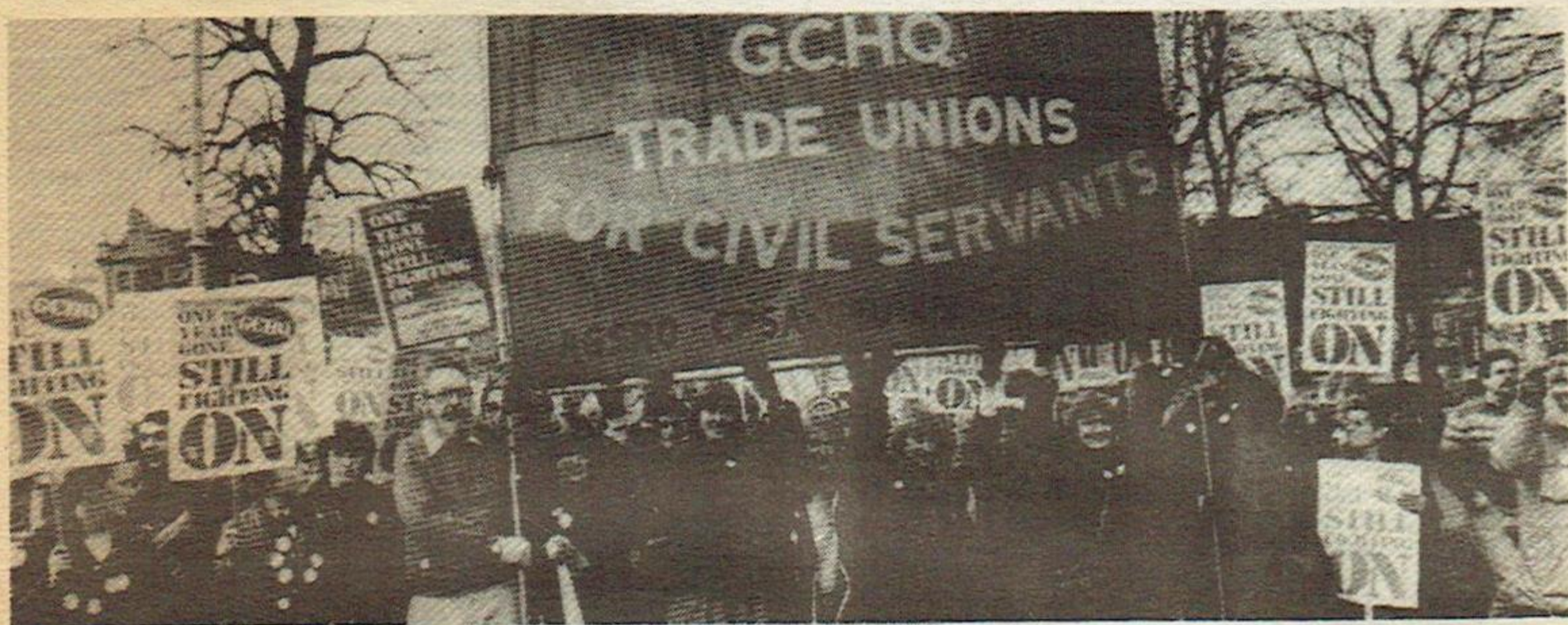


WARNING FROM WINCHESTER



Defending workers' rights here cannot be separated from Irish struggle against state terror

WHEN three young Irish people were jailed for 25 years last week, the norms of 'justice' were trampled on. The blatant intervention of Tory Minister Tom King, in the trial brought protests from lawyers (see Charlie Walsh's report on page 3).

What about the labour and trade union leaders? Not a murmur from them about King's alleged breach of the sub judice rules, the huge media witch-hunt against the defendants, the conviction entirely on circumstantial evidence, or the harsh sentences.

As Workers Press has said before, the British working class movement ignores the terror of the British capitalist

state against Irish people at its peril. The same methods will be turned against British workers when the ruling class requires.

But is that the end of the matter?

No, there is a further aspect to be considered. The Labour leaders' silence about the Winchester trial carries in it an assumption - a fundamentally racist one - that since the defendants were Irish, perhaps they were 'guilty' after all.

Two of them at least, had supported Sinn Fein in the past; there was unexplained evidence; they might have been 'terrorists'. So better to say nothing.

The Labour leaders' attitude isn't surprising: they cooperate with (and when Labour is in

office, organise) the systematic repression in the north of Ireland. The regime of terror is theirs as much as King's. They explicitly support the violence of the oppressor.

Even the most 'left' MPs, who support the 'Time To Go' campaign, put all violence on a par, and condemn it, conveniently leaving British imperialism with the overwhelming superiority of force.

For such reformists, the right of the oppressed to fight back only applies in other continents.

A bureaucracy in which such reasoning flourishes provides essential support for imperialism and its state: it worships that state, and is fearful of challenging it. When that state stamps on British workers' own age old rights

the bureaucracy can only bleat complaints.

We say to workers on this Monday's day of action in defence of GCHQ trade unionists, and to journalists who strike on Thursday against TV and radio censorship:

The struggle for trade union rights and democratic freedoms will be waged side by side with the Irish working class, and against the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracy.

This is the sense in which Karl Marx's famous statement, that the British working class 'can never do anything decisive...until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes', remains true.

Inside this week's Workers Press:
State frame-up of Irish, by Charlie Walsh - page 3
Cliff Slaughter comments on Gorbachev's political line - page 7
Letters - page 4

Stalinists meet their teacher

Thatcher's visit to Poland, which will have finished by the time you read this, deserves attention from Marxists. It contains some of the most important elements of today's world situation.

For nine years Thatcher has been engaged in taking away the rights of trade unionists and democratic rights in general, closing down entire industries and destroying social services.

Her host, General Jaruzelski (he calls himself a communist by the way), expresses himself her sincere admirer. 'We are full of admiration for Mrs Thatcher,' he declared on Monday, 'for the reason that she has pursued such a consistent and aggressive economic policy. I would very much like to ask her counsel on how such a policy could be realised.' He also made clear that he is looking for economic assistance from the Thatcher regime to prop up the tottering Polish economy.

That morning, he had announced the closure of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. The reason given is that the yard is making a loss, but everyone knows that it is the heart of Solidarity, the trade union movement which erupted in 1980.

Prime Minister Rakowski was asked if he expected trouble from the Gdansk shipworkers.

'Maybe there will be trouble,' he agreed 'but you know Mrs. Thatcher had a lot of trouble when she started to close factories and coal mines.'

The Polish 'leaders' know something about that. When the British miners were fighting against Thatcher's pit closures, Polish coal poured into Britain to help the Tories.

On Friday, Thatcher is due to visit Gdansk to meet Lech Walesa. Walesa had also expressed his admiration for Thatcher in the past.

When the Polish workers once again showed their fighting capacity this summer, this leader of the 'moderate' wing of Solidarity used all his authority to pressurise the strikers including workers who occupied the Lenin yard, to call off their action.

This was supposed to help to get Solidarity officially recognised. Last Monday, talks with the government were due to begin. They were called off at the last minute.

Here we have represented the most important social forces - the leader of British imperialism, fresh from her attacks on British workers, hurries to back the Stalinist bureaucracy against the Polish working class.

This class has organised itself to fight the bureaucracy. It now comes into conflict with its existing leaders who are dominated by the church.

They have shown their inability to lead the struggle for the removal of the bureaucracy from power. Instead they aim only at a form of partnership with it.

For the Polish workers to find the way forward, they have to have a leadership which sets out consciously from the unity of the political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy with the socialist revolution against capitalism in the West.

What unites Thatcher, Jaruzelski, and Walesa is their common fear of this linked revolution, whose leadership will come from the reconstructed Fourth International.

WORKERS PRESS FIGHTING FUND

In so far: £34.25

THANKS to all who contributed to our Fighting Fund. We completed the £1,500 for October, and have £34.25 towards our November target.

It is a pleasure and a privilege to be responsible for speaking to members of the Workers Revolutionary Party and readers of Workers Press about the importance of raising our Fighting Fund. To some this may come as a surprise. Isn't it a hard and thankless task to be constantly fighting to raise money?

This comes to mind because as I write this column I am thinking about the meeting we have called on: The Workers Revolutionary Party - Three Years Since the Expulsion of G. Healy.

In the years before 1985 the collection and organisation of finance in the WRP was a nightmare. There was never any discussion on the Central Committee or within the Party. G. Healy was the sole arbiter. He decided what was necessary; we all had to jump through hoops to give him what he wanted; everybody was made to feel guilty and inadequate. For years he used violence and intimidation against those who did present him with the figures he wanted to see; and mobilised his sycophants to endorse this abuse. Finally he was dealt with.

Nowadays things are entirely different. The Workers Revolutionary Party is building up a confidence through the struggle for Marxism. We face reality and discuss difficulties openly in front of the whole working class. We know that the working class will deal with its rotten Stalinist and Social Democratic leaderships, and that the clearing out of Healy from the Workers Revolutionary Party was a foretaste of that.

That is why it is a pleasure and a privilege to ask you to ensure that we successfully complete our Fighting Fund each month.

Dot Gibson

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

INTERNATIONAL FUND

Since our last report, the Preparatory Committee officially launched a fund for the Centre for the Rebuilding of the Fourth International. This was announced at the Anniversary meeting - 50 years of the Fourth International - on 9 October. Next week this will be explained in more detail. In the meantime, we are proud to report that £1,559.22 has been received by the WRP since in October. Many thanks.

Send donations to WRP International Fund, PO BOX 735, London SW9 7QS.

LISTINGS

LONDON DISTRICT OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN IRELAND
A series of three lectures by SIMON PIRANI. THURSDAYS AT
7.30pm
at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1

1. BRITISH COLONISATION, IRISH REBELLION AND KARL
MARX
Thursday 10 November

2. JAMES CONNOLLY: SOCIALIST AND INTERNATIONALIST
Thursday 17 November

3. FROM IMPERIALIST PARTITION TO SOCIALIST
REVOLUTION
Thursday 24 November

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STATE FRAME-UP OF IRISH

BY CHARLIE WALSH

'THERE is no way any Irish man or woman can get justice in a British court' said an angry Paddy Shanahan, brother of Martina, outside Winchester Crown Court last Friday.

Martina, Finbarr Cullen and John McCann had just been given 25-year sentences. They were convicted by a majority decision of conspiring with persons unknown to murder the British Northern Ireland secretary Tom King, and for allegedly conspiring with persons unknown to murder persons unknown.

Even by British justice's own perverted standards, this trial was anything but fair.

During the trial, Tom King made a statement about ending the right of silence for those arrested for alleged political offences in the British-occupied six counties of Ireland. He said that IRA suspects were abusing the right of silence, and his implication was that those who remained silent would be deemed by the courts to be guilty.

After this announcement, according to one of the defence solicitors, Michael Fisher, the trial was 'like Alice in Wonderland'. Gareth Pierce, another defence solicitor, called on the attorney general to institute proceedings for contempt of court against

King, because of his remarks in the course of the trial.

Winchester - a garrison town boasting at least four regiments of the British army who have all served in Ireland, including the Royal Hampshires, eight of whose soldiers were blown up by the IRA in the Ballygawley bus attack - was never going to produce anything but an anti-Irish jury. This was the opposite of 'trial by your peers'.

The defence tried to have the trial stopped because it co-incided with the Tory party conference at Brighton and an orgy of press comment on the IRA Grand Hotel bomb four years earlier.

A US legal observer who attended the opening of the trial said that the so-called prosecution evidence was so flimsy that the case should never have gone beyond the committal stage. None of the three defendants, he said, would have been committed for trial on such evidence in the US.

Even the trial judge had to admit in his summing-up that the prosecution case relied entirely on circumstantial evidence. The prosecution never proved, and was unable to prove, an agreement between the three to murder King.

For the crown the use of conspiracy charges - when there is insufficient evidence in respect of a substantive charge -

has a number of attractions. When these charges are proffered the rules of evidence are relaxed, and all sorts of extraneous material, which might normally be inadmissible, can be used. The Crown may also use evidence adduced against one defendant, to build up a case against a co-accused. In such cases the crown is effectively 'asking the jury to speculate' on the likelihood that the defendants may well have been party to some conspiracy.

The crown did not have to prove precisely where the alleged conspiracy took place, or indeed when it took place - but that the confluence of circumstances made it probable that it had taken place.

Despite all the prejudice, lack of evidence, heavy security in and around the court, the jury were still out for 15 hours. And during the course of their deliberations they had to ask a number of questions and sought legal direction on some of the issues raised both by the defence and the judge's summing-up.

They were unable to reach a unanimous verdict and instead were directed to bring back a majority decision. Prejudice, lack of any substantive evidence, the catch-all conspiracy laws which don't have to prove when, where or with whom, the notorious racist and anti-Irish Prevention of Terrorism Act all combined once more to frame up three innocent young Irish people.

Tories threaten environment

BY BERNARD FRANKS

NOWHERE is the colossal hypocrisy of the Tory government more starkly revealed than in Thatcher's 'green' speech. Just two weeks after her pious expression of the need for 'protecting the balance of nature'.

British representatives joined with those of the USA to block a ban on incinerating toxic wastes at sea. A motion from Denmark at the 65-nation conference, backed by the underdeveloped nations, wanted to stop the use of shipboard furnaces (for burning up dangerous chemicals in international waters) by the end of this year.

Pressure from Britain and the USA changed the date to 1994! Again and again it has been the British representatives who have ignored, dodged, undermined or opposed the weakest of world accords or European directives towards even the minimum of environmental protection.

Farm Pollutants

RIVERS and streams are running with lethal pesticides and high-powered chemical fertilisers leaking off farm land. Proposals to apply strong statutory controls were headed off with the 1985 'voluntary code of practice' requiring only that the agricultural community police itself.

'We have no wish to impose restrictions on farmers' said the then Minister of Agriculture, Lord Belsted. But, point out the Institute of Professional Civil Servants, current staff levels would ensure an inspector's farm visit only once every 29 years! Organo-chlorine pesticides, condemned nine years ago by an EEC directive, are still in use in Britain because, says the Ministry of Agriculture, 'existing stocks are being used up'.

Doctors and consumer groups accuse the Ministry of hiding behind the Official Secrets Act to cover up dangers

of cancer, liver damage, nervous disorders and low fertility from pesticide residues in foods, notably lettuce, tomatoes, cucumbers, apples, pears, potatoes and baby vegetables.

Acid rain

THE TORIES have ignored pleas from European governments to stop sulphur emissions from power stations in Britain which are destroying Scandinavian forests and lakes.

Desulphurisation systems exist which can deal with the problem, but to hold down the costs the Tories have counter-urged to cut the outpourings by 30 per cent by 1994, with their own plan to scale down emissions by just 1 per cent by 1997.

Nuclear Power

NUCLEAR hazards and wastes were noticeably absent from Thatcher's list of 'green' concerns. The Official Secrets Act has been basic to the blocking of all information on minor and major accidents (e.g. Windscale) and of the full implications of disposal of radioactive waste (as well as the manufacture of plutonium for nuclear bomb-making).

Obstruction, hounding and outright violence against environmental researchers and protestors have all been condoned in an attempt to obliterate the evidence of dangers to health, including leukemia and other cancers caused by nuclear power operations.

The privatisation of electricity supply, due in 1990, means ancient reactors coming under the control of solely profit-motivated companies.

The ozone layer

THE TORY government has been the main opposition worldwide to reduced production of the chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), the chemicals in everyday products which when released into the atmosphere destroy the layer of ozone

around the planet that protects us from deadly ultra-violet rays.

Currently, 700,000 tonnes of these chemicals are produced in the world each year. The Tories want to ensure the profits of the main British producer, ICI, until it is ready with new safer products.

Its main rival, Duponts of America, has already patented new compounds and wants the ban to come in sooner.

Sea and river pollution

LOCAL water authorities are fighting a losing battle against industrial and farm pollutants. Improvements in river water which occurred in the first half of the 1980s have been reversed in the second.

Where polluters are tracked down they are rarely prosecuted, and fines range between £50 and £1,600.

The authorities themselves are some of the worst culprits, pouring vast quantities of untreated effluent into the seas around the coasts and treating drinking water with aluminium products which may lead to premature senility.

Dying seals are a symptom of a dying North Sea, filled with sewage that retains live viruses and bacteria - polio, meningitis, hepatitis, distemper - and industrial waste containing life-destroying metallic compounds of mercury, cadmium, zinc, copper, lead and arsenic.

The 'answer' from the Department of the Environment to Water Authorities which cannot meet pollution standards, is to relax those standards.

Once privatised, there will be even less concern to maintain high safety standards and protect the environment by methods which cost much and pay out nothing.

Then they too will be guided solely by the pollution law which urges firms to eliminate dangerous residues by applying 'the best available technology not entailing excessive costs'.

Environmental research undermined

THE TORIES are destroying the country's scientific research base. University science departments are being merged and rationalised and some are to be banned from research

altogether.

Everywhere 'market forces' are to prevail, meaning all 'pure' projects will have to end (environmental monitoring, cancer research, nature conservancy) leaving only those able to directly advance business or military interests.

It has been precisely the relative independence of these departments that has led to some of the most brilliant discoveries (out of apparently innocuous research) and to some of the most important warnings of dangers of world health and welfare. Now, only those areas contributing to the damage will be supported.

The National Environment Research Council, a body with only a £1.75 million budget, currently faces a lay-off of 120 staff.

The greenhouse effect

THE INDISCRIMINATE release into the atmosphere of chemical wastes is leading to a build up of gas around the planet which can dramatically and adversely affect the eco-system in the near future.

But whether it be use of leaded petrol, methane emissions from waste tips, hospitals with crown immunity belching out fumes or factories dumping untreated chemicals into the sea or on to the nearest common, the Tories are there to protect their 'freedom' to run their operations without interference from environmental laws or 'harassment' by those who seek to promote them.

Anarchy

IF ANARCHY appears to reign, that is precisely the case. By its very nature capitalism primarily sees environment protection - like safety and wages - as an uncalculated burden on its revenues, particularly when it is in cut-throat competition with others who do not meet the same standards (alternately, major producers will want the standards they have to observe enforced on all).

It is right that we should expose the dangers and seek stringent laws and protocols. But as long as capitalism exists these will be by-passed and broken.

Again and again the dangers will be fully revealed only when the damage is done.

LETTERS

Write to: Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

North's new ghouls

I WAS pleased to see the supplement in Workers Press answering North's slander campaign against Patrick Slaughter.

Cliff Slaughter will remember that this particular technique was first exhibited by D. North in 1985 in order to keep me out of an International Committee meeting. He told the committee that I was a racist.

The 'evidence' he put forward was that when accommodation was being arranged for the members of the International Committee, I had insisted upon North staying at my house.

In fact I wanted to get answers to some questions from North but the coward refused my invitation.

Then, in order to keep me out of the IC, he twisted the facts so that no longer was I inviting him - but I was not inviting the others!

His explanation for this was that I was a racist and as such could not attend the meeting.

North deliberately ignored the fact that I also invited the other American comrade, Larry, who happened to be black.

Sadly for North, though, he could not make the charge stick. It was pointed out to the committee (all of whom had stayed with me at one time or another) that for years on end comrades from every part of the world had stayed at my house.

The IC members who were prepared to swallow a whole lot of stuff could not swallow this, and North had to admit he was a liar.

In a last try to excuse himself, he said that he 'didn't know me' - another lie!

As Cliff said in the Workers Press supplement; North 'follows in the footsteps of Healy by his callous, one should say his scandalous, abuse of personality and integrity of those whom he decides may be destroyed in the interest of his own purposes.'

I found it hard to understand the mentality of the Healyite ghouls who after setting me up could then sit in the courtroom to watch me get sent down. Such behaviour is a qualitative step, a watershed in the degeneration of a clique.

The fact that North and Hyland have chosen the same road puts them firmly on the side of the state.

Phil Penn

What game is the ANC playing?

THE Stalinist-dominated African National Congress has in the past few months been stepping up its role as the 'government-in-exile' of South Africa.

Believing that some type of deal is in the offing it has already produced its constitution for the 'future South Africa' and of late has been meeting with numerous and varied delegations from inside the country to explain how it would govern South Africa.

The most recent visits to the ANC have come from sporting administrators in South Africa most anxious to find a way to break the international isolation which the country's apartheid policies have imposed upon it.

First came the rugby officials led by Danie Craven and then the soccer officials of the National Soccer League.

White rugby in South Africa is notorious for its vicious racism and its narrow Afrikaner chauvinism.

The 'Springboks' (someone who is selected to play in the national rugby team) enjoy pride of place in apartheid folklore as 'national heroes' and symbols of the 'superiority' of the 'white race'.

Although soccer is predominantly played by blacks in South Africa, the people whose lot the National Soccer Federation League came to plead are for the most part highly-paid professionals and the League itself has the distinction of being a very successful and highly profitable business concern.

How did our 'government-of-the-future-South-Africa' respond to these groups whose opportunistic motives of pure self-interest and commercial greed are abundantly clear to the black masses who suffer under the dual-yoke of racial oppression and economic exploitation?

Typically the ANC used this as an opportunity, not to assure the black masses that it would not be taken in by such crass opportunism, but to further embellish its credentials with the liberal bourgeoisie of the 'responsible' and 'sensible' leadership that it can be relied upon to provide (in other words, that if the running of the country were entrusted to it, it would not change things in any radical or fundamental way).

Certainly the ANC will attempt to justify its deal-making with Craven's racist

rugby board as a 'tactic' to split the ruling National Party.

And it is true that Craven's meeting with the ANC produced tensions in the National Party. But there are tactics and there are tactics. If the ANC was serious about causing divisions in the camp of the ruling class it should have said to Craven:

'There is a non-racial sports body in South Africa, the South African Council of Sport. This body believes that sport in South Africa can become non-racial if apartheid is abolished. Its slogan is, "no normal sport in an abnormal society". If you want to make a contribution to eradicating apartheid from sport apply to SACOS for membership.'

But to make unprincipled manoeuvres in the hope of splitting the class enemy is not only illusory but also dangerous.

The black masses in South Africa want a clear and unambiguous message from the ANC - is it for the total destruction of apartheid or is it not?

If it is for the complete eradication of every last vestige of apartheid then it can only achieve this if it makes an irrevocable break with the bourgeoisie (whether its conservative or liberal wing) whose very existence is dependent upon the survival of apartheid.

The way in which the ANC has responded to the many delegations that have come to visit it concretely demonstrates however that not only will the ANC not make this break, but that it in fact considers an alliance with the bourgeoisie more important than leading the masses in revolutionary struggle.

In this the ANC is no different from the Stalinist South African Communist Party (with whom it is an alliance), or the Soviet bureaucracy, who place 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism above the international socialist revolution.

The latest manoeuvres of the ANC prove again how urgent it is for a revolutionary leadership to emerge in South Africa, that is, for a section of the re-built Fourth International to be built in the country.

Jonas Mbenge

Guilty as charged

THATCHER'S police state seems to be getting nearer and nearer with the announcement of electronic tagging, initially to

keep an eye on 'criminals' on parole. This is another import from the US.

It is completely in line with other measures, noticed more and more these days: police breaking into and towing away vehicles in positions not really causing bother to other traffic; children being recruited in the (Manchester area?) for spying on 'stolen' vehicles, taking registration numbers etc., to do the police dirty work; setting up road blocks, not only to check vehicles, but in one case, actually in the road I live to tape off a major road; and send in the riot squad to deal with just an irate citizen who had to scramble on to his roof to get away from the boys in blue.

The use of video cameras in certain towns, the banning of drink, in some places (not even allowed to drown your sorrows of living in Thatcher's Britain).

The introduction of compulsory fingerprinting and the banning of the right of silence. The Clause 28, brought in against gay people but can be used against just anyone.

And if you are arrested and brought to court, you were at one time allowed to challenge up to seven jurors, now it is reduced to three; soon they will be chopping that down to none. Also the right to go to a higher court, will not be allowed in some circumstances.

Many people think that the police are servants of the taxpayer. They are not. They are instruments of the state and as such any police force run by the state has to be oppressive. And they are not workers in uniform as the Socialist Workers Party, Militant and others would have us believe. Not even in the time of PC Plod.

Back to the time of their inception by Sir Robert Peel they have been used to keep the working class in check, even though some police have thought their job was to combat criminals (those who join the police thinking that are fast disillusioned).

But who are the real criminals?

Through Thatcher's attacks on the sick, the elderly and others, they, the Tories have been found guilty as criminals and charged. They will be dealt with in due course.

J F Young

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FROM THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES

THE LONE AVENGER OR THE MASS MOVEMENT

For Grynszpan 'Against fascist pogrom gangs and Stalinist scoundrels'

Herschel Grynszpan, a 17 year-old Polish Jew, shot and killed a Nazi official in the German Embassy in Paris on November 7, 1938. His trial was postponed indefinitely when France and Germany declared war in 1939. After the occupation of France, he was transferred to a concentration camp in Germany; his subsequent fate is not known. This incident was the inspiration for the oratorio 'A child of our time' written by Michael Tippett, who was for a time associated with the Trotskyist movement in Britain. This article was written by Leon Trotsky in 'Socialist Appeal', 14 February 1939, and is reprinted in 'Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39)' Pathfinder Press, 1974, price £7.25.

IT IS clear to anyone even slightly acquainted with political history that the policy of fascist gangsters directly and sometimes deliberately provokes terrorist acts. What is most astonishing is that so far there has been only one Grynszpan. Undoubtedly the number of such acts will increase.

We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as the oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses.

But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road.

Our sympathy becomes intensified because Grynszpan is not a political militant but an inexperienced youth, almost a boy, whose only counsellor was a feeling of indignation. To tear Grynszpan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class.

All the more revolting in its police stupidity and inexpressible violence is the campaign now being conducted against Grynszpan by the command of the Kremlin in the international Stalinist press. They attempt to depict him as an agent of the Nazis or an agent of Trotskyists in alliance with the Nazis. Lumping into one heap the provocateur and his victim, the Stalinists ascribe to Grynszpan the intention of crea-

ting a favourable pretext for Hitler's pogrom measures.

What can one say of these venal 'journalists' who no longer have any vestiges of shame? Since the beginning of the socialist movement the bourgeoisie has at all times attributed all violent demonstrations of indignation, particularly terrorist acts, to the degenerating influence of Marxism. The Stalinists have inherited, here as elsewhere, the filthiest tradition of reaction. The Fourth International may, justifiably, be proud that the reactionary scum, including the Stalinists, now automatically links with the Fourth International every bold action and protest, every indignant outburst, every blow at the executioners.

It was so, similarly, with the International of Marx in its time. We are bound, naturally, by ties of open moral solidarity to Grynszpan and not to his 'democratic' jailers, or the Stalinist slanderers, who need Grynszpan's corpse to prop up, even if only partially and indirectly, the verdicts of Moscow justice.

Kremlin diplomacy, degenerated to its marrow, attempts at the same time to utilise this 'happy' incident to renew their machinations for an international agreement among various governments, including that of Hitler and Mussolini, for a mutual extradition of terrorists.

Beware, masters of fraud! The application of such a law will necessitate the immediate deliverance of Stalin to at least a dozen foreign governments.

The Stalinists shriek in the ears of the police that Grynszpan attended 'meetings of Trotskyites.' That, unfortunately, is not true. For had he walked into the milieu of the Fourth International he would have discovered a different and more effective outlet for his revolutionary energy. People come cheap who are capable only of fulminating against injustice and bestiality. But

those who, like Grynszpan, are able to act as well as conceive, sacrificing their own lives if need be, are the precious leaven of mankind.

In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynszpan may serve as an example for every young revolutionist. Our open moral solidarity with Grynszpan gives us an added right to say to all the other would-be Grynszpans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: seek another road!

Not the lone avenger but only a great revolutionary mass movement can free the oppressed, a movement that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression, and racial persecution. The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance that is wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes, that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats.

For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society.

Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete destruction of fascism, only the people sitting in merciless judgment over the contemporary bandits and gangsters can provide real satisfaction to the indignation of the people.

That is precisely the task that the Fourth International has set itself. It will cleanse the labour movement of the plague of Stalinism. It will rally in its ranks the heroic generation of the youth. It will cut a path to a worthier and a more humane future.

'... only a great revolutionary mass movement can free the oppressed, a movement that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression, and racial persecution'



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Personal Column

Peter Fryer

The art of public speaking

SOMEONE who recently heard me speak in public suggested that I give a class in public speaking. This suggestion made me shudder a bit, for I'm all too well aware of my shortcomings in this field.

In particular, I habitually break Rule No. 1: never, ever, write out a full script and then use it as a crib.

Truly effective public speaking demands above all a constant exchange of energy between speaker and audience.

This was demonstrated by the 20th century's greatest orator. Trotsky's oratory, Deutscher tells us, 'was distinguished by a rare intensity of thought, imagination, emotion, and expression'.

Acutely sensitive to his audience's mood, Trotsky was guided by their reactions much as an expert glider pilot is guided by the air currents he or she encounters. Of course he prepared beforehand; but the speech as delivered was essentially a collaboration between orator and audience.

This kind of collaboration, this cyclic exchange of energy, simply doesn't happen if the speaker is tied to a prepared script, like a lecturer, and lacks the confidence to deviate from it.

Some renowned British speakers of the past have cheated. They have pretended to be responsive to their audiences but have in fact learnt their words by heart and then relied on native quick-wittedness to crush hecklers.

This was the case with Churchill, whose

set-piece speeches were too literary, too polished, too redolent of the midnight oil, to be oratory in the truest sense: a kind of acting, rather.

It was also the case with Lloyd George, who cheated doubly. After his first sentence or two he would crumple up his notes and throw them down, declaring: 'I won't speak to you from my notes; I will speak to you from my heart.'

A reporter who once picked up these discarded 'notes' found they were all blank sheets of paper.

At the other extreme, the totally improvisatory extreme, was James Ramsay MacDonald, who adored the sound of his own rhetoric; lapsed at times into total meaninglessness; and once admitted that he had lost consciousness during a speech and couldn't remember a word he'd said.

In the days when I served in the Commons press gallery by far the worst speaker was Ernest Bevin; by far the best, Aneurin Bevan. We're not, of course, talking about political content in either case.

Bevin, the transport workers' boss who became foreign secretary in the 1945 Labour government, was a tremendous waffler, whose bloated, convoluted syntax defied even Hansard's helpful emendations.

Bevan struck a rare and refreshing balance between preparation and improvisation. He knew his case backwards, but was always ready to pick up a comment and weave it into his discourse.

Bevan's gifts proved also that effectiveness as a speaker depends little on the quality of the voice and that, given the will and the wit, it need never be impeded by speech impediments. For, besides an agreeable

Welsh lilt, Bevan had also a pronounced stammer, which he artfully used to heighten tension and discomfit his opponents. I well remember how he once silenced the ranks of braying Tories with the two words: 'Don't w-w-w-wince...'. Then, as the silence deepened, came the contemptuous coup de grâce: '... till the lash falls.' And fall it did.

This balance between preparation and improvisation is, I think, at the heart of the matter.

You should know your subject thoroughly. You should make outline notes, not too elaborate, but enough in the way of headings, sub-headings and, if need be, sub-sub-headings to remind you of the main flow of your argument, from which you should not deviate.

You should be ready to clothe your thoughts, thus boiled down into outline form, in the words that spring to mind on that particular occasion, in front of that particular audience.

Above all, you should be on your toes to incorporate into your speech in one way or another every scrap of audience reaction, friendly or hostile.

These tricks of the trade can be learnt by any young revolutionary willing to learn, willing to practise, and not afraid of coming a cropper.

In Glasgow the other day I heard a speaker called Joe Eyre, a Scottish teachers' leader, who used his notes as a guide and not as a crutch, and spoke cogently, warmly, and all too briefly.

His was the best delivery I have heard for many a long day, and I think he would be an ideal person to give a speakers' class and pass on some of his impressive skills.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CULTURE

BY GEOFF PILLING

THE SECRET government proposals to scrap free higher education are a further attack on the basic rights of the working class and large sections of the middle class.

If Tory plans are realised, in future 'vouchers' will be issued which students will have to top up out of their own income.

It will mean education for the rich and second rate provision, if any, for the poor.

Students from rich families with poor A Levels will be able to buy their places at elite universities while the children of the poor will be denied an education.

High costs courses such as those in science and medicine will become the exclusive preserve of those with money.

Here is another aspect of Thatcher's declared aim of restoring 'Victorian values'.

Labour education spokesman Jack Straw condemned the leaked paper which 'shows that education policy is driven almost exclusively by the government's obsession to cut public expenditure.'

Here the reformist Straw misses the point.

There are two important issues in the latest leaked plans.

First, Thatcher intends to bring all educational provision directly under the control of the capitalist state.

A national syllabus has been imposed on every school and in future Universities and Polytechnics will be given money to teach the subjects the government decides are 'suitable'.

Departments that fall below a certain size, or who fail to raise sufficient money from big business will be chopped.

Second, the Tories are not interested merely in spending cuts: they are driven by the requirements of capitalism that demand that many of the conquests of the past - in the sciences and the arts - must be destroyed.

Capitalism in the period of its crisis-torn decline is forced to deny to all except a privileged few access to these past conquests.

Here is a graphic expression of the basis on which the Fourth International was founded fifty years ago: that mankind's productive forces stagnate and can only be rescued and developed through the socialist revolution.

Brent rent strike

THOUSANDS of Brent Council tenants are refusing to pay £7 a week rent increases imposed by the Labour Council at the beginning of October. This will be the third increase in one year.

At a meeting of the new Brent Tenants and Residents Action Group, a representative from the local branch of the National and Local Government Officers Association (NALGO) was asked to get union members to refuse to process eviction notices or takes action against tenants withholding rent.

Tenants decided to give full support to a 9 November demonstration and lobby of the Council against the vicious cuts in jobs and services being implemented in the borough.

The demonstration is starting at 24 Crawford Avenue, Wembley - a home for mentally handicapped children occupied by parents for five weeks in protest at its planned closure by the Council.

The Tenants Action Group also gave full support to Brent workers involved in two disputes in social services and housing.

Tenants have pledged to spread the partial rent strike and are circulating petitions among Brents 20,000 tenants urging them to refuse to pay the increases.

'It is your management together with government cutbacks that has led to the financial crisis. Tenants are not prepared to bail you out' the petition says.

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 political line of Gorbachev

Cliff Slaughter comments on Gorbachev's report to the Ninth Special Conference of the Communist Party

PART II continued from Workers Press, 22 October 1988

'The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle.'

SO BEGAN the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels in 1848. Their great scientific life's work was: to establish the scientific basis for understanding this class struggle, in the social relations of production into which men entered when they developed and used their productive forces; to show how at a certain stage in every mode of production the existing relations of production became a barrier to the productive forces and demanded a revolution to remove them; to find in the modern capitalist society the revolutionary as well as the exploited nature of the working class; to discover the inescapable contradictions of the capitalist mode of production; and to show that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the necessary transition to the abolition of all classes and of the state as the instrument of class oppression.

The contradictions of capitalism could not be overcome except by proletarian revolution and the establishment of a socialist society.

Capitalism necessarily developed the productive forces in an international division of labour, contradictory and uneven because it was achieved only through the market and through imperialist conquest in search of markets (and later for the export of capital).

For this reason, the proletariat developed as an international class, and socialism could be achieved only on this international basis.

The 'new political thinking' announced in Gorbachev's Report to the 1988 Ninth Congress of the CPSU is an open rejection of these basic propositions of scientific socialism, Marxism. In this, it continues directly along the line established by Stalin and Stalinism in the 1920's, the line of 'socialism in a single country'.

Today's Stalinism is riddled with factions and splits, with Gorbachev's faction in the USSR dominant at this point. History confirmed completely Trotsky's contention that 'Socialism in a single country' meant the socialist revolution in all other countries being held back, then betrayed, in the name of defending the 'single country' where socialism was said to be being built.

Examining carefully the text of Gorbachev's report, we can see that it outlines an outlook and a political line in which this abandonment of the socialist revolution in the capitalist world is now open and explicit. That is to say, the continuation of capitalism is taken for granted, and all the emphasis is on the achievement of some ideal of permanent cooperation between the 'two systems'.

In this way, the ideological perversions manufactured by Gorbachev on behalf of the Soviet bureaucracy provide the real backing for the 'managed capitalism' now advocated in the programmes of the Social Democrats and Labourites of every stripe as well as by the Stalinist 'Eurocommunist' parties.

In the course of building up the political work for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, we have had to explain that it is Stalinism which constitutes the principal counter-revolutionary obstacle to the working class in its struggle to achieve the unity and strategy necessary to overthrow imperialism, and that the treacherous role still possible for reformism in countries such as Britain depends on the betrayals of Stalinism.

Here is a clear example. The 'new realism' of the British Labour leadership finds a real backing in the 'new political thinking' of Gorbachev, relayed directly in the policies of the British Stalinists.

Accommodation

The following passage from Gorbachev's report is typical of this accommodation to imperialism:

'As we analyse the contemporary world, we realise more clearly that international relations, without losing their class character (?), are increasingly coming to be precisely relations between nations.

We note the enhanced role in world affairs of peoples, nations and emerging new national entities. And this implies that there is no ignoring the diversity of interests in international affairs.

Consideration of these interests is an important element of the new political thinking.'

Gorbachev is telling his audience that the basis of his strategy is not at all the struggle between classes in the epoch of imperialist decay, but the adjustment of mutual interests between the Soviet bureaucracy and the rulers of the imperialist countries. The most important by far of these mutual interests is the prevention of the proletarian revolution.

According to Gorbachev:

'Just as in domestic affairs, here, too, the Soviet leadership turned to Lenin, to his experience: to act everywhere, in any situation, in a spirit of realism.'

As a summary of the guidance provided by Lenin's life and work, this clearly leaves much to be desired, but how does what Gorbachev proposes compare with Lenin's 'realistic' view of the epoch of imperialism in which we live?

For Lenin, imperialism was the name for capitalism's last stage, in which the contradiction between the productive forces and capitalist relations of production reaches its peak, so that the forces of production are more and more forces of destruction, and we have an epoch of 'wars and revolutions'.

Compare the 'realism' of Gorbachev as he surveys today's world:

'Perestroika, the renewal of socialism, is inconceivable without the maximum activation of the intellectual and spiritual potential of society, which is embodied in science, education and the whole of culture.

But merely stating this is not enough, it is necessary to act, moreover vigorously and on a large scale, taking into account, too, that throughout the world it is in this area that tremendous efforts are being concentrated and the flow of investment is increasing appreciably.'

'Throughout the world?' Here Gorbachev leaves completely unchallenged the ideological justification for capitalism, that it can indeed develop science and culture; what is more, 'with tremendous efforts'.

Gorbachev's explicit strategy is for cooperation and integration with this very progressive capitalist world. Thus:

'All in all, comrades, an analysis of the already existing realities justifies the assumption that if it proves possible to consolidate and build upon these realities, the world at the turn of the century will be shaped by the following trends: - a gradual demilitarisation and humanisation of international relations with reason, knowledge, and moral principles, at long last motivating states in resolving numerous contradictions in the world and achieving a balance of interests, the right of each to freedom of choice being recognised; assuring the security of states will shift increasingly from the sphere of a correlation of military potentials into the sphere of political interaction and the strict fulfilment of international commitments; a universal system of international security will take shape, primarily through enhancing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations; the colossal growth of the scientific and technical potential will be employed in a more civilised manner for the joint solution of global economic, ecological, energy, food, medical and other problems for the benefit of mankind as a whole - the diversified and voluntary intercourse of independent states and peoples will reliably serve their mutual enrichment, material and spiritual, and will reinforce the structure of universal peace.'

Implications

The implications of Gorbachev's line for the international working class are clear: it is not necessary to overthrow capitalism in order for mankind to achieve rational and planned control of the development of science and production.

This will be determined not by capitalism's drive for profit but by reason and universal human values. The Stalinist bureaucracy will see to that, in its 'adjustment' of interests with the imperialists.

Accordingly, Gorbachev's activity at summit meetings and in disarmament proposals represents the role of the bureaucracy as saviour of mankind. This, and not a conscious recognition and fulfilment of its own revolutionary role, is what the working class needs.

The real conclusion is clear. The working class, to defeat capitalism, must break from the Stalinist stranglehold on its leadership.

That is what the reconstruction of the Fourth International means - 'The crisis of humanity is reduced to the crisis of working-class revolutionary leadership'. It coincides directly with the overriding need of the Soviet working class: to get rid of the Stalinist bureaucracy and to restore its own power.

News briefs..

Imelda in New York

ALTHOUGH personally invited by her, the 5,000-mile journey from Honolulu to New York by ex-president Marcos' wife, went ahead unaccompanied by FBI personnel or US government officials.

She borrowed a luxury private plane from an heiress friend and took with her an entourage of 10 people to face charges of embezzlement.

'Since we were brought here,' said the brazen old bag, 'we expect to be brought back to our country as our human right to dignity.'

Interview room

MORE than 40 leading barristers have submitted evidence to the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers claiming that police 'consistently abused' the procedure whereby detained people have the right to consult with a solicitor.

A review of the law governing police interview methods has been called for by the Society before there is any move to abolish the suspects' right to silence.

The government has given assurances that safeguards against improper police conduct have been built into a code of practice known as PACE (Police and Criminal Evidence Act). But the Society suggests that techniques devised by the police enable them to bypass or avoid the so-called safeguards.

Acid

THE RESULTS of a survey carried out on 3,000 students after their military service in Afghanistan, indicated that many Soviet troops took heroin and LSD before going into action against rebel forces.

Drug confiscation by customs from returning soldiers supported fears that the problem was serious.

Of those military personnel interviewed, twenty seven per cent claimed they first experimented with drugs when they were in the army.

Boris Kalachev, whose article appeared in Literaturnaya Gazeta, likened the experience to that of US servicemen in Vietnam in the 1960s.

Prague

A PROTEST rally on the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovak independence last Friday in Wenceslas Square was brutally broken up by riot police using tear gas and water cannon. Described as the heaviest use of police force since August, 1969, the first anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion, a crowd of 5,000 were assaulted by baton-wielding helmeted and shield-carrying police.

A section of the demonstration which went to another square nearby were also attacked, this time by police and special troops operating large armoured vehicles. Dozens of arrests were reported to have taken place.

TORY BANDITS RIDE INTO BRADFORD

BY JOHN DAVIS

THE VOTE passed last week by Bradford City Council to implement Tory cuts marks a new stage in the privatisation and run-down of the services.

The measures, which were forced through on the casting vote of the Tory mayor are designed to cut about nine thousand jobs eventually with the immediate aim of reducing the previous Labour budget by £4 million within three months.

Pickles, the Tory leader, aims to achieve this by selling off old peoples homes, the Richard Dunn Sports Centre and the benefit advice shop and by withdrawing from the Yorkshire Low Pay Unit and the Bradford Unemployment Centre. However, leaked documents show that major restructuring within the Council itself is also in the pipeline.

Workers Press spoke to Malcolm Hardy, NALGO national executive member for Yorkshire and Humberside, about the Tory plans and NALGO's response. A special AGM of the Bradford branch of NALGO held last week attracted a large angry turnout and the result of a ballot on strike action is due as we go to press.

'The restructuring plans which have been leaked are the practical result of the Tory theory that Councils should cease to be 'providers' and should become 'enablers'. Modelling themselves on Wandsworth they want to speed up privatisation by creating three huge departments with directors on 7-year performance-related contracts and senior managers having the right of hire and fire.

'Already, by law, six council functions, including the dustbins, catering and cleaning have to be put out to competitive tender. Pickles wants to extend this to include computer services, highways and architects. This is, of course, all in line with Nicholas Ridley's aim of having a Council that sits once a year to decide who gets the contracts and then pisses off until next year.

'It has to be emphasised that this is not a Bradford Tory plan. Pickles is still on the books as an employee of Tory Central office, and he has been seen lunching with Tebbit at the Carlton Club. So far only Wandsworth has tried out what Thatcher wants, and Bradford has been chosen deliberately as a test bed for even more extreme policies.

'In 1989/90 a whole range of legislation is to be introduced - the Poll Tax, the forced sell-off of council estates and the Education Reform Act - and the Tories are aware that there might be some organised opposition. Bradford is the political litmus paper which will test this opposition.

'That's why NALGO had to act

quickly. Our short term objective is to prevent any sackings and we have had a lot of support nationally.

However, the only way to defeat the Tory plans is joint trade union action with the support of the receivers of the services. The Tories took seven years to cut the Wandsworth

workforce by one third. In Bradford they want to do it quickly and they are helped by the fact that there are no elections for 18 months.

There is a guard on the Mayor's house and very tight security all around the Town Hall. That is a measure of how seriously they are taking Bradford.'

Govan by-election

STATEMENT BY WEST SCOTLAND WRP

THE NOVEMBER 10 parliamentary by-election in the Govan, Glasgow constituency, was called at unexpectedly short notice by the Labour Party, who had originally planned the contest, caused by the resignation of MP Bruce Millan to take his seat in the European parliament, for next Spring.

The poll tax is one of the most important local issues, and the Scottish Labour leadership had evidently hoped that anger at the decision of their special conference in September not to sanction a campaign of mass non-payment would dissipate after the lapse of several months. But the entry into the campaign of Scottish National Party vice-president Jim Sillars on a platform of non-payment made the reformists switch tactics, fearing that a long campaign would mean a greater challenge to their position.

The Labour Party has not been eager to talk about the poll-tax: a local anti-poll tax group arranging a meeting with all the by-election candidates on the platform, was told that the Labour candidate had 'no dates available' to discuss the issue, and only after prolonged insistence was told that a party representative would attend.

Any effective mass campaign against the Tories on the poll tax issue - in England and Wales, the tax will be law in 1989 - has been officially wound up by the Labour Party leaders with their September 17 conference. With their tactic of subordinating such campaigns to the 'strategy', of winning the next general election, the reformists have become the agents whereby the Tories are able to impose this hated measure on workers. This is in line with Kinnock's opposition at this year's Labour Party conference, at which he confirmed that the party's job is to run capitalism better than the Tories.

The Labour leaders now have no anti-poll tax strategy - not even a 'legal, constitutional' one - to offer the electorate. Dissident Labour MPs have announced the formation of a 'Committee of 100' prominent people who will pledge not to pay the tax. But individual commitments will become evasions if they are used as an alternative to the organisation

of a campaign of mass action by the leadership.

The Govan election has also shown the position of the Communist Party of Britain, which has not challenged the official Labour Party line: in their election literature and statements there is no mention of the September 17 decision on the poll tax. Quite the opposite: they urge support for the Labour Party on the grounds that it 'stands for a united fightback by the working class against the Tories' and that the candidate, SOGAT official Bob Gillespie, 'has taken a personal position on the poll tax that mirrors that of the local community'.

The other wing of the Stalinists, the Communist Party of Great Britain, is standing against Labour in the election, on the basis of a mass campaign against the tax: but their candidate and other members have been in the forefront of efforts by the Scottish TUC and the Labour Party leadership to stifle calls for no organised non-payment.

The abnegation of leadership by the Labour Party has opened the door for the opportunist petty-bourgeois Scottish National Party. Their recent annual conference called for the setting up of 'an army of 100,000 non-payers'. But policy vice-chairman Kenny McAskill was at pains to make clear that, for the SNP, the anti-poll tax campaign was 'not a class struggle but a national struggle'. Leading SNP theoretician Stephen Maxwell stated that the campaign was based on the Scottish middle class: the working class is totally absent from this perspective. SNP members in the locality have taken no part whatsoever in the energetic year-long campaign already organised by Govan community groups.

The WRP calls for a class vote for the Labour candidate in Govan. But this must not be at the expense of the clarification of the issues raised by the independent resistance of local people against the poll tax. Such resistance has used forms of organisation directly based on the experience of the miners' strike and is an indispensable basis for future campaigns against the Tory government.