

THE SPLIT IN THE MARXIST PARTY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM

The three-nation came after re-negotiations that in 1989 the army paid three nochet the benefit of in the interests of harmony with the army.

ADVERTISEMENT

In Defence of Democratic Rights

We the undersigned wish to place on record our opposition to the public labelling of Corinna Lotz as an "agent provocateur" by her former political co-workers Vanessa Redgrave, Corin Redgrave and other members of the International Committee of the Fourth International. No evidence has been produced against Ms Lotz, who has a 22-year record in the workers' movement. She has been denied the right to attend a hearing, to see evidence, to defend herself or to lodge an appeal. This is a flagrant violation of the democratic traditions and procedures of the labour movement having more in common with the methods of a military dictatorship.

Kate Allen; Carmen Angibault; P.J. Artell; Bill Bowring; Marlene Brown; Michael Challow; Fleur Chapman; Andy Cole; Penny Cole; Paul Crutchfield; Kathryn Davies; Marcelle Davies; Julia Devote; John Edan; Stan Evans; Christian Feldman; Paul Feldman; Jerry Fitzpatrick; Mick Flynn; David Gilbert; Gerry Gold; John Golding; Dan Halvorson; Paul Heistand; Cork Hubbert; Andrew Harman; Enrique Juncosa; Annie Kenfield; Ted Knight; P. Lally; Jo Larkey; Lou Lewis; Ken Livingstone; Irene Lotz; Brendan Manning; John McDonnell; Louise Miller; Steve Miller; Farzed Nawabi; Michalis Papadakis; Stephanie Pordage; Ian Rawlinson; Hans Joerg Schaefer; Jason Shuttleworth; Michael Stenger; Dave Terrey; Madeline Williams

For further information telephone 061 225 2167

The Guardian
January 26th
1991

The Communist League
April, 1991

£2.50

CONTENTS

The Split in the Marxist Party Statement by the Communist League	1
The Events of Sunday, November 11, 1990	3
The Truth About a Tragic & Grotesque Coup	5
How the ICFI Tried to Cheat History	9
The Struggle for Marxism in 1991	13
Chronology of Events Between October 1989 and December 1990	21
Appendix:	
Documents and correspondence relating to the split in the Marxist Party.	23

THE SPLIT IN THE MARXIST PARTY

Statement by The Communist League

These documents bring out the politics of the split in the Marxist Party which erupted on the night of November 11, 1990. It started with the suspension of Corinna Lotz and led to the destruction of the whole party. The suspension was carried out by a clique of three members of the International Committee of the Fourth International, acting unconstitutionally.

Within five days, the suspension was followed by her summary expulsion. Denied a hearing, evidence or an appeal, Corinna Lotz was pilloried as an "agent provocateur". A witch-hunt followed inside the party. The constitution was suspended under the all-embracing decree that a "state of emergency" existed throughout the international movement. Members had to appear individually before a self-appointed tribunal and sign a statement supporting the expulsion. Those who refused to participate in this charade were suspended and never heard from the Marxist Party again.

One leading member of the Central Committee and Political Committee, and the newly-elected editor of the "Marxist Monthly" was never even told about the tribunal, or any other meetings for that matter. He was "disappeared" from history. This was a sinister, frenzied and deeply reactionary attack on the Trotskyist movement, which embodies a long, unbroken and proud history of struggle for revolutionary Marxism. The behaviour of the ICFI had nothing to do with the democratic traditions of the workers' movement and everything in common with the methods of a military dictatorship.

It is not the first time in history that those who have been genuine revolutionaries, when confronted with the realisation of their perspectives, have turned into their own opposites. The process by which this happened holds vital lessons for the revolutionary movement. The death of Comrade Gerry Healy in December, 1989, created the need for the development of a collective leadership on an international level to continue the work of developing Marxist theory. A rejection of this collective and revolutionary approach led swiftly to a reliance instead on personal talents. Subjective idealism, the dependence on self-created images, the merging of the individual with objective reality, took a powerful grip under these conditions. The philosophical class outlook of the bourgeoisie began to push Marxism aside.

Subjective idealism has always been the means through which the ruling class has undermined revolutionaries. It was inseparable from the growth of reactionary nationalism within the ICFI. Its objective source was imperialism's drive to war against the ex-colonial countries. The abandonment of training in materialist dialectics, the legacy of Gerry Healy, was resisted at all levels of the movement. Step by step, the majority of the IC were leading the movement towards a liquidation of Trotskyism and the rejection of the need for an independent revolutionary organisation based on Trotskyism as the Leninism of today. Marxism, the scientific guide to an understanding of the contradictory development of the real world, was replaced by Trotsky dogma. Instead of starting with the present, the new, the majority insisted on beginning from the past. This method allowed nothing new or challenging to interfere with fixed views based on past analysis. As it was yesterday, so it is today and will be tomorrow.

Unfortunately for the subjective idealist, reality keeps crashing on regardless, destroying one preconception after another. The only way to try and stop that happening is to switch off

altogether, to cut yourself off from reality and go over to fantasy. The dramatic, revolutionary, but immensely contradictory political revolution in the Soviet Union should have stimulated a rich discussion. Instead, regurgitated images from the past were pasted together with impressions and scraps from the bourgeois media. A subjective idealist hates contradictions more than anything else. Better not to discuss the question of the introduction of the market economy in the USSR than have to analyse its contradictory role within a workers' state based on nationalised property relations. Thus the tremendous opportunities for Trotskyism to participate in the political revolution were spurned and turned into their opposites.

The next crashing in of reality was the Gulf, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and American imperialism's occupation of the region and preparation for its subsequent war of colonial conquest. The need to defend Iraq, and at the same time fight for the self-determination of Kuwait, was too much. Discussion of the Soviet Union's position was ruled out. With the door shut firmly against reality, fantasy took over. Those who nevertheless insisted on discussing the real, contradictory state of things, were the most dangerous people to have around. Those who raised political questions were disturbing the peace. They had to go. The only question was how this was to be arranged. Undoubtedly there were state agencies at work - giving the fantasy world extra spins with planted information and provocations. Those ready to fall for such crude interventions walked into the traps laid by the enemy and provided a perfect cover for the real agents.

Our documents show how a group of revolutionaries with many years of struggle became transformed into their opposites. The ICFI and the Marxist Party quickly degenerated after the events described here. During the Gulf War, it refused to call for the military victory of Iraq over imperialism. They went over, instead, to the reactionary "peace" camp. The slaughter of 100,000 Iraqis was met with silence. The Marxist Party candidate for the general secretary of Equity talked of this "disastrous war". He failed to mention the existence of the Tory government once. Now members of the Marxist Party are engaged in fund-raising events for the remnants of British Stalinism. As for the party itself, it was merged with Vanessa Redgrave Enterprises Ltd. The party's magazine disappeared for four months. When it reappeared, it contained no explanation of what had happened in the intervening months.

The destructive nature of this split has other sides to it too. By their actions, the clique has given comfort to those who want to pour scorn on the role of the state and its agents inside the revolutionary movement. We treat with contempt, therefore, all offers of "support" from those who perpetrated the split inside the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1985. The state was active in a major way in those events and we stand by the work of exposing the agents that was done by Corin Redgrave in particular. We did not leave the Marxist Party. We were forced out by a coup. Since then we have formed the Communist League to continue the work of developing revolutionary Marxism in Britain and internationally.

THE EVENTS OF SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1990

By Corinna Lotz

I arrived at Heathrow Airport at 8.45 pm on the night of Sunday, November 11. I was returning to London from a four-day trip to Athens, where I had attended and spoken at a conference organised by the Greek Chamber of Fine Arts. This trip was made with the agreement of the Marxist Party leadership. When I came through customs, I was surprised to find both Corin and Vanessa Redgrave waiting at the barrier to meet me. This was unusual, because normally I was picked up by just one member of the Party, and never by both Corin and Vanessa.

They did not say anything apart from the normal greetings and we made our way to the car park. When we got there, I discovered that the secretary of the Greek Section of the Fourth International was waiting in the car. This was very odd, since I had seen him in Athens on Thursday, and had in fact tried to contact him before my departure, to say goodbye. I expressed my surprise to him, but he said nothing.

On the way back to London, I gave a report about the conference I had attended in Athens. No one apart from myself really spoke, except for a few questions about the conference. Half way back to London, Corin Redgrave suddenly turned his head back towards me (he and his sister were sitting in the front) and said, without any preamble: "Can you give me the letter from X?" I knew the letter to which he was referring and replied: "Yes, when we get back to my flat, because I haven't got it with me." This was a letter written to me by another Central Committee member a few days before my departure for Athens. It contained serious criticisms of the party leadership.

Nothing further was said. When we got to the bottom of my block of flats, all three of them got out of the car. I asked: "Why is everyone coming up? Is something wrong?" They did not reply. They simply stood around the car and watched me struggle with my cases. Reluctantly, one of them took a suitcase. All came upstairs in the lift.

When we got to my small council flat, I let them in, and asked them to sit down in my front room. They refused to do this, despite my repeated requests, insisting instead on hovering about in the entrance hall. I went to my bedroom to get the letter Corin Redgrave had asked for and gave it to him.

Then he pulled an envelope out of his pocket and handed it to me, saying: "Here are the charges." No one had mentioned any "charges" before this. I opened the envelope and found it contained a handwritten note from 'X'(see *appendix*) asking me to hand over the letter, which I had already done.

I asked them all to take a seat in my front room, as there was clearly something serious happening. I was very agitated by now and told them I found their behaviour intimidating. They refused, but said the Greek comrade could stand outside the door on the balcony. I rejected this suggestion since I considered it an insult to the Greek comrade as well as to myself, because neighbours would consider it peculiar.

Then I said the letter handed to me did not have any "charges" in it. Corin Redgrave pulled out

another envelope. This time it was a resolution from the International Committee "Secretariat". In fact it contained no charges. It was simply a statement that I had been suspended from the International Committee and the Marxist Party for 60 days pending investigation of a breach of security. I was said to have given an unauthorised person access to party premises. I immediately asked who was the person referred to in the suspension notice. When Corin Redgrave told me, I said to him: "You know this is a lie. You gave me permission for this person to come to the premises."

He said nothing. Then Vanessa Redgrave said: "I hope you will co-operate with the enquiry." I then said: "I don't know if I can co-operate with those who cannot distinguish truth from lies." I neither rejected nor acceded to her "hope"; I merely said there were lies being told and I needed an answer from Corin Redgrave. Nor did I refuse to comply with any request after that because I was never asked to attend or give evidence to any enquiry.

Then I was asked to hand over the keys to the party house and the car I had used for over five years. I said yes, but before I did so, I wanted a written agreement that I would be allowed to remove my possessions from the house, in which I had worked with Comrade Gerry Healy for most of the last five years, and which contained all my political and professional material and personal archives.

Corin Redgrave wrote a scrappy piece of paper, but I insisted that the agreement should be typed and signed by the three people present. The Redgraves said the Greek comrade should not sign it, and deleted reference to myself as "Comrade" Lotz from the agreement which I had typed. Finally the Redgraves signed it and gave it to me. This agreement was broken within 24 hours.

Before handing me the signed piece of paper, Corin Redgrave said: "Before I give you this, I want you to sign a cheque for the money you have in your account on behalf of Vanessa." This I did and signed a receipt. I then asked when I could remove my possessions from the house and it was arranged for the following day. The three then left my flat, without saying anything further.

The following day, I tried to retrieve my possessions, and was allowed to take only some of them from my place of work. In the evening I tried to convince the Central Committee members of the Marxist Party that my suspension was unconstitutional. I was not informed of the Central Committee meeting that night, nor allowed to attend it.

On Wednesday, November 13, I received a letter from the Redgrave's lawyers stating I was not allowed to communicate directly with their clients about the rest of my possessions. Indeed, the letter stated that my lawyer should communicate with theirs. This meant that I was obliged to obtain legal representation at great personal expense. On Thursday I received a curt letter from Vanessa Redgrave saying I was dismissed from my employment with her company. No reason was given. By November 16 - only five days after my suspension - I was expelled from both the Marxist Party and the International Committee. I was not notified of this expulsion until November 23, by which time it had already been published in the weekly newspaper of our party in Greece.

No charges were laid before me. I was not given the opportunity to defend myself before any committee or meeting of the party or of the international movement. Nor was I provided with an opportunity to appeal. When I tried to telephone Vanessa Redgrave and other members of the British and international leadership, the telephone was slammed down on me.

THE TRUTH ABOUT A TRAGIC AND GROTESQUE COUP

London, November 27, 1990

By Corinna Lotz and Paul Feldman

We are addressing this urgent appeal to you to reject the coup by which a clique of three has taken over the Fourth International and is ruling by decree. The coup is an attempt to destroy the history and traditions of the struggle for dialectical materialism. A party formed to struggle for Marxist theory has swung over to a search for devils and witches who can be blamed for every single problem.

On Friday, November 23, letters were sent by the general secretary of the Marxist Party to long-standing comrades with unblemished records in the working-class movement. These letters "declared a state of emergency in relation to security" in all the sections. Members' rights to discussion on any question, and the right to attend meetings, or even speak to the general secretary and other members, were abolished by this decree. Both the Statutes of the Fourth International and the Marxist Party constitution have been trampled into the dust.

Every member in the international movement now has to prove his or her right to membership, not before the party but before a tribunal. Every member is now considered an "enemy" in an atmosphere of hysteria, intimidation and witch-hunting. This action is unprecedented in the history of the Trotskyist movement.

What we have here are crude, administrative, non-political measures aimed at silencing and repressing the party and its members. This anti-Bolshevism is the outcome of a process of rejecting dialectical materialist training in practice.

The anti-party crusade initiated by decree followed inevitably upon the unconstitutional suspension of Comrade Corinna Lotz from the IC and the Party on November 11, 1990, by a secret meeting of the three members of the IC Secretariat.

On November 16, 1990 Corinna Lotz was "declared" a "proved agent provocateur" for "at least one year" by the seven members allowed to attend the International Committee. This was the signal for the destruction of the rights of the entire movement.

For, fundamental to dialectics as Lenin says in Volume 38 (*Collected Works*), is the understanding that "the individual exists only in the connection that leads to the universal. The universal exists only in the individual, and through the individual. Every individual is (in one way or another) a universal". Therefore, the attack on the leading party member contained in essence an attack on the whole party. That began with the simultaneous closure of the party's premises and its work.

The leadership of the British section and then the secretariat were only too eager to fall for the most transparent of provocations prepared by agents inside the party (who are now known to us). Malicious gossip of the type fed to police by low-paid informants, trivia supplied by frightened and disgruntled subjectivists is accepted as "evidence" of a conspiracy. People who have no record of struggle in the workers' movement, and of dubious credentials, are put in

charge of party premises and the witch-finder general's operations.

All this petty-bourgeois spleen is marshalled to create the conditions of frame-up, driven ultimately by a desire to eliminate a comrade who had the temerity to ask for an internal discussion on party problems in a letter to Corin and Vanessa Redgrave on October 25³.

Instead of protecting a leading party member from provocations, the clique fell over itself to attack her, depriving her of rights even recognised by bourgeois law under the Bonapartist anti-working class regime.

They decided to humiliate and destroy, politically, financially and personally a comrade with almost 20 years as a revolutionary professional, who in defence of the party had been beaten up by Mike Banda, and subjected to personal slander. The methods adopted by this clique are a grotesque and farcical repetition of the witch - hunt by which Comrade Gerry Healy was forced out of the original Workers Revolutionary Party in 1985.

The clique repudiated the historical foundations of the Fourth International as it emerged from the events of 1985. The central role of this comrade in trying to develop materialist dialectics in the party meant that to silence and then frame-up and remove her, was simultaneously to attack every member of the party.

How, from a Marxist standpoint, can we explain these self-destructive actions by those with a record of struggle in the Trotskyist movement? The dialectical process which produced these events was a quantitative, molecular build-up of a hostility to theoretical training.

Comrade Gerry Healy's legacy, within a few months of his death was turned into dogma. Lip service was paid to education, but none was carried out, particularly in the Marxist Party. Decisions by the International Committee and the Marxist Party to hold the first and only school on dialectics to be held in Britain since Comrade Healy's death, were arbitrarily broken as the school was cancelled by decree on November 9.

The rejection of cadre training under conditions of rapid and revolutionary change on a world scale, where the speed of events manifests the acuteness of the contradictions, produced a rapid degeneration in the leadership of the international movement. The degeneration reflected a response to the contradictory rise on a global scale of forms of nationalism. In Britain, nationalism has always taken the form of anti-theory. Any retreat on theoretical training meant that the membership would be unable to understand the combined and uneven development of the world revolutionary situation. Reactionary nationalism in the imperialist powers has been pitted against the national struggle of oppressed nations. Within the Soviet Union the struggle of the oppressed nationalities has been a major force in the break-up of Stalinism.

But within the leadership of the International Committee, the lack of struggle against anti-theory and the pressure of reactionary nationalism first took the form of a complete neglect of its international responsibilities. The IC Commission of Inquiry (consisting essentially of the Secretariat personnel) into Comrade Healy's death failed to do its work immediately.

This led to disorientation and encouraged sceptical speculation. Eleven months later those responsible are still searching for a scapegoat. More recently the capitulation to nationalism has taken a sharper and cruder form. It has become a completely unrestrained rush to the right. So much so, that the methods of the IC Secretariat are a mixture of Stalin's frame-ups and the witch-hunts of Salem. This was the consequence of a process whereby the IC Secretariat, composed of one leader from each section, over a period changed its nature from being subordinate to the International Committee to usurping executive powers which made it more powerful than any other body in the international movement.

The death of Comrade Healy on December 14, 1989, posed the absolute necessity of the development of collective leadership in the Marxist Party, just as Lenin's death in 1924 had in the Bolshevik Party. This had to be physically grasped in practice. But all attempts to form such a collective leadership were resisted. The party was given no perspective of cadre training.

Could the Marxist Party be built by inspired individualists, dilettantes and people who ultimately put their careers and families first, or did it require professional, trained revolutionaries? Comrade Healy's life-long political struggle for dialectical materialist training in the party was not continued. Forms of theory and practice were repeated from memory. Thus self-created images became a substitute for theory guiding practice. These cloaks of images became a barrier to an understanding of the changing form and content of the world political developments and their interconnection with the training of leadership.

In the late summer of 1990, the majority of the IC leadership, having led a retreat on theoretical training, were confronted by a leap in the world situation manifested in the invasion of the Gulf, the crisis in the political revolution and a severe financial crisis within a section of the IC. The "correction of errors", through the decision to postpone the IC Congress, instead of becoming the driving force for change, turned into an active suppression of theoretical development. Scepticism could only be fought by real concrete analysis of the actual changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in their coincidence with the world crisis of imperialism. This would have involved study and discussion of the thing in itself in its historical and logical development.

Instead, a refusal to grasp "the contradictory, mutually exclusive, opposite tendencies in all phenomena and processes of nature (including mind and society)" (Vol 38, Lenin's Collected Works, p360) was transformed into one-sided abstractions of "unity", and led to the general secretary declaring last month (October 1990) that "semblance was essence".

Those in the party, both members and leaders, who suggested that the "other of the first" in relation to revolutionary change, of necessity involved negative and reactionary manifestations as "its own other", were branded as dangerous sceptics. Reality threatened to invade a world of symmetrically-arranged self-created images, where the awfulness and intrusion of contradictions had been mentally eliminated.

From an idealised image of the smooth progress of the political revolution, we were suddenly presented after a visit by the secretariat to Moscow in October, with the scenario of an imminent coup by the KGB to oust the Gorbachev leadership, based mainly on fears in the Moscow intelligentsia and rumours circulated by dissident priests. So, instead of beginning with the "what is" of dialectical synthesis and analysis, we were presented with forms of description, eclectic combinations of past forms and extracts from the capitalist media.

Instead of beginning with the present, the new, the whole method was based on memories of past forms. As a result of avoiding the challenge of training leadership, the party ceased to exist as an external world for those who subscribed to that method. Difficulties and problems in the party were never seen as reflections of the external world and its impact on the party, but always as personal and individual characteristics. The physical existence of real flesh and blood human beings, i.e. the members of party - was ignored. A process of seemingly arbitrary selection of individuals to make political decisions, to carry out political work in the Soviet Union, replaced democratic centralist decision-making by elected committees and historically tested leadership bodies. This took place on international and national levels.

The capitulation to nationalist reaction by the ICFI has created an atmosphere of suspicion,

gossip, hatred and fear of the unknown. This is the perfect environment for the work of agents and provocateurs, the building up of image upon image until the subjective idealist actually convinces himself or herself of the products of their own fevered imagination.

The degeneration of the Marxist Party leadership and its attack on C. Lotz as well as its own membership, is inseparable from the transition of Thatcherite Bonapartism to more open forms of dictatorship. This involves the destruction of all forms of learning about human history, education, art, culture, the trampling on the rights of minorities, those with disabilities, and anyone who does not comply with bourgeois forms of property and family institutions.

In the attempt to fabricate a frame-up of C. Lotz, the most repulsive forms of British imperialist arrogance, nationalism, racism and abuse of physically disabled people have already been apparent. We have the monstrous appearance of the crudest anti-theory clique implementing the most primitive witch-hunting. In the search for a scapegoat for contradictions they cannot understand and do not want to analyse or face up to, the Inquisition has failed to discover the witch's broomsticks or her book of Black Magic. But this will not prevent the anti-party clique from pursuing the disastrous and ludicrous course they have set upon. And they are prepared to spend huge amounts of money with lawyers to try to silence their opponents and make their lies stick.

We ask all members of the Fourth International, and of the Marxist Party to reject with contempt the frame-up of Corinna Lotz and the attempt to destroy the struggle for Marxism and Trotskyism.

HOW THE ICFI TRIED TO CHEAT HISTORY

A FURTHER ASSESSMENT

December 12, 1990

By Corinna Lotz and Paul Feldman

The great revolutionary upheavals of today, perestroika and glasnost in the USSR, the struggle of the working class against Bonapartism internationally, and the offensive of the oppressed nationalities have struck fear into the ruling class throughout the world. Only Marxists basing themselves on the method of materialist dialectics can comprehend the contradictory process of the political revolution and its coincidence with the world economic and political crisis of imperialism. These processes unfold in an unexpected, uneven and sometimes shocking, apparently regressive way. To become impatient with the process of historical development is disarming and dangerous under these conditions.

Those who become disappointed because reality does not accord with their wishes, and those who refuse to examine the all-sided process of change, swiftly turn into the instruments of the most reactionary class forces and political practices. We have proof that the leadership of the International Committee of the Fourth International is guilty of the following counter-revolutionary practices:

- Suspension on November 11 of a revolutionary professional of 20 years standing, based on a blatant lie by the general secretary of the Marxist Party, C.W.Redgrave
- Imposition of a military-style "state of emergency"; Rule by junta-type decrees
- The suspension of the party and IC constitutions and statutes
- The arbitrary forbidding of discussion between members of the IC and, later, members of the Marxist Party
- The invention of non-existent factions to suppress political discussion
- Taking no action against a Central Committee member guilty of the most serious provocation on Monday, October 29, 1990
- The censoring and withdrawal of work carried out by Comrade Gerry Healy only a month before his death
- The drawing up and application of "regulations" retrospectively to assist a frame-up; the sacking of a party worker without explanation
- Expulsion and branding, with the label of "agent provocateur" without charges, evidence, a hearing or an appeal
- The attempt to concoct "evidence"
- The termination of party membership by decree
- The suspension of leaders in secret by the very committees of which they are members

- Refusal to speak to members
- The use of lawyers to conduct party relations
- The falsification of immediate history
- Claiming personal ownership of party archives
- Denial of access to personal property
- Slander, gossip and damaging accusations against people with a record of struggle in the United States

This counter-revolutionary behaviour has more in common with feudal rule by royal prerogative than even the norms of bourgeois modern society. They reveal that those responsible have totally rejected all principles, and have ruptured the IC's connection with the revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism as expressed in the first four congresses of the Communist International. Nature abhors a vacuum, and revolutionary parties even more so. The hostile opposition, expressed by leaders of the ICFI to those struggling for dialectical materialism as a theory of knowledge and the guide to all revolutionary practice had an iron logic. The seven members of the International Committee, including Corin and Vanessa Redgrave, who carried out the actions set out above, refused to recognise the dialectic of history, but the dialectic recognised them. So, too, has the bourgeois media which has devoted page after page, and broadcast after broadcast extolling a dynasty close to the hearts of the establishment. This is why the astonishing transformations that have taken place cannot be grasped by formal thinking or "common sense". The dramatic events since the end of October 1990 can only be understood as a new content bursting through an old form. Marxism became a dogma because it was turned into an empty form. The new content that has now appeared is doing what the state has failed to do - smash up the party.

The reactionary, dictatorial form that the attack on the Fourth International has taken is an expression of class hatred of the process of the political revolution in the form of perestroika and glasnost, even while paying lip service to it. Gerry Healy's last great struggle was to direct the Trotskyist movement towards the revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union, led by Mikhail Gorbachev. This involved a ceaseless battle against dogmatism. Now, after the defeat of Stalinist censorship, distortion and falsification of history, after open political struggle and debate throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe, after the opening up of archives, we have the spectacle of exactly the opposite taking place in the Marxist Party. What bridge did the leaders of the International Committee cross to reach the side of the class enemy? Just as other aspiring Bonapartes have assumed the mantle of their historical predecessors, so the International Committee had to don the costume of the saviours of the party during the split of 1985. The road for this had already been paved during the summer of this year, when the history of 1985 was presented in a completely one-sided way in the draft documents for the 11th IC Congress. History was reduced to the actions of a few individuals, instead of the way it actually happened. This anti-Marxist method was continued at the Marxist Party Congress on October 20 to 21st, 1990, when again the only party leaders said to have led the struggle against the state conspirators were Corin and Vanessa Redgrave. The truth, as all those involved in those events know, was not so simple or convenient. There was in fact a split in both the Political Committee and the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party, and in the International Committee as a whole. Instead of correcting these subjective idealist interpretations, history was turned into a patchwork of empty forms, repeated from memory and separated from their living content.

History as Farce

Having decided that the real events and real movement of the political revolution, as well as the class struggle, took too much trouble to analyse and explain patiently and scientifically, images were pasted over reality. The image of 1985 was seized in desperation and pasted over problems in the party. What was perceived as a threatened attack on the party, however, was nothing more than the presence in the party of the complex and contradictory external world as expressed in a struggle within the leadership. Marx explained in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" how the attempt by Louis Bonaparte to give himself grandeur by assuming the persona of a predecessor actually became a farce. But before it became a farce it was a smokescreen for a counter-revolutionary coup. Historical forms, Marx showed, cannot simply be plucked from history without history taking its own revenge. History cannot be reduced to forms. Every historical form has its own living content. Every attempt to attach a false content to an historical form must inevitably result in devastation for those who try to cheat history. In their fear of political discussion and debate the Redgraves constructed a fantasy world. And, having gone on stage to open the fantasy "play" the show had to go on to the end. Fantasists, as defined by Collins English Dictionary, engage in "imagination unrestricted by reality", the creation of "a series of mental images, usually to fulfil a need not gratified in reality". Fantasies such as fairy tales are harmless to others. But when they are drawn from recent party history, then they become devastating and destructive. You cannot impose political fantasies on the external world without terrifying consequences.

The Mechanics of Fantasy

Even if the Secretariat did not intend to close down the Fourth International, the practice of suspending Comrade C. Lotz brought with it a chain reaction of events in which each one reinforced the preceding one. From two lies on November 11th, an avalanche of lies followed, as these subjective idealists had to accuse more and more members of what they were doing themselves:

- While claiming to protect party property and Gerry Healy's legacy against a "coup", they appropriated it to themselves and thereby usurped them from the party. The next step was their effective destruction. Books and archives were locked away from those instructed by Gerry Healy, the ICFI and the party to write histories, biographies and to preserve them. Then a fantasy was constructed by which certain "conspirators" were planning to take away party property.

- While claiming to protect the party from a secret faction – which did not exist at any time – they have smashed the party as an organisation based on democratic centralism. Members are atomised, terrorised and deprived of any rights. They are made to crawl for their most elementary rights as members.

- While claiming to be concerned about the security of the party, the general secretary withdrew a 150-page transcript of an education course carried out in Greece by Comrade Healy during October 1989. The existence of a sentence in the document is described as a deliberate provocation. Any doubtful parts of the transcript could have simply been deleted after establishing that it appeared as a result of a failure of the leadership to take responsibility for education. This then became a pretext for depriving the membership of any education at all.

- Whilst pretending to protect Gerry Healy's legacy, all of these actions are the worst

posthumous insult to his life-long struggle. As Marxists we have nothing to fear from lies and slander. All those in the workers' movement who have heard of these events have found them almost unbelievable. They all want to know the politics of this conflict, and this we have revealed. Only those who have to resort to the methods of the ruling class clutch at lies and slander because they have something to defend from the dispossessed revolutionary masses.

We do not set our hopes on a place in the sun of bourgeois society. Instead, we have every confidence in the ability of the working class and oppressed nationalities to recognise humbug and lies.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN 1991

Presented by Corinna Lotz on January 5th, 1991

The end of 1990 has marked the climax of a period of the greatest historical development any of us has ever experienced. The year 1989 closed for millions of people with the images on their televisions of hundreds of thousands of jubilant people streaming backwards and forwards across the Berlin Wall and amidst the shots of a violent, popular revolution in Rumania. In the Marxist Party, we witnessed these events through the shock of the death of Gerry Healy. These sensations are the connection, the synthesis with the events in the world outside of us, with us as individuals, that was the source of the changes that followed, and that have brought us to where we are today. We start here with the three disciplines that are outlined in Vol. 14 of Lenin's Collected Works: (Pages 51, 69 and 130 in the Progress Publishers Edition)

"For every scientist who has not been led astray by professorial philosophy, as well as for every materialist, sensation is indeed the direct connection between consciousness and the external world; it is the transformation of the energy of external excitation into the fact of consciousness." (page 51)

"Our sensation, our consciousness is only an image of the external world, and it is obvious that an image cannot exist without the thing imaged, and that the latter exists independently of that which images it." (page 69)

"Matter is a philosophical category denoting the objective reality which is given to man by his sensations, and which is copied, photographed and reflected by our sensations, while existing independently of them." (page 130)

Masses of workers have been engaged in making history on a global scale probably unprecedented since the "Year of Revolution of 1848", the time when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote "*The Communist Manifesto*". It was no accident that the "*Washington Post*" wrote last January that "the spectre of Communism is still haunting Europe". But it was true in a far deeper sense than these press pundits understood themselves.

The CIA-inspired writers of the "*Washington Post*" based their statement on the reality that Communist Party leaders and members in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are still having a decisive influence on events, despite the overthrow of Stalinist regimes. But what the intelligence agencies and anti-communists generally cannot grasp is that the revolutionary actions of workers in the deformed and degenerated workers' states, as well as in the imperialist countries, were themselves a result of economic, social and political processes. These were and are the most powerful vindication of the dialectical materialist world outlook which Marx and Engels first developed and which was carried forward by Lenin, Trotsky and after World War II, by Comrade Gerry Healy. The events of this past year are a verification of Marx's fundamental scientific analysis of the nature of capitalism as a world system and the revolutionary role of the working class within that society. The further development and decay of imperialism analysed by Lenin towards the end of the last century, and the combined and uneven development of imperialism, explained by Trotsky, are the source of the historical changes we are experiencing.

Our movement has always explained that imperialism was only able to survive after World War II because of the betrayals of Stalinism on a world scale. Indeed, Stalin's death in 1953 was the great impetus which drove forward the political revolution under Khrushchev. The

interruption of that process in the Brezhnev/Kosygin era has been the subject of considerable new historical research during the unfolding of glasnost over the last five years. The connection between the delay of the political revolution in the USSR between the Khrushchev era and the 1980s and the ability of western capitalism to buy time with their own working classes through the boom of the 1960s also needs to be examined.

Why is it that precisely when Stalinism is in total breakup today, we find the Trotskyist movement having to contend with split after split after split? It is not true, as Vanessa Redgrave states in her "tribute" to Comrade Gerry Healy (*The Marxist, December/January 1990-91*) that the split of 1985 was completed after the expulsion of Savas Michel in Greece in the Spring of 1989. The split in the Marxist Party can only be understood as part of the same process.

Is the answer to the question of why we have had such explosive changes not contained within the question itself? It is precisely because the historical conditions are so favourable that we have to contend with these sudden convulsions.

The source of the constant drive to break up and destroy the Trotskyist movement, especially after 1985, was that the political changes in the Soviet Union meant that the movement had the conditions to break out of its own isolation. This fact has been frequently remarked upon by the right wing press in particular – who know their enemies. The "Sunday Times" remarked on the fact that Trotskyists could "cash in" early last year, and the "Sunday Telegraph" was even more explicit last August. Each political split in the Trotskyist movement from its inception was fundamentally over not so much the movement could be built, but over whether or not it should be built at all. Revisionist theories were always directed towards theoretical, political and physical liquidation of the party and its transformation into a toothless, harmless propaganda sect.

When sharp and fundamental changes were made necessary by the new developments outside of us, revisionist theories were put forward to justify remaining as we were in the past. They were invariably formulae for either armchair, academic Marxism or mindless activism, without ever carrying out any cadre training amongst workers or young people.

The struggle for Marxism and against dogma has always been to disclose the nuts and bolts of how society actually functioned and the relationship of thought, ideology to that process. Revolutionary change, consciously directed, is not to pose ideas against ideas. It must develop our knowledge of the external world, the world beyond thought, so that we can place our hands on the levers of objective change – revolutionary practice.

What is method?

This is why method is indispensable. Materialist dialectics is not a set of rigid formulae or predictions, but involves the development of self-related concepts. Concepts as Gerry Healy explained in "Determinations of Reflection" (*Dialectical Materialism and the Political Revolution, p.13, first published in Marxist Review in August 1986*) are "terms which enable us to use the method of dialectical logic to analyse the relation between the universal and the individual and vice versa. For the idealist, only the sensuously perceived image of sensation is concrete". He further explained what dialectical concepts are in his last article on "The Role of Concepts in Cognition" (*ibid. p162*).

Two opposite methods emerged in the break-up of the Marxist Party: the struggle for dialectical concepts and on the other hand, eclectic image creation.

The method of revisionism, in particular since the attacks on the struggle for dialectical materialism before and during 1985 made by Cliff Slaughter and his group of academics,

supported by David North in the US, always involved the fraudulent and eclectic use of quotations. (see Gerry Healy's essay *Eclecticism in Practice*, written in 1986 [ibid]).

By 1986, we were again faced with the eclectic method first of Sheila Torrance, Paddy O'Regan and the rest of her group and again later with the Savas Michel clique in Greece. These were all impressionists, eclectics who were opposed to a real understanding of the changes in the world and who used left phraseology to place eclectically pre-selected images over reality. The Torrance group, as so many others before and after them, selected passages from Trotsky's writings in order to prove that history unfolds according to their pre-conceived images. So the essential problem of dialectical materialist cognition was to break the Trotskyist movement out of its embattled clique or group mentality on an international level, to make it turn to the real, living and contradictory reality.

The changes in the Soviet Union were parts in a global development that had to be studied carefully in its arising as a process in the external world. The initial changes – the 27th Congress of the CPSU – were understood by very few people. But an understanding of the process as a whole had enabled Gerry Healy to grasp the changes when they did appear – in the early winter of 1985 with the Writers Union congress in the USSR.

However, the most decisive, and complex, element in terms of leadership, in enabling the state agents to fuel the explosion in the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1985 was the degeneration of Mike Banda, former General Secretary of the WRP, who was not in the same league as those eclectics. Banda's method was outlined in Comrade Healy's essay *From Hegel and Feuerbach to Marx* (ibid - written March 1988). This essay was not written against anyone in particular at that time. But it was the outcome and part of the process of the work of dialectical materialist training carried out within the Fourth International during this period, including the struggle within the Marxist Party. It was part of that training to prepare for the new period of political struggle that opened up with the political revolution in the Soviet Union and the changes in the world situation and within Britain.

The sharp rupture we had during November of this year was not the result of good or bad individuals. Indeed, a re-reading of Corin Redgrave's speech at the funeral of Gerry Healy in December 1989 makes this clear. He had the best and most sincere intentions of trying to continue the work of Comrade Healy. But this could not be done with good intentions. It required constant training through a collective leadership. Dialectical materialist knowledge cannot be developed by individuals by themselves, no matter how brilliant or well-educated.

Collective Leadership

As Trotsky said after Lenin's death, a great leader can only be replaced with collective thought and collective will. Why was this course rejected? Vanessa and Corin Redgrave tended to see their relationship to Comrade Healy as a personal relationship and in doing so, made his legacy into an abstraction. The practices and standards of work for which Comrade Healy had struggled were seen as personal characteristics and idiosyncrasies, and not as the expression of his struggle for a disciplined method. Gradually the work in the USSR which had been a party practice, became transformed into an ego-building exercise for the Redgraves, encouraged by the other two secretariat members. When this practice was challenged, and criticism was voiced, open war broke out on the International Committee and within the Marxist Party leadership.

The Redgraves in particular proved unable to come to face the great contradiction of age and death itself. They reverted more and more to the method of "memory" and turned away from

the practice of dialectical cognition. Dialectical training is a physical, collective party practice. It cannot be carried out in one's head, even though we do have to carry out mental processes. Here the ego came into play, and at this point the state played a most decisive role in the countdown of events after Gerry Healy's death. The development of self-created images by the ego led the Redgraves down the same road Mike Banda had travelled in 1985, except that this time the process had the elements of a hideous farce.

The process of working from memory took the Redgraves, as well as the ICFI, along a deadly path. This is outlined in Gerry Healy's essay on Hegel and Feuerbach in "Dialectical Materialism and the Political Revolution". With this method, the work of real agents becomes easy, as the practitioners of subjective idealist image creation become increasingly disorientated by their own abstractions. It had been possible to "get by" with re-creating the images learned from Comrade Healy while he was alive. This was because the latter carried out a rigorous study of the processes in the external world. But after his death, the severing of the connection with the external world left only the re-creation of images. The changes in the external world were never studied or negated in collective discussion, either amongst the leadership of the party, or in the party itself. Comrade Healy had repeatedly warned about the dangers of working from memory, especially for actors who need to use this technique in the course of their work.

Working from Memory

Memory is of necessity an abstraction in the first place. The knowledge of a moment of time can only be an approximation to that particular moment. In the process of memory, description of a moment in time cannot become a substitute for dialectical materialist demonstration of a process, which requires both synthesis and analysis - and attempts to "update" memory by adding on a few extracts from the day's news as purveyed by the bourgeois media, must lead to sensation becoming a barrier between the real world and thought.

In any case, as one contemporary neurologist explains "remembering is an active (hence creative) process of reconstruction and revising, and not a passive reproduction of a fixed 'memory trace'." (*Oliver Sacks, writing in the New York Review of Books, January 1990*). Sacks admits that memory can easily play tricks: "I had - quite unconsciously - misremembered and evidently 'reworked' William James' phrase," he writes.

The "memory images" of the Redgraves and others, based on idealised abstractions - memories - of discussions, rapidly became completely divorced from reality, because the objective situation was moving faster than ever before. As Comrade Healy writes (*Ibid* p67). "In the estrangement of their absolute ideas and images from the real world, idealists such as Hegel become dominated by this estrangement. They begin to live in the world of abstract estranged images, thus 'becoming an abstract form of estranged man', taking himself as the criterion of the 'estranged world'." Reliance on memory is fundamentally in opposition to the process of scientific cognition outlined by Lenin when he wrote: "The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstractions of value, etc., in short all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely. From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice - such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality." (*Collected Works, Volume 38, p171, quoted by Gerry Healy on Page 13, ibid*)

The fact that the external world and its rapid changes were more and more being excluded from cognition led to a build-up of "not-being" in the world beyond thought. While appearing to

be fighting "scepticism" the ICFI was actually engaged in the classic activity of scepticism: they dared not to affirm "it is", regarding the tasks of the IC and of each section in training, or in analysing the external world of the Party as well as the rapid events of 1990. This approach made it impossible to come to terms with what was actually happening in outside world. The most macabre fantasies began to arise in Vanessa Redgrave's mind regarding Comrade Healy's death, completely unchecked by reality. This is revealed in her article called wrongly "Tribute to Gerry Healy" (*The Marxist, December/January 1990-91*). It is simply a pastiche of quotations torn out of context and not even correctly attributed. This reminds one of the monad of Leibnitz referred to by Hegel. "The monad of Leibnitz develops its presentations out of itself: but it is no creative and connecting force - the presentations arise in it like bubbles: they are indifferent and immediate relative to one another, and therefore to the monad itself." (*Quoted by Lenin in Vol. 38, Collected Works, p132.*) But the political degeneration of the Redgraves and their supporters on the International Committee was not a passive process of political decline. The necessity for collective leadership and training was consciously posed point blank especially to Corin Redgrave before Symposium 1990. At this time, after a sharp struggle within the leadership, he was forced to recognise his subordination to the collective of the party.

The pressure of nationalism.

Instead of this correction being made the impulse for development, Corin Redgrave rapidly returned to the same method. The pressure of nationalism in each section combined with the individualism of the Redgraves caused the work in the USSR to become confined to a clique, without reference to other committees and members within each section. Any work carried out by other leaders was turned into "non-political" work, ignored and not systematically and collectively reported or analysed. This applied to work in Gerry Healy's archives, on the party's magazine, provision of material for study to party members, and so on.

At the same time, because there was no real discussion about the new situation in the Soviet Union posed by the struggle for the regulated market economy, and equally important, the new situation posed for us as a result of the success of Symposium 1990, the IC secretariat began to adapt completely to the position of the Soviet academics and intelligentsia. This adaptation took the form of the General Secretary talking about "history without politics" at the Symposium and making a confusing contribution which left his position on the class nature of the Soviet Union open to question. Others on the International Committee adhered to a position whereby dialectical logic was "absorbed into" historical materialism. The unity of the dialectical and the historical was seen as a **merging**, instead of a dialectical unity, conflict and transformation of opposites. At the same time, the need for international cadre training was abandoned both in theory and practice. These tendencies started to emerge in the spring of 1990 but steadily intensified. By the autumn, all connections with the Memorial Society in the USSR which had brought us into contact with those who had suffered the most under Stalinism and the survivors of the Left Opposition such as Ivan Vrachev, had been lost. Some reportedly pessimistic observations made by Soviet theatre director Mikhail Shatrov were being made into gospel truth, and it was said that the USSR was on the brink of a coup by the KGB.

August 1990

The new tasks posed for Trotskyism were most clearly revealed in summer of 1990. The flood of publication throughout the world of works by Trotsky, historical material about Trotsky and

original film material of him and his family, was ignored by both the IC leadership as well as within the Marxist Party Central Committee. We had succeeded in driving forward the publication of Trotsky's writings in the USSR. Trotskyism was no longer the property of small groups of isolated propagandists. But this great change was never analysed or appreciated as a victory for our movement, or as posing new responsibilities. Nor was there any reciprocal response about the developments internationally in relation to Trotsky's historical rehabilitation.

The month of August opened with the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. This event was at first ignored by the majority of the International Committee in session at that time. When the discussion took place the unpreparedness of the Committee for such momentous historical changes was sharply revealed. It was also this month which saw the chronological cataloguing of Comrade Healy's notes, a wish expressed by him during his lifetime. The material was being accumulated for a real archive to provide the basis for writing a biography of our most leading comrade. The books in his library were for the first time being recorded on a scientific basis. None of this work was strongly encouraged by the majority on the IC. They expressed only passive agreement that it should be done.

The problem was not that the degeneration of the IC leaders remained unnoticed or unchallenged. It was precisely the fact that it was being challenged that caused the pre-emptive strike of November 11. The great egos were terrified of being exposed. It was not so much what Corinna Lotz had said and done at the beginning of November, but the fact that another leader in the party, currently still in the Marxist Party leadership, had suddenly demanded to know why the Redgraves had capitulated to family and career interests, and through this, to the state. This leader had set down this and other devastating criticisms in writing, after trying to get discussion on them.

The fact that the party itself did not agree with the abandonment of theory became clear at the Central Committee meeting of November 4th, when a number of leaders noted the dangerous lack of theoretical work. Action had to be taken to prevent the party from correcting its own mistakes and to prevent the carrying out of IC and Congress decisions. It was the fact that the training of the last period had to be destroyed root and branch that led first to the withdrawal of the transcript of Comrade Healy's last cadre school from the party, the expulsion of Corinna Lotz, and then almost immediately to the closing down of the whole party, as well as the cancellation of the party school, which had been organised in response to decisions of both the International Committee and the Marxist Party Congress.

Form and Content

A heated debate arose at the 11th Marxist Party Congress in October of last year over the question of method in approaching major political issues of the day. The re-unification of Germany on October 3rd caused sharp differences to emerge. It was suddenly denied that form and content are a dialectical unity and conflict of opposites within a self-related concept. It was stated that the unification of Germany was **only** a revolutionary process with no "negative" features. The integration of a deformed workers' state into a capitalist state was ignored; as if West German capitalism (the inheritor of the Nazi state) had ceased to exist. But the essence of dialectical thought is the ability to "think contradiction", "to hold fast the positive in its negative, and the content of the presupposition in the result." (*Lenin quoting Hegel, Collected Works, Vol 38, p.226*) The form of German unification was under the control of Western capitalism, but this form was, and is inseparable from its content. The process of the Political Revolution in the

Soviet Union was the source of the changes in Germany. The political revolution and its interaction with the world crisis of imperialism are the content "stirring" within the form of unification. It is this contradictory relation between form and content that Lenin referred to when he quoted Hegel: "Now this which appears as the activity of form, is equally the proper movement of matter itself." (*Lenin, Collected Works Vol. 38, p145*)

In his essay "The Dialectics of Form and Content", Comrade Gerry Healy commented on this statement as follows: "The contradiction whose source is inseparable from the infinite movement and change of all things is contained in "the thing in itself". The 'form', being inseparable from its 'content', cannot acquire a contradiction independent and separate from its content."

The problem presented by the unification of Germany at the Congress was inadequately discussed. What was necessary was a demonstration of how the form was connected with the content. The contradiction between form and content is a relative and temporary antithesis, relative to the self-related concept itself. Thus the capitalist form of the new Germany is relative to the predominance of the revolutionary upheavals that produced unification as well as the undefeated and immeasurably strengthened German working class. This new reality has been revealed in the present position of the German masses who are completely opposed to military support for West Germany's former benefactor and NATO ally, the United States.

To swing over to a position in which it is denied that there is any contradiction between form and content at all, and that we have **only** revolutionary phenomena is most dangerous. This was a rationalisation for wanting to exclude contradiction from the world in general. And by trying at all costs to exclude contradiction (which is simply the expression of physical movement), one tries to exclude reality completely. But as we all know this is quite impossible. The empty, and fantastic presentations of the ego must, at a certain point and quite suddenly, become filled with the content of bourgeois ideology. And this is precisely what happened between November 7 and 16 of last year.

The Political Revolution

The political revolution in the Soviet Union cannot move from the 1985 period to the definitive defeat of Stalinism in practice - the establishment of socialism - without going through the greatest upheavals. The changes in the Soviet Union cannot be separated from the crisis of imperialism, which is now expressed most fully in the build-up to war in the Gulf. At the time of writing, the reality of open hostilities is imminent. But the delay between August and the present can be ascribed in large part to the opposition of the Soviet Union to the use of force. This delay has coincided with a growing opposition within the United States as well as Britain to the war plans of the ruling class.

The political revolution in the USSR contains within itself, as part of its own history, the struggle for Marxism carried out by the leaders of the October Revolution of 1917, Lenin and Trotsky and many others. That content remains, even after the worst years of Stalinist repressions and flowed through many who were not Trotskyists, such as Bukharin and those historians described by Victor Muraviev of the Moscow State Archives Institute, and others when they spoke at the Symposium. It also remains with the Soviet armed forces and the KGB itself. These bodies express the transitional nature of the Soviet Union in their very essence. Like the break-up within our own movement, Gorbachev's present "isolation" appears as a negative phenomenon. Shevardnadze's resignation was the end of a particular phase or stage within this process. As the war threat grows from imperialism, the policy of diplomatic offensives and

bargaining over arms reductions is overtaken by events. It is no accident that Shevardnadze's resignation was sparked off by the effects of the Gulf crisis within the Congress of People's Deputies.

What is posed now is the mobilisation of the masses against imperialist war in practice and the revolutionary effects of the opening up of all the workers' states towards the rest of the world. However terrible the prospect of war, it is also a way of breaking the log-jam of political processes. War and revolution cannot be separated in some kind of ideal process.

The sudden changes of the last three months have shown us the acuteness and unique nature of the objective situation and the devastating effects of bourgeois ideology within that situation. The swiftness and depth of what has happened, the sudden transformation of opposites, as with Thatcher's resignation, is the result of the changes in the world outside of us. Those who perpetrated the destruction of the party as it was, closing down its journal and its circulation of theoretical and political material - from the transcript of the Crete school to the material from the Soviet Union - may not have set out with the intention of carrying out this shocking reversal of all the practices the Marxist Party has struggled for since its formation. But under conditions of revolutionary change intolerable situations are produced both in the ruling class and in the revolutionary movement, which includes the Marxist Party and the CPSU. It is only by seeing the contradictions of form and content we can grasp reality in its movement and change.

What the frame-up and witch-hunt has shown us is how the method and practice of dogma has actually kept us isolated from the external world, and how easy it is to be drawn into this swamp. The purpose of this report is to bring out the content of our own struggle in order to prepare for the future.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS BETWEEN OCTOBER 1989 AND DECEMBER 1990

October, 1989

Honecker is removed, after Gorbachev visit to GDR
Lawson resigns

November

Berlin Wall collapses

November

Trip to Soviet Union by Gerry Healy, Corin Redgrave and Corinna Lotz
Release of Guildford Four

December

Gerry Healy dies
Zhivkov expelled from Bulgarian CP
Croatian CP votes for multiparty system
Rumanian revolution

January 1990

Crisis in Yugoslav CP

February

Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Plenum. Article 6 removed
Gorbachev calls for new Soviet revolution
Release of Nelson Mandela
British ambulance workers struggle ends
Sandinistas lose elections in Nicaragua

March

Billions wiped off stock exchanges
Elections to Soviets
Poll Tax confrontation in Trafalgar Square

April

Symposium 1990 - on the Historical Truth of the USSR 1920-1940
Yeltsin elected president of RSFSR

May

Massive growth of personal and mortgage debt revealed in Britain

June

Elections in Czechoslovakia: Havel becomes president

July

28th Congress of the CPSU. Struggle for regulated market economy
Yeltsin leaves CPSU
US budget deficit. Slump and recession. Savings & Loans crisis
Crisis in Bulgaria
State witch-hunt on Scargill
Second surcharge on Lambeth councillors

August

Invasion of Kuwait. International Committee of the Fourth International Statement
Flood of publications on Trotsky, inside and outside USSR

September

War crisis grows, as hardware and troops sent to Gulf
Soviet Union and PLO try for negotiated settlement

October

German unification
Budget crisis in US government
Tories join ERM
35 Palestinians massacred in Jerusalem
Raid on German PSD (formerly East German Communist) party offices
Marxist Party 11th Congress

November

German elections
Howe resigns: Thatcher quits on the 22nd
Expulsion of CL and split in Marxist Party
Recession grows rapidly in Britain and on world scale
Split in ruling class between Europe, America and Britain over Gulf

December

Political revolution begins in Albania
Shevardnadze resigns
Argentine government frees junta torturers
Greek government attempts to free junta colonels, but is forced to withdraw

APPENDIX

Correspondence and documents of the split

October 25, 1990

Dear Comrades Corin and Vanessa,

After five years of close political collaboration, four of them with Comrade Healy as well as yourselves, I feel it would be a stronger position for the party and for ourselves, if we could reach an agreement about the nature of the problems which have arisen between us, regarding the development ~~in~~ the party.

I am quite prepared to put a document to the CC next Sunday, as we discussed last Tuesday, the 23rd at the PC, but this would possibly create a damaging and unnecessary confrontation between us.

We appear to have differing views as to the situation in the party and what actually happened at the Congress. However, it would be a subjective idealist trap, if we gave anti-theory tendencies within the party the opportunity to seize upon the divergences between us and turn them into an unbridgeable gap.

Every comrade in the party, especially myself, has always had the highest political regard for your devotion to the party, and the amount of energy and work you put into it. This is all the more reason why it is essential that we try collectively to correct the tendency which has arisen both in the IC and in our party, to neglect theoretical work and to engage in "thinking on one's feet", empirical adaptation, expediency, administrative methods and muddling through.

These forms of work are based on a lack of democratic centralist methods of party organisation, which are inseparable from the development of dialectical materialist theory and practice.

2.

We have had a number of serious manifestations of the results of a retreat from theoretically guided practice in relation to the Commission of Inquiry, the timing of the IC Congress, the preparation of our own congress amendments, as well as the work of the party in relation to the Political Revolution in the USSR.

We also have the situation where a Comrade who made a provocative attack on myself has been placed on the security committee and is proposed ~~as~~^{to} be put in a position where this could arise again.

Hoping that upon your return from Moscow we can discuss these issues constructively for the benefit of the party as a whole,

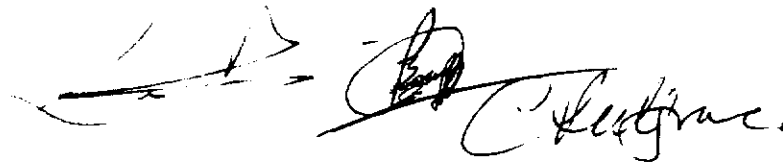
Yours fraternally,

Corinna

The ICFI Secretariat, meeting on November 11th, 1990, suspends Cde Corinna Lotz from the ICFI and from the Marxist Party, British section of the ICFI, for a fundamental breach of security; in that she violated a decision of the Marxist Party security department by introducing a person to party premises serving as the headquarters of the ICFI, without permission of the Central Committee or of the General Secretary of the Marxist Party.

Suspension will remain in force for a period not more than sixty days; pending an investigation by the ICFI, in accordance with Section 9(b) of the Constitution of the Marxist Party which states: "The Central Committee and the Political Committee have powers to protect the Party by conducting whatever investigations are necessary and may suspend members for up to sixty days pending such investigation. After this, members affected must be either further charged under rule, or restored to party membership."

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Redgrave'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'C' and a long horizontal stroke extending to the left.

on behalf of the ICFI Secretariat.

November 11, 1990

Dear Corinna Lotz

I guarantee you the right to remove all your personal belongings from two [REDACTED] Road, at a time to be mutually agreed within the next 48 hours.

The personal belongings are to include books, magazines, address books, diaries, notebooks and similar materials, and my card giving access to the estate upon which I live which is in the Red Renault.

Signed: Vanessa Redgrave

Corin Redgrave

Corin Redgrave
Vanessa Redgrave

November 12, 1990

To the Central Committee of the Marxist Party

Dear Comrades,

I have been suspended for 60 days from the International Committee and the Marxist Party, by the three members of the IC Secretariat on November 11. This was done while I was attending a Congress of artists in Greece, without any form of communication or consultation, based on an unsubstantiated allegation.

The Secretariat does not have the power, under the Statutes of the Fourth International to suspend any member. Only the full committee has this power, and "only after examination of and consultation with the interested parties". Neither of these two have been done. There has been no consultation with any party apart from themselves. Neither has there been a full meeting of the IC.

(Please see section 13 of the Statutes of the Fourth International which are in The Transitional Programme)

The action of the Secretariat is therefore in breach of the Statutes of the International Committee, and is outside their powers. Therefore my suspension is invalid, and I appeal to you to reject it.

Yours fraternally,

Corinna Lotz

International Committee of the Fourth International

Resolution November 16th 1990

'The ICFI declares at its meeting of November 16th 1990 that Mrs Corinna Gilbert, known as Corinna Lotz, is a proved agent provocateur, and has been such for at least one year. The ICFI expels Corinna Lotz from the ICFI and from the Marxist Party.

The ICFI Commission of Inquiry into the death of Cde GH will proceed despite all the attempts to prevent the completion of its work, and a report will be given to the 11th World Congress and to special conferences in all sections upon completion.'

November 16 1990

Corin Ruffine

~~Thompson~~

~~[Signature]~~

~~[Signature]~~
~~[Signature]~~

~~[Signature]~~

Vanessa Redgrave

THE
MARXIST
PARTY

British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International

[REDACTED]

November 23 1990

Dear Comrade John,

The ICFI has declared a state of emergency in relation to security in all sections.

In accordance with this decision all members are required to re-register. The security department will see all members for this purpose.

You are requested to attend a meeting on Sunday December 2nd at 10.00am. You will be informed of the venue in due course.

yours fraternally,

Cornel Redgrave

John Elen

LONDON SE 25

Dear Comrade Corin.

24 Nov 90

I received your correspondence this morning, dated 23 Nov 90. I am glad to receive it, but it does raise a few questions as regard my present position in the Party. It is the first contact I have had with party, apart from a phone call to you on Sat 17th Nov. When you said you would phone me. On the previous Monday evening you also said you would phone me. I was excluded on that evening from the recalled CC without any explanation. I have not been informed of any meetings since, any sales or any Party activity, although I am a member of the CC, the Security Dept, a subcommittee of the security Dept dealing with the welfare and protection of A.H., and working with Cde JK on organising sales of the Marxist Monthly.

Your letter of 23rd Nov 90 states: second sentence "In accordance with this decision all members are required to re-register. The security department will see all members for this purpose." Clearly it states that I am a member of the party, but because almost 2 weeks have elapsed since I was involved in any party work, not of my own choosing have I not participated, but an instruction to wait for a phone call from yourself. I must ask you, what is my present status as a party member.

a) Have any meetings of the party taken place of which I am a elected member ~~taken place~~

b) Why have I not been informed of any sales or other activities I have been previously involved in.


c) and again what is my present status in the Party

Waiting for your reply

yours fraternally John Elen.

THE
MARXIST
PARTY

British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International


November 27th 1990

Dear Comrade Eden,

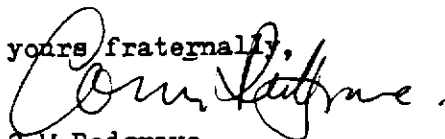
Re-registration

I received your letter of November 24th.

The ICFI declared a state of emergency in all sections with effect from 5.00pm, November 11, 1990. Every member, as of that instant, excepting those in breach of the constitution against whom disciplinary measures are invoked, is required to re-register, and no decision to be taken concerning their membership or status in the party until that procedure has been completed. Comrades will be notified of the time and date for their re-registration, and failure to attend, without reasonable cause, will be taken as refusal to comply with the procedure established by the ICFI.

For this reason I cannot enter into correspondence with you concerning the questions you ask in your letter of November 24th. However, you will certainly have every opportunity to raise any questions you may wish to put at your re-registration, on Sunday December 2nd at 10.00am. You will be notified of the venue in due course.

yours fraternally,


C.W. Redgrave

1ST DEC 90
John Eden.

LONDON SE25

Dear Corin and those attending meeting 2nd Dec 10am.

I won't be attending this meeting for the following reasons:

I do not accept the reasons in Corin Redgraves letter of Nov 27th in not answering my letter of the 23rd Nov 90 and the questions I raised.

If these conditions stated by Cde CR apply to all members then the party is been closed down for almost 3 weeks, at a time when war is threatened in the Gulf, and the state will attack the party. How can I a member of 20 years be kept in total isolation from party in these circumstances?

John Eden.

Dec 3rd.

John Eden

LONDON SE25

Dear Corin

Let's start from the letter informing me of the address of the meeting of 2nd Dec, I do the first letter of 23 Nov. it was not delivered by hand to me but posted through the post box. No attempt what so ever, was made to contact me directly, either to hand me letters, or, to discuss the situation with me for three weeks.

I for my part have tried three times to contact you. twice by phone once by letter. My letter of 24 Nov 90 asked three questions. not in this order but

- 1) "and again what is my present status in the Party?"
- 2) "have any meetings of the party taken place of which I am an elected member"?
- 3) "Why have I not been informed of any sales or other activities I have previously involved in"?

Your reply was an evasion, I am to be left for another week in total darkness, as to my status in the Party

An evasion! do you mean to say, the Party has been closed down for three weeks. That even my 20 years in the movement means you cannot discuss with me. Not only not discuss, but no direct contact at all, not even to hand over "by hand" letters. Why were the letters not given "direct to me"? not even a phone call to say "a letter was coming".

Yours Fraternally

John Eden

THE
MARXIST
P A R T Y

British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International

December 5 1990

Dear Comrade Eden,

A letter was sent to you by recorded delivery dated November 27th, informing you of the procedure for re-registration, and requesting your attendance Sunday December 2nd at 10.00am. (A copy of this letter, and a copy of the certificate of recorded delivery is attached.) You were informed that you would be notified in due course of the venue. A letter, which you acknowledge that you received, was hand delivered to your address on Saturday evening, December 1st, reminding you of the time you were requested to attend, and notifying you of the venue.

The procedure of re-registration has been decided by the ICFI, November 16th 1990, and applies to all members, regardless of their length of membership, in every section. Any member who refuses to attend, or fails to attend without giving reasonable cause, will be deemed to have broken a decision of the ICFK, and will be summarily suspended.

Your failure to attend on the morning of December 2nd, having had due notice and due warning of the consequences of failure to attend without reasonable cause, was reported to the Central Committee meeting at 3.00pm December 2nd 1990. The Central Committee voted to suspend your membership in accordance with Clause 9(b) of the constitution of the Marxist Party.

It is not clear from your letter of December 3rd whether your complaint is that you did not receive the letter of December 1st informing you of the venue for your re-registration in time. If that is your complaint you would be advised to write to the Central Committee at the party address, 48A, Priory Road, N6. The Committee will then be able to decide whether your complaint constitutes a reasonable cause for your non-attendance. If so, your long membership in the party, and the very important work you have done throughout that time, would surely persuade the Committee to request you, again, to comply with the procedure established by the ICFI, and thereby enable the committee to restore you to full membership.

yours fraternally,

C.W. Redgrave



General Secretary: Corin Redgrave. The Marxist Party, 48A Priory Road, London N8 7EX

THE
MARXIST
PARTY

British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International

December 8 1990

Dear Comrade Gold,

You were requested to attend a meeting with the sub-committee for re-registration on Sunday December 2nd, for which you were asked to submit two statements, 1) Concerning your political history from November 1986 to August/September 1987, and 2) Concerning any contact or meeting with Corinna Lotz which you may have had since the period of the IIth Congress, October 20/21 1990.

You failed to attend on December 2nd, and sent no letter of apology or explanation for your absence. You sent a statement concerning the procedure for re-registration, and the procedure and reasons for the expulsion of Corinna Lotz as a proved agent provocateur.

The procedure of re-registration was decided by the ICFTI, November 16 1990, and applies to all members in every section.

You will be notified shortly of the next meeting of the sub-committee for re-registration which you will be requested to attend. Failure to attend without notice and reasonable cause will be taken as refusal to comply with the procedure of re-registration and will incur immediate suspension of membership. In the meantime, until you are re-registered, you are not permitted to attend party meetings or party activities. Should you wish to contact the party you are asked to do so in writing, addressed to the General Secretary, at 48A, Priory Road, N6.

yours fraternally,



C.W.Redgrave

3
15 December 90

Dear Comrade Redgrave

Your letter to me dated December 8 1990, on Marxist Party headed stationery, was hand-delivered on that date (Saturday) at 9:30am, as I was preparing to leave for the Xmas Fair.

I have examined the content of your letter in relation to the process of re-registration of which it is part, and in the light of the Marxist Party Constitution (as amended by the Eighth Congress, July 18th and 19th 1987), which was published in The Marxist (Volume 1, Issue 2).

A number of questions and points arise from that examination, to which I request, and would welcome, your answers, comments and guidance before I can consider attending any further meeting of the sub-committee for re-registration (hereinafter referred to as 'the SC') to which you refer.

Taking the points from the paragraphs in your letter in the order in which they appear:

1. You address me as 'Dear Comrade Gold'. In your previous hand-written note dated 20th November 1990, you addressed me as 'Dear Cde Gerry'.

Q. What has happened to cause the change in our political relationship?

2. It is true that I was asked to attend a meeting on Sunday December 2nd, but do not recall being told that it was a meeting of the SC. Perhaps your tape of the previous Saturday's meeting indicates otherwise. I would be grateful for a copy of the tape of the interview which took place between you, me, MR and MB.

3. I do not recall being asked to submit a statement concerning my political history from November 1986 to August/September 1987. I believe these matters were dealt with during the interview. Again, perhaps your tape reveals otherwise. Certainly, as I remarked in my written report to you (see below), I found the conditions under which the interview took place quite intimidating, so perhaps my memory is at fault here, in which case I apologise. A written request for this report together with a written invitation to the meeting of the SC on December 2nd would have been helpful.

4. I recall being asked for a statement 'Concerning any contact or meeting I may have had with Corinna Lotz', although my recollection is that the SC wanted to know about contacts I did have during as well as 'since the period of the 11th Congress'. I apologise if this sounds pedantic, but accuracy in these matters is crucial. I may have had any number of meetings. I did have the meetings detailed in my report dated 24 November 90.

Q. What are your answers to the questions I raised in my report to you:

'Is CL supposed to be responsible for all three provocations? As CRO reported, others were involved in producing school document. Who made attempt on AH's life, and why? What documents has the 'guest' taken? Why was he staying with CL? Is this normal? Was there suspicion a year ago? Why didn't GH notice, or did he? Wasn't CL very close to GH? Wasn't she looking after him? I remember meeting them walking in Battersea Park together some years ago. Is there anything in his diaries?'

5. It came as a complete surprise to me that I was required to send a 'letter of apology or explanation' for my absence from the meeting on December 2nd. At the previous meeting on November 24th, I recall that you asked me to keep the morning of December 2nd free, but I do not recall any specific reason being given. Later in the week I received an oral message from DH giving details of a meeting place, but no mention was made of a requirement for a letter of apology in the event of non-attendance. As you will no doubt recall, I cycled to the meeting-place to deliver my report and apology orally, in person. As I told you, both of my children were ill. I also asked DH how long the proceedings would take, but as he was unable to give me an end-time, it was impossible to make arrangements for my children to be cared for. Neither you nor DH asked me to produce a written letter of apology.

Q. When did the requirement for a letter of apology or explanation for absence from a party meeting become part of party practice? I have never encountered it before.

6. You write that 'The procedure of re-registration was decided by the ICFI, November 16 1990, and applies to all members in every section.' This raises many questions including some about the relations between sections of the ICFI and the ICFI itself. I am sure that there must exist some documents which state what these relations are, and how they are governed. I would be grateful for copies of any such documents, or at least references to such documents. The Marxist Party Constitution section 1 (c) says only that 'This Party is the British Section of the Fourth International affiliated to the International Committee and fighting for the building of the Fourth International.'

Q. Does the re-registration procedure take precedence over the Marxist Party Constitution?

Q. Does the re-registration procedure take precedence over the decisions and elections of the 11th Congress of the Marxist Party?

Q. What is the SC a sub-committee of? Is it a sub-committee of the ICFI? of the Marxist Party Central Committee? of the Control Commission elected at the Congress?

7. As far as I can remember, one of the documents I signed on November 24th, restricted the rights of contact between Party members such that no communication could take place outside of

meetings or other Party activities arranged for the purpose. I cannot recall the exact wording, so would be grateful if could send me a copy.

Q. Is there any restriction in force which prevents you sending me copies of the two documents I signed?

8. During the evening of Saturday 1st, I was contacted by AT and invited to participate the next day in the campaign for the Xmas Fair. AT seemed not to be aware of the meeting of the SC due to take place the next day.

Q. Do I now fall into a different category of membership to that occupied by AT? I am asked to attend a meeting of the SC. AT is not.

9. My diary for the week was very full, so I was unable to offer either Sunday or any weekday. On Thursday, JK rang and invited me to participate in a programme sale at 6:30pm on Friday. I agreed, and was eager to meet other Cdes. I went to the meeting place on Friday, but no-one else arrived. I waited until 6:55pm. I then telephoned 20 E Road and spoke to KM who had just returned and knew nothing of the arrangement. The following morning I was preparing to leave for the Xmas Fair when your letter arrived. Apparently I am now 'not permitted to attend party meetings or party activities.'

Q. What happened between Thursday night and Saturday morning to necessitate such a further drastic restriction of my rights?

Q. Which body of the Party took this very serious decision?

Q. What is the difference between the state of my membership now, and the suspension which is threatened in your last paragraph?

Q. What rights still remain to me as a member of the Marxist Party for 16 years?

10. In the past, as I recall, re-registration took place before the Annual Party Congress. The process was designed to ensure that Branch membership records were fully up-to-date and that the size of a Branch's delegation was based on current numbers, as opposed to historical records of membership. Such re-registration and indeed new recruitment took place during the fullest possible pre-Congress discussion, and ensured that the delegates, elected by the Branches to the Congress, represented the most active layers of the Party. The current re-registration takes place after the 11th Congress of the Marxist Party and before, during and after the Congress of the ICFI, assuming that the latter took place as scheduled starting on December 10th. What is the purpose of the re-registration? It seems to be having the opposite effect to those which took place in the past. At least one member (CL) with a much longer history in the Party than me is expelled. Others, such as myself, are denied all rights, and others with long histories are driven out. I can only assume that the document, which I received by post, signed by CL and PF will result in the latter's expulsion, but would welcome your confirmation on this point.

Q. Have any other members besides CL been suspended or expelled during the re-registration process?

11. It should not be surprising to you that the questions, doubts and uncertainties seem to be multiplying. I have had no political discussion within the Party since November 3rd. In that time, Thatcher has gone; a deadline of January 15th has been set for Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait; Rumania and Albania have erupted, and much has happened in the USSR. Even if I am not permitted to attend any Party Activities, I would welcome a copy of the December issue of the Marxist Monthly, since I expect it contains the resolutions adopted at the Party Congress. I would also welcome the return of the transcript of the School given by GH in Crete for which I paid £7.50. Please obliterate the two difficult paragraphs before you return it. I would also welcome copies of the Monitors which I miss greatly.

12. I look forward to your reply, and to reading and hopefully in due course hearing and participating in the development of the Party's analysis of the political situation. I am of course particularly keen to read the resolution of the ICFI Congress, and an analysis of the political transformation of CL which led to her expulsion. I also look forward to attending the Party School which was due to take place during November 16th-20th. I assume it will be rescheduled soon. I am keen to fulfil my obligation as set out in Section 1 (d) of the Constitution.

yours fraternally

GG

PS You may wish to note that the typed version of the address for reply differs from that printed at the foot of the stationery. I assume the printed version to be correct.

THE
MARXIST
P A R T Y

British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International

January 9th 1991

Dear Comrade Gold,

Your letter of December 16 states that "A number of questions and points arise from that examination, to which I request, and would welcome, your answers, comments and guidance before I can consider attending any further meeting of the sub-committee for re-registration..."

You may address these questions and points to the Central Committee, or, if you wish, to the sub-committee for re-registration. They can be dealt with, as can you other requests, when you have completed the process of re-registration. Until then, no party body can enter into a correspondence with you, nor can I on their behalf.

You are requested to attend a meeting with the sub-committee for re-registration Saturday January 19th at 11.00 am, at my address. Failure to attend will automatically result in your suspension.

yours fraternally,



16 January 91

Dear Comrade Redgrave

I am replying to your letter dated January 9th 1991, by hand, to your address, to avoid interception. This method is prompted by re-reading Victor Serge's book at this time.

1 I did not send you any 'letter of December 16'. Your quote is from my letter dated '15 December 90'.

2 As you note, my request is for 'your answers, comments and guidance before I can consider attending any further meeting of the sub-committee for re-registration' (my emphasis added).

3 I request this because the nature of 'the process of re-registration' is unclear to me. In particular, in my points 5, 6 and 7 and the questions associated with them, I sought clarification concerning procedural, constitutional and organisational aspects of the 'the process of re-registration'.

4 Until I receive answers to these, and, preferably, the other questions, I must assume that either the Marxist Party as a whole has broken with the continuity of the last 52 years struggle for the Fourth International, or that you and some others have formed a clique, which has temporarily seized control.

5 I sincerely hope that I am proved wrong.

6 In the meantime, as I pointed out in the third question attached to point 9 of my letter, I can see no material difference between the state of my membership now, and the suspension which will automatically result from my failure to attend on Saturday.

yours fraternally

GG

December 1st, 1990
London

Dear CR

I have received your letter, and am writing to reject your order to appear before an unconstitutional tribunal, set up in the wake of an anti-Party coup carried through by you and others in the International Secretariat.

Your action in closing down the Party in the midst of the biggest crisis faced by the working class, certainly in our lifetime, is not the action of a Bolshevik leader. If there is a security crisis in our Party, that is its source. There have been many crises in the history of our movement - they have been bravely faced, dealt with, and analysed for the better training of the cadre. Your method is cowardly, and has nothing to do with Bolshevism - no discussion, no analysis, no lessons drawn, no warnings to members as to what is going on, and how they should protect themselves. Instead, the Party is atomised into a group of individuals, doing no collective work, and one of our leaders, with a proud 20-year record of struggle, is, I understand, being shamefully slandered.

First creating an hysterical, witchhunting atmosphere, you have then summarily expelled the whole membership; they can only be reinstated if they agree to appear before a nameless tribunal, elected by goodness knows who, at what meeting.

Before such a tribunal I have to beg for rights in a Party which was founded in the Bolshevik tradition? I think not. You have misunderstood the period in which we live completely. This is not the period of the witchhunt and the frame-up; it is the period of the end of witchhunts and frame-ups. How could you explain this action of yours to Comrade Vrachev, who lost his membership of the Soviet Communist Party in the course of just such an unconstitutional "re-registration"?

What has happened can only be explained as a degeneration of leadership, which has come about through a rejection of Marxist theory in favour of a theory which refuses to recognise contradiction, and cannot, therefore, hold fast the opposites in the party, which are a reflection of the contradictions in the objective world. Unanimity is the order of the day - and anyone who rejects unanimity is classified as an agent. These are not new methods - we have some experience of them; doubtless agents are fomenting the situation, but agents can only operate where the ground is fertile. But just as the miners fought the frame-up of their leaders we will fight back against the frame-up of leaders in our movement.

I call on all Party members to reject this coup, and to return to the traditions and constitution of the Party. I particularly call on members to take up again the struggle for dialectical materialist training, abandoned along with the rest of our Constitution, by you and other leaders, since the death of Comrade Gerry Healy.

P.

**For information about
The Communist League
please write to:**

The Secretary,
P.O. Box 942,
London SW1V 2AR

Price £2.50

Printed & Published by The Communist League, PO Box 942, London SW1V 2AR