only undermined the credibility of the regime, building up frustration and resentment, which exploded into something like a popular insurrection in the past week or so.

In the absence of any alternative, many disgruntled petty bourgeois youth, as in other Muslim countries, have turned to Islamic fundamentalism, which sees the answer in strict obedience to the teachings of the Koran. But religious fanaticism cannot resolve the economic and political problems of Algeria, nor any other underdeveloped countries suffering from the effects of world economic crisis. The future lies with the growing working class, which had already come into collision with the government in a series of strikes before the latest wave of discontent.

# Sarmcol women break the silence

BY BOB MYERS

AN AUDIENCE of trade unionists from different British Tyre and Rubber (BTR) factories leapt to their feet dancing, fists clenched, in the manner of the South African youth as we saw them daily on TV preparing to face the state forces. Leading them on stage were seven South African women singing 'Viva NUMSA, Viva COSATU, Moses Mayekiso must be released.'

The concert marked the finale of an international conference which united BTR factory workers from South Africa, Britain and America - all agreed on one principle - the necessity for an international trade union organisation to smash multi-nationals like BTR. A further conference is being organised.

The singers at the concert were wives and daughters of strikers at

the South African Sarmcol plant and were accompanied by the secretary of the stewards.

They are here, like the men who came to Britain last year with 'The Long March', to raise support for the strike and for the workers' co-op that has been established to try and feed the families. They are touring the country with an evening of song and dance called 'Sisters of the Long March.'

Two of the performers are wives of strikers and are union militants at the nearby Prestige factory. The others are daughters of strikers and all unemployed.

All live in families where tiny or non-existent incomes have to feed large numbers of unemployed.

Alice Ngubane's family of 11 depend on their grandmother's pension of £45 every two months.

But if anyone doubts that Botha's state of emergency, the detentions and the murders have

broken the spirit of resistance go and see 'Sisters of the Long March'.

Like 'The Long March' this is the voice not only of opponents of apartheid, but of capitalism.

Jabu Ndlovu told me why they were boycotting the coming municipal elections.

'They are a waste of time. Anyway, when we do elect someone we want to elect workers. Not someone who wants to be a town councillor. Doctors, lawyers, dentists - they don't have the problems we have. We will elect workers within our workers structures.'

Their loyalty to their union NUMSA and determination to free Moses Mayekiso is loud and clear.

For a complete list of their venues up to December write to:  
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PO Box 153 Leicester LE2 4FX

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