



Not wretched appeals to the capitalist state – For trade union/minority mobilisations to smash the fascists!

We reprint below the Spartacist League leaflet dated 3 June 1993.

“Racist murders, skinhead assaults, arson, racial attacks – Le Pen’s France? Refugee-hating Neo-nazi Germany? No, welcome to Britain in 1993.”

Indeed, welcome to the new world disorder, we might add. But the awful truth is certainly captured by the *Asian Times* (18 May), responding to the almost daily reports of vicious racial assaults and a growing list of race murders. “A committee of European MPs... put the figure at about 70,000” racial attacks nationwide for 1991 (*Independent*, 9 November 1992) and local councils have since been reporting dramatic increases in offences.

On 22 April, black A-level student Stephen Lawrence was beaten and knifed to death by a marauding gang of white racist youths: the fourth such murder in two years in southeast London, an area with a marked increase in fascist activity since the British National Party (BNP) located its headquarters in nearby Welling, Bexley. In August of last year, Ruhullah Aramesh was beaten to death by a gang of white youths in Croydon, South London. This followed the murder, only weeks before, of 16-year-old Asian youth Rohit Duggal.

As the economic crisis deepens and capitalism proves incapable of solving its problems through normal bourgeois “democratic” methods it will increasingly turn to its fascist shock troops. In

Eastern Europe and the former USSR the restoration of capitalism has led to the proliferation of fascist thugs and communalist/nationalist violence. In the West wages are being driven downward, while more and more workers are thrown on the dole (now 20 million unemployed in Europe). The “welfare state” reforms of the post-World War II era are under assault from a ruling class emboldened by the destruction of the Soviet Union. As inter-imperialist rivalries intensify, immigrant workers and minority youth are increasingly scapegoated for the ills of capitalism and targeted for savage racist violence. In Solingen, in Germany’s Ruhr district on 29 May, Nazis murdered five Turkish women and girls in a hideous fire-bombing attack. This followed directly

the passing of a draconian new anti-asylum law, supported by the social democrats (SPD) as well as by Kohl. Throughout Germany mass protests have erupted against this racist atrocity.

The working class and minorities have not sat back idly in the face of capitalist attacks. Over the past few months, West Europe has experienced a sharp upsurge of class struggle. In Britain there have been strikes by rail workers, mobilisations by miners, defiance of union-busting by the predominantly women strikers at Timex. In Italy during the Europe-wide day of union action on 2 April schools, airports, railways and public buildings were shut down, while recently metal workers in eastern Germany demanding

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Balkanising the Balkans

Imperialism keep your bloody hands off!

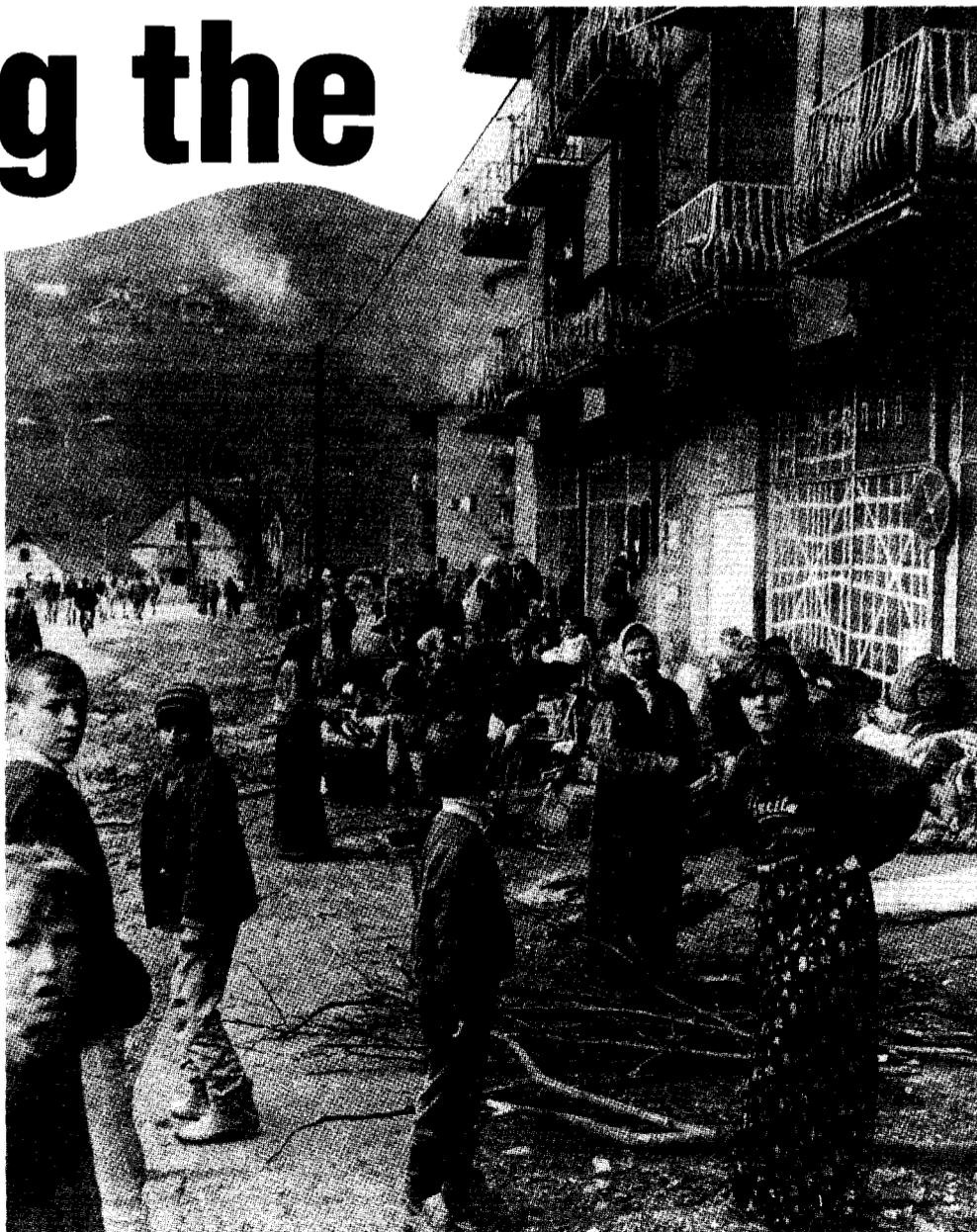
In early May, the White House threatened air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, proclaiming the US to be “the world’s only super-power”. A Pentagon spokesman announced plans to send 20,000 US troops into the Balkans. But when America’s NATO allies called Clinton’s bluff by demanding US ground troops, Washington quickly backed off. As a “show of force”, they have offered to put 300 “peace-keeping” troops into Macedonia, where there is at present no fighting. Two weeks ago a UN Security Council resolution authorised air strikes against Serbian forces to defend Muslim “safe havens”. The Clinton administration “interpreted” this resolution to mean only the defence of the UN “peace-keeping” forces, not the Bosnian Muslim enclaves.

Now Washington’s sabre-rattling over the Balkans has been fol-

lowed...by attacks on African warlords in Somalia. The whole Somali military adventure in the guise of “humanitarian” aid was designed to demonstrate on the cheap that the US was still the cops of the world. With classic Pentagon overkill, they brought in AC-130H Specter gunships – no doubt practising for use against South-Central Los Angeles. Even the *New York Times* (13 June) commented acidly, “Does it mean that peacekeepers will be prepared to take decisive military action only when the adversary is a hapless, ill-trained rabble, like General Aidid’s militia, and that Washington and its allies will continue to shrink from more difficult challenges, like quelling the fighting in Bosnia?”

Clinton’s rapid backtracking over Bosnia has reinforced the image of a

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Phillip Von Recklinghausen/Spooner

Slavic Muslim refugees in Bosnian town of Srebrenica, victims of nationalist-communalist bloodbath unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in Yugoslavia.

Former Black Panther leader on US death row

Mobilise to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

American black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is facing a desperate struggle for his very life. A lifelong fighter for black equality, Jamal is one of more than 140 men and women waiting on Pennsylvania's death row, where the state's Democratic governor Robert Casey, the "pro-life" signatory of a draconian anti-abortion law upheld by the state in 1992, has made no secret of his intent to preside over the first "legal" lynching there in 30 years.

"Save Mumia Abu-Jamal" has become the rallying cry for opponents of the death penalty and racist oppression the world over. Tens of thousands of people from across the world have added their signatures to the petition to save Jamal. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)-produced video, "From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal" has been shown from Sydney to Tokyo, from Barcelona to Berlin. In Britain, Jamal's case has received attention from the trade union movement and the black and Asian com-

munities for the past few years. A prominent black political journalist in America, recently Jamal has become more widely known through his occasional columns in the *Caribbean Times*. **All opponents of the racist death penalty must mobilise now to fight to stop the executions and demand that Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die.**

Jamal was arrested in 1981, framed up for the killing of a cop. And since his "conviction" in what was nothing less than a classic Southern-style racist "trial", he has spent over eleven years in hell under sentence of death for a crime he did not commit. He is on death row because he is black, poor and mainly because he is a political opponent of the racist American government. By the time of his arrest in 1981, Jamal's political activities had made him a target of Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo's racist cops for more than a decade. At the age of 13, Jamal was beaten up and arrested for protesting a rally for Alabama governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. At 14, Jamal was co-

founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party. At his trial, prosecutors seized on a statement he made as a young militant of 16 that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" to set up Jamal as a "cop-killer".

A widely acclaimed journalist since 1970, Jamal broadcast on national radio networks, becoming known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his searing critiques of American racism. He is a well-known supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organisation, itself a target of a murderous vendetta unleashed by Rizzo's cops. In 1978 Jamal was targeted as one of a "new breed of journalists" covering Rizzo's campaign against MOVE, including the siege of the Powelton Village MOVE home by more than 600 heavily armed cops. In 1985, this vendetta culminated in Mayor Wilson Goode's FBI-abetted murderous burn-out of MOVE which left eleven black people, including five children, dead. And the Reagan government's mass murder in Philadelphia in 1985 set the stage for the Clinton/Reno government's murderous incineration of 86 men, women and children in Waco, Texas, but a couple of months ago.

for death is pursued by Republicans and Democrats alike. US president Clinton took his own oath of loyalty to the death penalty when he left off presidential election campaigning to oversee the execution of brain-damaged black prisoner Rickey Ray Rector in Arkansas.

Abolish the racist death penalty!

A significant development in Jamal's fight against the death penalty is the establishment of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Chairmen of the committee are actors Ossie Davis, whose famous eulogy at Malcolm X's funeral was recently featured in Spike Lee's film, and Mike Farrell, who played BJ on the TV show MASH. Among the 24 advisers are Harry Belafonte, author EL Doctorow, Whoopi Goldberg and noted civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn as well as filmmakers Barbara Kopple and Haskell Wexler.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee in the US have played a leading role in the campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty. The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We must mobilise now to save Jamal! It will take an international campaign to stop this killing machine and it will take workers revolution to put it out of business once and for all. Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

We urge our readers to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of £5 or more and receive a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Write to the Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX, or phone 071-485 1396.

Join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Jamal and his attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass, are preparing a new legal challenge in the Pennsylvania courts to expose the frame-up conviction and sentence of death. Please help! Contributions for the defence should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, New York 10023-5001, U.S.A. ■



TROTSKY

For workers defence guards against fascist terror

In the wake of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former USSR there has been a wave of fascist terror and nationalist violence throughout Europe. In 1938 Trotsky warned against looking to the "democratic" bourgeois governments, who today "tolerate" the fascists in order to unleash them tomorrow

against the workers. Trotsky's words stand in sharp counterposition to the British fake left today who issue suicidal appeals to the racist capitalist state to ban the fascists.

The petty-bourgeois democrats — including Social Democrats, Stalinists, and Anarchists — yell louder about the struggle against fascism the more cravenly they capitulate to it in actuality. Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory — and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defence*. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with the youth groups, to organize groups for self-defence, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.

A new upsurge of the mass movement should serve not only to increase the number of these units but also to unite them according to neighborhoods, cities, regions. It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a *workers' militia* as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings, and press.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (September 1938)



LENIN

The American way of death

The witch hunt against Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the racist death penalty is all about. The US leads all industrialised countries in executions. As American urban centres become increasingly de-industrialised, throwing hundreds of thousands onto the streets, the US government's blood-lust grows ever greater. For over a dozen years, the US Supreme Court has been greasing the assembly line of death — discarding judicial precedents, shredding what reality there was to the Bill of Rights, even stripping a federal appeals court of power, in order to "get on with it". Now, even *innocence* is no defence. On 25 January, the Supreme Court baldly declared in the case of Mexican American Leonel Herrera that evidence of innocence is not constitutional grounds for overturning the death sentence!

To the bloody American imperialist rulers, innocence doesn't matter when the victim is poor, black or Hispanic, like most of the more than 2500 men and women on death row. And this campaign

WORKERS HAMMER



For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles!
For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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Philly 1985

Waco 1993



Bombing of MOVE—the signature of the Reagan years.

Clinton/Reno incinerates 86 men, women and children.

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The following article is translated from Spartakist no 104, June 1993, published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Our beloved comrade Elke Pirdszun died of cancer on 19 May in Duisburg, Germany. Elke was tragically only 36 years old, but she had fought in the ranks of our International for over half her life. When she died, Elke was a member of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD); earlier she had worked as a leading member of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) and the Spartacist League/Britain. Elke's death has left comrades in many countries around the world in personal grief and pain.

In 1975, when she was 17 years old, Elke became an active sympathiser of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and worked with our organising committee in Cologne. She joined the party and moved to Berlin in October 1976. As she studied basic Marxism, Elke helped shape the other young comrades we recruited from the fairly lumpenised New Left and Pabloite milieus, showing through personal example that part of the seriousness of being a professional revolutionary is learning a trade, leading a disciplined, stable existence and reserving most of one's energy for the party.

Elke was a quiet, thoughtful comrade who preferred and advised thinking through questions before engaging in a fight, and her years in the TLD were indeed years of hard, painful fights to forge a German section. In 1979, as the treasurer of the Berlin branch, she was elected to the Berlin local executive; in January 1981 Elke moved to Frankfurt and began to play a more important role in the leadership and in editing the paper.

Elke's literary capacity was recognised by all comrades who worked with her. From the summer of 1981 Elke was a member of the editorial board of the German section's newspaper, *Spartakist*. She was dedicated to the German-language edition of *Spartacist*, theoretical and documentary journal of the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Spartacist League. In the winter of 1981-82, as a member of the *Spartacist* editorial board she travelled to New York to assist in the final editing of its edition no 10, centring on the Russian question, particularly on Poland and Afghanistan.

In 1981-82, when most of the ostensible left was enthusing over Solidarność, a fight took place in the TLD over Poland in the face of Solidarność's counterrevolutionary bid for power. Elke was one of the comrades in this fight who, together with comrades of the International, helped reorient the section around the Trotskyist programme of proletarian political revolution and the defence of the gains of the deformed workers states. She was elected to the Central Committee at the TLD conference in September 1981.

We recognised at the time, as Elke herself wrote in March 1982, that the failure to learn the lessons of the resurgence of German nationalism and Cold War II would "place a question mark over the existence of a German section" of our tendency. Social Democracy was the ideological spearhead of the increasingly strengthened German bourgeoisie. It was necessary to politically arm the section to combat resurgent German nationalism in rightist and "leftist" colours, particularly as the Social Democracy dominated the "peace movement". In this regard, in the summer of 1982 another serious struggle broke out in the TLD that culminated in an emergency national



conference. "Left" nationalism had found its way into the organisation and was grossly obvious in the person of one Ulrich Sandhaus, a proto-fascist punk who was expelled from the TLD. Elke was elected as one of the three members of the Central Committee at this conference. She worked closely with the comrades of the International to formulate sharply the polemic against "left" nationalism, and Elke made the public presentation on this topic for the German section at the Lutte Ouvrière fête in 1983. This work helped lay the basis for subsequent polemics against our opponents in Germany.

In July 1983, Elke moved to Milan and worked as a member of the LTd'I. When in 1985 the TLD abstained with the rest of the left from Jewish-organised protests against Reagan/Kohl's obscene salute to the SS at Bitburg, she immediately intervened in discussions in Germany, insisting that the comrades thoroughly assimilate the historical lessons of the rise of fascism and the Holocaust through extensive reading as well as internal debate. Her library included an extensive section on the Jewish question and the rise of fascism.

Elke was an excellent linguist. In Milan she learned Italian in a short time and was central to leading our Italian section. A talented organiser who knew the value of a functioning apparatus, in the LTd'I Elke helped reintroduce Leninist organisational norms and financial systems, as she had in Berlin.

During 1983, Elke was among the comrades from Italy and Germany who conducted programmatic discussions with a group of young comrades, a left faction in the otherwise thoroughly miserable Swiss United Secretariat; the best of this

group was recruited to our International. From February 1986 Elke was a member of the Spartacist League/Britain, where she was co-opted to the Central Committee and also functioned as London organiser. Her political sharpness against centrist and reformist opponents left its impact on the section, as did her insistence on proper internal functioning. But as the result of a crisis precipitated by personal bitterness and disillusionment, Elke resigned with regret from the party in March 1988.

In August 1989 she returned to the Ruhr basin city of Duisburg where she had grown up, supporting the party from there. During the incipient political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90 Elke rendered considerable assistance to the party in our work in the Ruhr area, as well as participating in our regular public meetings in Berlin. When comrades of the SpAD travelled to the Ruhr area after the massive public workers strike in 1992, Elke intervened at our public meeting in Essen, speaking against the German Northites—with her customary sharpness and, as our own comrades noted, more powerfully than some of our own members could have. Thereafter Elke moved steadily into closer collaboration with the party.

Her last public intervention with us was on 30 August 1992, in the demonstration in Rostock against the racist pogrom only days before. The police, who had allowed fascist-led rioters to burn down a hostel for asylum seekers and Vietnamese workers, then unleashed massive repression against the leftist protesters. When Elke rejoined the German section as an honorary member at the beginning of 1993 she already knew she was fatally ill.

She was miserable outside the party, and she and her loved ones repeatedly told our German comrades that in rejoining she had come home. In these past five months Elke gave the party all she could, because building her party was her main reason to live and fight.

Her terrible illness left her very little time, and she chose to undergo painful chemotherapy in the hope of gaining a little more. During February, in the brief respites she eked out, she visited her friends and comrades in London and Berlin. Although it meant a strenuous exertion for her, she and her devoted companion Arno visited the Socialists' Memorial in East Berlin, where only a few days earlier comrades of the SpAD had laid wreaths for our fallen comrades Martha Phillips and Dirk Schubert in commemoration of the "Three L's", Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

In every way she could, Elke struggled in the few months that remained to her for the expansion of the party into the Ruhr industrial basin, placing her own home at the party's disposal as an organising centre for much of that time. In the last months of her life she was delighted that a German translation of [the Spartacist pamphlet] *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* was in the final stages of editing; only her painful illness prevented her from finishing it herself.

Elke remained a hard communist to the last. The day before she died, comrades who had travelled to Duisburg told her of successes in our work, and she was happy to learn of these: that our comrades had demonstrated that day in defence of DDR master spy Markus Wolf at his trial in Düsseldorf, that in Hamburg our comrades had been warmly received as they defended Roma and Sinti protesting mass deportations, and that our comrade Renate's European speaking tour had met with success.

Elke grew up in a proletarian family of Polish extraction. Her mother Uschi was the rebellious, determined and gifted daughter of a conservative miner. Uschi had to defy her own father and give in to the church to go to secondary school at all; even for gifted proletarian children, only the convent school was free. Among the many lessons from this background that she imparted to Elke was a deep hatred of discrimination against women, and the woman question strongly motivated Elke as a communist.

Elke's father was a trained carpenter, but went to work in the higher-paying Mannesmann steel plant to raise their three children. He was devoted to Elke, the oldest, encouraging her to read, and he too worked to form her character. As an active social-democratic trade unionist, Helmut Pirdszun won great respect and love among his immigrant co-workers at Mannesmann, who represented a good percentage of the workforce. He died of cancer when Elke was only ten years old, and the entire shift shut down the plant that day to mourn "our brother" together with his family.

Elke was fiercely independent and despised hypocrisy. But she never hid her compassion for the exploited and oppressed, nor her warm generosity toward her friends and all those she cared for. It is a comfort to her comrades and friends that to the last in her fight for life she received boundless love from Arno, Uschi and Horst and her two sisters. Our hearts are with them. Elke devoted her talents and her intelligence to the fight for a revolution which would open the path to the construction of a truly humane, socialist society. Let us go forward to that end, and build an international Leninist party that inscribes on its banner the struggle against all forms of social oppression. ■

Sit-in breaks racist colour bar at Sydney pub

Australia

SYDNEY—On 26 May, an integrated group of forty forcefully broke a racist ban against the right of Aborigines to enter and drink at an inner-city nightclub in the Student Prince Hotel here. Aborigines, trade-union members, communists, Maoris, Asians, and students from Sydney University and Tranby Aboriginal College entered the club as a disciplined and determined group. Three members of the Redfern All-Blacks (a local all-Aborigine rugby club) bellied up to the bar and demanded to be served. The other protesters made it clear that the bar would do no more business until they were, whereupon management opted to serve them.

As the victory party commenced, the protesters spoke to the roughly 100 other patrons on hand (unplugging the jukebox over management protest in order to be heard) and asserted:

"We are here tonight to ensure that everyone—regardless of the colour of their skin—gets served and that the racist exclusion imposed by the Student Prince Hotel management is not repeated."

Among the speakers were All-Blacks captain Shane Phillips (brother of Tanya Phillips, a victim of the hotel's ban on 8 May), two spokesmen of the Spartacist League, and Barbara Davis, another Aboriginal victim of the hotel's ban.

An hour later, after cheers and toasts from hotel patrons, many of whom were Sydney Uni students, the group left in good order. One Aboriginal former building union militant noted with satisfaction: "I've always been on the other side... outside the pub. This time I was on the inside, on the winning side."

This action, modelled on the sit-ins by black students in the American South in

the early 1960s to integrate lunch counters and other facilities long segregated under Jim Crow, was initiated by the Spartacist League of Australia. The club at the Student Prince, a few blocks from the Aboriginal ghetto in the Sydney community of Redfern, was becoming a popular drinking spot for Aboriginal youth when club management established a racist, anti-black quota, enforced by bouncers at the door who began turning

one-hour period in an earlier incident on 24 April. Breaking this disgusting and dangerous racist ban was a small but significant victory for Aborigines and all working people in Australia.

The ban at the Student Prince Hotel comes in the context of a decade of Labor Party rule which has brought on a sharp rise in racist hysteria and murderous oppression of Aborigines. In 1987 the rate of black deaths in police custody was

rate is three times that for white Australians. Preventable disease ravages Aboriginal communities, where tuberculosis has reached epidemic proportions.

The successful action at the Student Prince points to the centrality of working-class power in the fight against White Australia racism, and against the hideous oppression of Aborigines in particular. The action was joined by trade unionists from over half a dozen industries—including construction, maritime, hospital and postal—who have also experienced vicious Labor government attacks over the last ten years.

On a larger scale, the power of the working class in struggle against racial oppression was shown by the hard-fought, integrated meat workers strike in Townsville, Queensland in February. The strikers were defending Aboriginal stockman Eddie Alley, who was sacked for standing firm on the union principle of seniority and upholding union safety conditions. The strike spiked this racist anti-union attack and resulted in Alley's full reinstatement.

The Spartacist League was the only left organisation to respond to the racist atrocity at the Student Prince Hotel. The two Laborite left organisations prominent on nearby Sydney University campus, the Cliffite International Socialist Organisation and the Democratic Socialist Party (formerly the Socialist Workers Party), ignored the issue altogether. As SL spokesman Chris McCarthy told protesters on 26 May, we fight to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the workers and all the oppressed, a Leninist party which is the tribune of the people, exposing and combatting capitalist attacks on the rights of all sections of society.

For workers revolution to smash the racist Australian capitalist order! For a racially integrated workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 577, 4 June 1993.



Australasian Spartacist

Trade Unionists, Aborigines and students mobilise to smash racist ban at Student Prince, celebrate anti-racist victory.

away young men and women with filthy racist epithets.

The issue became public on 11 May when ABC (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) television aired footage of two young Aboriginal women being excluded by the white bouncers at the door three nights earlier. The ABC reporter told *Australasian Spartacist* that she had personally witnessed six other Aboriginal youths being denied entrance that night; one of the victims told us she and some 20 other blacks were excluded within a

already 13 times higher than in South Africa. Since that time the jailing of Aborigines in Australia has increased by 25 per cent and in New South Wales, whose capital city is Sydney, it has increased by 80 per cent. Incidents of police torture and killing of Aboriginal prisoners have increased accordingly.

Along with direct state repression, there are the effects of social and economic oppression. The death rate for black children is now two and a half times that for white children; for adult blacks the

Defend James Connolly Society against state repression and Labourite bans!

We reprint below the Spartacist League leaflet dated 19 June 1993.

The James Connolly Society (JCS) planned to hold a demonstration in Edinburgh on 5 June to honour James Connolly, the revolutionary socialist born there 125 years ago. Bowing to pressure from Loyalists and fascists, the Labour stalwarts who run the Transportation Committee of Lothian Regional Council banned the Connolly Society demo and pointedly gave the go-ahead for seven Orange marches the same day. Irish demonstrations are frequently targeted for fascist attack, and in Scotland there are known links between the BNP fascists and the Loyalist murder gangs in Northern Ireland. The JCS are associated with support to Sinn Féin and the IRA; hence they are targeted by the Lothian Labourites who are playing their dirty part in an imperialist-orchestrated campaign intended to justify British imperialism's bloody rule in Northern Ireland. This ban is an attempt to silence any opposition to imperialist terror.

The JCS tried to demonstrate in defiance of this chauvinist ban, and were met by vicious police repression. They

took 42 arrests on charges including breach of the peace, police assault, incitement to police assault as well as holding or taking part in an illegal procession. In draconian swoops, cops also arrested people at will throughout the city. We demand that these charges be dropped immediately!

At the Edinburgh Miners Gala on 12 June the Labourite social chauvinists of the NUM and STUC bureaucracy told the police to arrest any member of the James Connolly Society they saw attempting to join the Gala! Known supporters of Irish Republicanism were flung off the march. This outrage must be vehemently protested by all sections of the working class and the left! Who the hell are the likes of George Bolton and Campbell Christie to say who should march with the miners? There was tremendous support during the 1984 strike from oppressed sections of the population, including from the working class in Ireland, North and South, while the Scottish NUM tops, heavily influenced by the Communist Party, and the STUC ensured that scab coal was supplied to Ravenscraig. We say: Hands off the JCS! Republicans have the right to march! Down with attempts at "divide-

and-rule" within the working class!

Faced with the Labourite ban on their demo, the JCS tried to attend the Timex picket line in solidarity with the strikers there, and were scandalously told by Willie Leslie of the Strike Committee that "[their presence] would not help the workers' cause in their battle against the company" (*Daily Record*, 25 May). Echoing the STUC and AEEU bureaucrats' red-baiting and witch hunting of leftists as "outsiders" does a real disservice to the Timex strikers, who have been "violence" baited by Campbell Christie for doing what they are supposed to do—trying to stop the scabs. Gavin Laird, Jimmy Airlie and Co are desperately trying to sell out this strike. And Labourite grovelling to the British state's anti-Irish hysteria goes hand in hand with the bureaucrats' feverish attempts to stab the Timex strike in the back: bowing to anti-union laws, they consistently refuse to stop the scabs and shut down the Timex plant. The cops are part of the armed fist of the capitalist state, the same state power which daily terrorises the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. The cops protect the scabs in Dundee as they protect the fascists and Loyalists in Edinburgh, and

arrest leftists wholesale on the picket lines. Two SWP members were arrested in police raids on their homes for the "crime" of being involved in the Timex Support Committee!

A wave of fascist terror raises its ugly head in Europe in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution. In Britain the fascist BNP have stepped up their deadly attacks on blacks and Asians: on 22 April a black youth, Stephen Lawrence, became the fourth victim of racist murder in an area of London where the BNP have a base. Three days later the BNP held a rally in London in the aftermath of the indefensible bombing in Warrington, with signs saying "hang the IRA". The Lothian Council Labourites and their partners in crime in the NUM and STUC leadership, are legitimising this attempt to stigmatise everyone of Irish Catholic descent, or those who look to James Connolly's tradition, as "terrorists", thus giving a licence to the fascists. We Marxists draw a distinction between blows directed against the imperialist oppressor, the perpetrators of which we will defend, and acts which are indiscriminate—such as Teebane, Enniskillen and Warrington. Such acts are based on genocidal nation-

DSG opposes Robinson's Sacred Cow pilgrimage

On Thursday 27 May, Queen Elizabeth II of England held court to Mary Robinson, the first such meeting between a president of the Irish Republic and the English monarch. In response to this obscene genuflecting before English imperialism's sacred cow, the Dublin Spartacist Group initiated a protest demonstration outside Dublin's historic General Post Office, heart of the 1916 Easter Rising, declaring "Honour the 1916 Rising! Down with British Imperialism!"

A hallmark of Robinson's presidency has always been eagerness to "extend the hand of friendship" to the NATO imperialist big brothers. She had only recently returned from a visit to US President Clinton who had just ordered the butchering of 87 men, women and children in the Waco commune. In contrast to the furore about "legitimising terrorism" when "Mary" shook hands with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams during a subsequent visit to West Belfast, the visit to Buckingham Palace had the fulsome support of the bourgeois press. The *Irish Times* prattled on about "a maturing process in the British-Irish relationship" and spoke as if British imperialism ended with partition. British Labour spokesman on Ireland Kevin McNamara saw in the visit the potential to "heal old [sic] wounds" while Labour traitor Dick Spring spoke of "a symbolic expression of the relationship between the British and the Irish people". So ask the people of West Belfast about "old" wounds from the "relationship" with Britain!

Robinson's visit is only the latest expression of the desire of the Irish ruling class and their loyal Labour Party lackeys to find a solution to the "troubles" in Northern Ireland that is acceptable to British imperialism and the reactionary Unionist leaders. But such a "solution" can only be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority there. We Spartacists proclaim: *No to deals with British imperialism! For the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops!*

James Connolly once wrote: "We confess to having more respect and honour for the raggedest child of the poorest labourer in Ireland today than for any, even the most virtuous descendant of the long array of murderers, adulterers and madmen who have sat upon the throne of England" (quoted in a letter to the *Sunday Tribune*, 30 May 1993). Like Connolly, who helped organise the 1897 demon-

alism and can only deepen the communal and national divisions within the working class, erecting barriers to class unity against capitalism.

The Spartacist League insists that the fascists can and must be stopped through trade union/minority mobilisations. We fight for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British Army from Northern Ireland. We say: Smash the RUC and the Royal Irish Regiment, and fight for programmatically-based, anti-sectarian workers militias to combat Loyalist terror gangs, imperialist rampage and indiscriminate attacks by nationalist groups. Unlike the nationalist perspective of Sinn Féin, espoused by the JCS, we are opposed to forcible reunification of Ireland. We recognise that there are two communities in Northern Ireland; it is a situation of interpenetrated peoples, where under capitalism self-determination of one can only be exercised at the expense of the other. Our call for an Irish workers republic as part of a federation of workers republics in the British Isles consciously leaves open the question of where the Protestants will fall in the struggle for

SPUC spiked on May Day

strations against the monarchy during the Jubilee celebrations, the DSG fully recognises that the English monarchy is far from an irrelevancy. The very troops who rampage in the North swear their loyalty oath to it, not to the parliament so beloved to the Tony Benns of this world. The DSG's comrades in the Spartacist League/Britain have consistently opposed the reactionary monarchy there, demanding: Abolish the monarchy, the House of Lords and the established church! Notwithstanding the bloody depredations of the Cromwellians in Ireland, the victory

against British Imperialism!" and "The kissing of the hand: from Church to Queen. Irish bourgeoisie bends the knee!"

In the united-front spirit of "march separately, strike together" the DSG comrades invited a long-time Republican activist to address the protesters. She too pointed to the danger of ignoring the significance of the monarchy in the struggle against oppression in Northern Ireland, pointing out that it was this same Elizabeth R with whom "Mary" was supping tea who had decorated the Commanding Officer responsible for the mur-

Ireland's "modern" anti-abortionist Mary meets England's Sacred Cow.



of the parliamentary forces in the English Civil War was historically progressive, not least, as the DSG spokesmen at the rally observed, because Oliver Cromwell had Charles I beheaded. The DSG spokesmen also referred to the Bolshevik liquidation of the tsarist monarchy in the Russian Revolution.

The spirited demonstration attracted over a dozen protesters, including well-known supporters of the Republican movement. The significance of the GPO as a focus for opposition to Robinson's bowing and scraping to the English queen was lost on none of the passers-by, many of whom stopped to read the placards and buy literature. Among the slogans carried were: "Mary 'I'm against Abortion' Robinson Meets England's Sacred Cow!", "Honour the 1916 Rising—a blow

proletarian revolution, a struggle which requires the construction of revolutionary parties in Ireland and in Britain.

Such a party would indeed honour James Connolly as one of our heroes. Connolly organised and led joint strikes of Protestant and Catholic workers in Belfast; he was an implacable foe of capitalism and of British imperialism. And the Labourites who spit on his memory today show their slavish loyalty to British imperialism. It was a Labour government which sent the army to Northern Ireland in 1969; but their sordid record dates back to World War I when those social democrats who supported British imperialism also supported the execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising, including Connolly who was seriously wounded and shot while tied to a chair.

We stand on the shoulders of people like Connolly and John Maclean, and seek to use the Bolshevik methods of Lenin and Trotsky to fight for the socialist society to which they devoted their lives.

Connolly Society has the right to march! Drop all charges against Timex strike supporters and Republican sympathisers! ■

der of 14 innocent Catholics in Derry on Bloody Sunday. Such people are not mere "figureheads". In fact less than a month after meeting Robinson, the queen made a "surprise visit" to Northern Ireland where she attended a reception for members of the security forces and met, among others, Ian Paisley.

May Day provocation unplugged

As Spartacist spokesmen pointed out, the alternative to imperialist-brokered "peace" deals in the North is not nationalism, but proletarian internationalism! We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. A central component to any programme designed to mobilise workers throughout these islands must be opposition to any version of forcible reunification. Also key to winning Protestant workers in Northern Ireland to class unity with their Catholic class brothers and sisters is opposition in the South to vicious clerical Catholic reaction. But for the Irish fake left to do this would mean coming up against the wretched Labour Party, who accept the clericalist nature of Irish capitalism. The fake left has rallied behind Robinson and the Labour Party, tailoring their politics to the attempts of the social democrats to broker a deal with British imperialism, while selling out the interests of women.

This was graphically demonstrated at this year's May Day demonstration in Dublin which witnessed a sinister provocation from the followers of SPUC, Youth Defence—which is generating a fascist core—and Catholic reaction. Targeting the rallying point outside the Garden of Remembrance, rosary-wielding reactionaries placed a car equipped with a public sound system blaring out religious music in the middle of the May Day rally point.

Outraged at this provocation against the workers movement, supporters of DSG approached leading comrades of

Militant Labour, the Socialist Workers Movement, the Workers Solidarity Movement and Irish Workers Group with a proposal that we unite our forces to drive these reactionary woman-hating scum away. SWM honcho Kieran Allen wouldn't even discuss the question. Emmet Farrell of Militant Labour was certainly for doing "something", but later. WSM leader Alan MacSimóin and the IWG's Jim Larray were both in favour of doing the same "something" only not right then and not there! Only a contingent of Red Action supporters and a few maverick WSM people indicated any appetite to sweep away the provocateurs.

The wiring of the sound system on the car was ripped out, to the applause of many of those present. Our spokesmen addressed those assembled on the need for the workers movement to take up the struggle for free abortion on demand and likewise to smash SPUC and Youth Defence reaction. When one of the reactionary bigots attempted to reattach the sound system, he was persuaded that that would not be a healthy thing for him to do. In short order the SPUCies found themselves in retreat with one of their number on the ground rather the worse for wear and their car in need of some repair. The provocation was not repeated!

Militant, like the SWM, could only stand idly by while we led others in carrying out this elementary act of workers democracy. All the more amusing then when the first edition of the next day's *Sunday Tribune* credited Militant with having been involved! Now the rumour is that these Labour-loyal reformists have actually threatened to sue the paper for having "slandered" them. For our part we can certainly testify to the fact that if any supporter of Militant was within 20 yards of the action it could only be because they tripped in their haste to get away!

From Militant to the Socialist Workers Movement to the near-moribund Irish Workers Group, the Irish fake left called on working people last November to support Spring's wretched Labour Party in full knowledge of its wretched capitulation to imperialism over the North and to the Church in the South. Now the coalition government of Dick Spring tells 1500 Aer Lingus workers to hit the dole queues with hundreds more from Aer Rianta not far behind. It is only the DSG that has warned workers of the trap these traitors represent. Join us in the struggle to forge a Bolshevik party that can sweep these pro-capitalist traitors where they belong, into the dustbin of history! ■

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

From East Berlin to Frankfurt
Capitalist Counterrevolution
Transfers to Women

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Over a year ago, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party was self-admittedly suffering a bad hangover of "post-election demoralisation" following the fourth consecutive electoral defeat of the British Labour Party. Its "anti-Labour" pretensions to the contrary notwithstanding, *Socialist Worker* cried that, "The election result was a disaster for everyone who wants a better society." But by December, the SWP's journal *Socialist Review* was happily proclaiming "1992" as "the year that the tide turned for socialists":

"The depression felt by socialists and militants everywhere on election night and the morning after... has been dramatically undermined by events. The protests around pit closures have inspired millions of people and galvanized hundreds of thousands into action."

An organisation which found a cause "that should have every socialist rejoicing" in the victory of Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary forces that have brought poverty, mass unemployment and misery to the masses of the former Soviet Union, while finding a cause to make "socialists" sob in the defeat of Neil Kinnock's scabherding Labour traitors, obviously has a pretty twisted weathervane. Nonetheless it is one that is still opportunistically tuned to picking up shifts in the prevailing winds.

Capitalist offensive fuels proletarian struggle

The end of the Cold War ushered in not a stable imperialist "New World Order" but massive social unrest and turmoil. Escalating attacks on social programmes, jobs, wages and living conditions have propelled increased proletarian struggle across Europe. This has been accompanied by a wave of youth radicalisation, in particular in the fight against the tide of racist and fascist terror spawned by the counterrevolution sweeping Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union, the heightened nationalism produced by intensified interimperialist rivalries and the generalised economic crisis in the West.

The Cold War Social Democrats thought they would cash in on the collapse of Stalinism. Instead they have been shunted aside by the capitalist rulers. As the European bourgeoisie moves to dismantle the post-World War II "welfare state" provisions which were used to ward off the "spectre of communism", they have correspondingly come to see less need for their anti-Communist labour lieutenants. At the same time, class conscious workers and militant youth are increasingly repelled by the right-wing social-democratic parties.

In Britain, when anger over mounting job cuts and vicious austerity attacks on virtually every layer of the population boiled over in the mass protests against the pit closures last autumn, Tony Cliff caught the scent for mass recruitment, intersecting radicalised youth who were genuinely searching for an alternative to mainstream social democracy. A party which only six months earlier had responded to the Labour Party's electoral defeat by lamely asking "Where do we go from here?" now discovered that many workers and militant youth "have seen that Labour is no alternative".

So Cliff and his followers posed themselves as the replacement for the bankrupt Stalinists and enfeebled Bennites: "The collapse of the Communist Party and decline of the Labour left mean the responsibility for carrying this job through rests mainly on supporters of *Socialist Worker*" (10 October 1992). The SWP now boasts of a membership of 8000—over a third of which are reportedly new recruits.

It may seem remarkable that an organisation which, since the time of the Korean War, echoed the rhetoric of bour-

"New World Order" socialists— SWP: counterfeit anti-Labourites



"The miners' strike is an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the 'downturn' in the movement." (Tony Cliff, *Socialist Review*, April 1984)

"On the question of our steelworkers crossing picket lines. We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines. We have a steelworker in Llanwern who crosses picket lines...." (Tony Cliff, London SWP public meeting, 23 August 1984)

Report

SWP in action: crossing picket lines during the heroic miners strike of 1984-85 and hustling votes for scabherder Kinnock during 1992 General Election.

geois ideologues against Soviet "totalitarianism" now self-consciously styles itself as the replacement for the (pathetic) British Stalinists. But it's really not. The SWP has always shared the popular frontist politics that came to define the Communist Parties in the West as they betrayed working-class struggle to the cause of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

The SWP's pretension to being a "socialist" alternative to Labourite reformism is a patent fraud. Yet many of its newer members are not familiar with the real record and programme of the organisation. Thus, those recruited since the collapse of Stalinism in the ex-USSR and Eastern Europe are often discomfited to discover that the "theory" of state capitalism meant in practice support to every capitalist counterrevolutionary force from Reagan and Thatcher's favourite "union" Solidarność to the bloodthirsty *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. Its anti-Labour rhetoric notwithstanding, the SWP has supported each and every Labour Party bid for office, no matter how overtly anti-working class its policies have been. While constantly preaching the virtues of "socialism from below", in the unions the

SWP appeals to arch sellouts like Norman Willis or the Scottish TUC to lead general strikes. And like the old CPGB, it has willingly hired out as foot soldiers to build popular fronts—cross-class alliances—embracing everyone from Labour Party misleaders to outright liberals. Such was the case during the Gulf War, when the SWP quickly dropped its ostensible "anti-imperialism" to sidle up to the CND and Tony Benn, or with the Anti Nazi League (ANL) today, which cravenly appeals to the bourgeois state to ban the fascists.

Depressionists v impressionists

In the meantime, Cliff apparently has been working to clean out a layer of cadre who are said to stand as a "conservative block" to "shifting the party". Evidently, these comrades imbibed too deeply of Tony Cliff's last "theoretical" pronouncement on the state of the class struggle in Britain—the so-called "downturn theory". At the height of the 1984-85 British miners strike, the most militant and hard-fought class battle in decades, Cliff declared that this was "an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the 'downturn'" (*Socialist Review*, April 1984)!



Trained in this school, it is small wonder that there are cadre in the SWP who are having some trouble switching gears.

Other "far left" groups like United Secretariat affiliate Socialist Outlook and Workers Power have responded to the SWP's latest turn by arguing that it is based on a "catastrophic" analysis of the crisis of capitalism worthy of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party—which was always predicting that the end was nigh and running its members into the ground to prove it. (A device which was also designed to make the membership more malleable to Healy's diktats.)

To be sure, the SWP is, and always has been, wildly impressionistic, its positions determined by whatever is the prevailing "trend" (and whatever trend was generally set by the imperialist rulers through the agency of the British Labour Party). In fact such were the origins of Cliff's tendency whose whole defining "theory" that the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries were "state capitalist" reflected nothing other than the prevailing pressure of imperialist Cold War I.

But now outfits like Workers Power polemicise against the Cliffites by trying to debunk any notion that there is a severe crisis in the capitalist world. A *Workers Power* article on the SWP titled "Britain on the verge of revolution?" (January 1993) reads like a public relations piece on the health of the international capitalist market place—replete with statistics to prove the continued, if flagging, economic growth of the imperialist countries. At the same time, they complain: "But what is left out of the SWP's scenario is that our side is pretty battered and shell-shocked and that our leaders are waving the white flag or sounding the retreat!"

There is no doubt that in the face of the renewed capitalist offensive against the working class the trade union bureaucrats are "waving the white flag". This is hardly something new; the labour tops have long been lying prostrate as the capitalist rulers



Yevgeni Khaldei

May Day 1945: Red flag over Reichstag. Soviet Red Army crushed the Nazi regime.

hack away at every and any gain of the trade unions. But since when have communists considered the trade union misleaders — who Lenin some 70 years ago aptly called the “labour lieutenants of capitalism” — to be “our leaders”? Workers Power’s plaint that “our side is pretty battered and shell-shocked” reflects the overall demoralisation of the British left which, having made themselves the camp followers of Cold War Labourism, now partake of the latter’s declining influence and find in the repeated electoral defeats of the Labour Party the demise of working-class struggle.

SWP “hits the pits”

When the pit closures were announced last autumn, the SWP uncharacteristically advanced the slogan of a general strike. This disturbed some of the denizens of the “left”, who attacked this as “ultra-left” phrasemongering. But the SWP’s “general strike” call was aimed at the TUC—the very body that knifed the heroic miners strike of 1984-85 and which is as likely to call a general strike as it is to fly to the moon. Far from a weapon of revolutionary class struggle, the SWP’s “general strike” call boiled down to a pressure tactic to force the Tories out and put the other John—Smith—into No 10.

Notwithstanding its occasional criticisms of the trade union misleaders, the perspective of the SWP was not qualitatively different from that of the bureaucrats, who claimed that you could “save jobs” by pressuring the state, through lobbies of parliament and court suits against British Coal. Speaking of the hundreds of thousands-strong protest in London against the pit closures, in an interview in *Socialist Worker* (23 January) Cliff opined:

“...if we had 15,000 members of the SWP and 30,000 supporters: the 21 October miners’ demonstration could have been different.

“Instead of marching round Hyde Park, socialists could have taken 40 or 50,000 people to parliament.

“If that had happened, the Tory MPs wouldn’t have dared vote with Michael Heseltine. The government would have collapsed.”

In response, an article in *Socialist Outlook* queried, “Perhaps Cliff has visions of storming the Winter Palace?” Hardly. Despite the hot air rhetoric spewed out in *Socialist Worker* against “parliamentary reformism”, that is exactly what Tony Cliff and the SWP ultimately put on offer. So in the face of a massive upsurge against redundancies, the task of a revolutionary workers party, with tens of thousands of members, would be to...lobby parliament! And Cliff might have added, to force new elections and get a Labour government. That is exactly the import of the endless Tory-bashing front-page headlines in *Socialist Worker* (“Sack Major”, “Keep the Tories on the run”, “Action now can beat the Tories”, *ad nauseam*), as well as the chummy advice to Labour on how to get elected: “If Labour wants to win it should stop chasing the Tories and start addressing the concerns of most people” (*Socialist Worker*, 16 January).

The massive protests against the pit closures *could* have been different. Instead of the diversions organised by the trade-union tops, embracing everyone from Arthur Scargill to raving racist Tories like Winston Churchill junior, the popular outrage demonstrated by the “marches for the miners” could have been galvanised into a class-struggle fight. As we wrote in our leaflet “For workers action committees to stop the pit closures and to run the country!” which was distributed in the thousands on the 21 October demonstration:

“This is a political onslaught which must be fought down the line by the trade

unions and their allies. What is urgently called for is the mobilisation of the power of the organised working class—the miners along with workers in strategic industries such as rail, transport and power—to throw the gauntlet back in the face of the profit-gouging bosses, their politicians and Labourite trade union lackeys.... This battle cannot be waged within the framework of Labourite parliamentarism, lobbies of the TUC, or any other sort of legalistic gimmicks. Decaying British capitalism cannot be reformed, lobbied, legislated into providing a decent living wage and life for the working people: it is necessary to smash the profit system root and branch.”

— *Workers Hammer* no 132, November/December 1992

Workers Power rebukes the SWP for failing to recognise “the real reluctance of the rank and file when it comes to taking on the bosses and its government”. But as has been more than manifest in the protests against the pit closures, the Timex strike and the one-day strike by miners, railway and London busworkers in April, the problem is not one of the will of the ranks to fight. On the contrary, as Leon Trotsky wrote more than 50

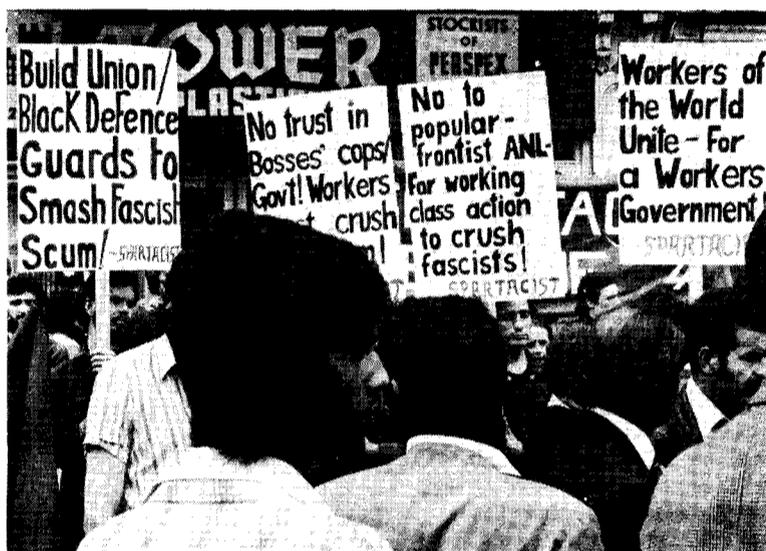
Germany to Moscow, they were among the foremost cheerleaders for the forces of counterrevolution that are now devastating Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union. While most of the rest of the left followed suit, howling along with the imperialist wolves in championing any and every anti-Soviet “movement”, the SWP not only supported some of the darkest forces of reaction but offered them as a model for struggle against Stalinist “totalitarianism”.

So, for example, following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Cliffites heralded the CIA-funded Islamic reactionaries who are now drowning any shred of social progress in that country in blood. *Socialist Worker* (4 February 1989) enthused that a “Mojahedin victory will encourage the opponents of Russian rule everywhere in the USSR and Eastern Europe”! By rights the SWP should now be pleased that just such “opponents of Russian rule”, ie vicious nationalist reactionaries, fascist terrorists, women-hating clericalists, have been unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution.

Following the victory of Yeltsin’s counter-coup in the Soviet Union in

workers states by “the magic of the marketplace”. And you don’t need to be a Marxist to understand that the mass unemployment, the rocketing rent and food prices, the destruction of childcare, the rise of racist and anti-Semitic violence in the former Soviet Union, is a step backward—pretty much right back to what existed before the Russian Revolution. Indeed, the regimes in Eastern Europe bear a strong resemblance to the repressive, anti-Semitic regimes that existed there in the interwar years.

In August 1991, the SWP argued that Yeltsin’s victory had brought “the workers of the USSR closer to the spirit of the socialist revolution of 1917, not further from it”. Today, John Molyneux is “teaching” a different “Marxist” appreciation. In his column, titled “Russia: should we take sides?” (*Socialist Worker*, 10 April), Molyneux argues “it is precisely the viciously anti-working class nature of Yeltsin’s free market ‘reform’ that makes him aspire to dictatorial powers in order to impose his programme. Consequently no socialist should now support Yeltsin”! This from a man who two years ago was singing Yeltsin’s praises and promoting “state capitalism” as the “only



Workers Hammer

September 1978: SL contingent mobilises against fascist NF march through the Asian Brick Lane area of London (left), SWP-led ANL criminally held “anti-racist” carnival on other side of town (right).



John Sturrock (Report)

years ago in the *Transitional Programme*, the founding document of the Fourth International, the problem is “a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat” — to break the stranglehold of the reformist misleaders of the mass workers parties and trade unions and to lead the proletariat in the fight for workers rule. Such a leadership is hardly on offer from Tony Cliff’s SWP, nor could it possibly even make a pretence to such.

Cold War renegades

Capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has meant untold misery for the working masses of those countries—poverty, homelessness and starvation amid an onslaught of bloody nationalist fratricide. Europe—East and West—faces massive unemployment, the ominous rise of anti-Semitism, racist and fascist terror, attacks on women’s rights—specifically the right to abortion from Germany to Poland. Now that the unifying thread of anti-Sovietism no longer mutes their rivalries, the imperialist ruling classes are trying to tighten the screws of exploitation on the proletariat at “home”. At the same time, they try to sell the lie to the working class and oppressed that “communism is dead”, that any attempt to overthrow this system of exploitation and oppression is condemned in advance, useless, even criminal.

The SWP presents itself as a fighting alternative. If there were any justice in this world, these Third Camp renegades should feel ashamed to even try to show their face in public! From Poland to East

August 1991, *Socialist Worker* (31 August 1991) gleefully headlined, “Communism has collapsed—NOW FIGHT FOR REAL SOCIALISM”. John Molyneux, the author of *Socialist Worker*’s misnamed “Teach yourself Marxism” column, proudly wrote:

“For many years the theory of state capitalism could seem like an obscure and abstract exercise in name calling. Today it is the only theoretical foundation from which socialism can now be confidently advanced as the solution to the crisis of humanity.”

We suggest that Molyneux try telling the masses of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that nothing fundamental has changed—that they have always been living under capitalism!

SWP “theoretician”, Chris Harman, writes that “the transition from state capitalism to multinational capitalism is neither a step forward nor a step backwards, but a step sideways”. But if the Stalinist-ruled countries were “state capitalist”, the transition to private capitalist ownership would be no more momentous than the replication on a large scale of, for example, the American business decision to diversify the phone company monopoly.

Instead, the social cataclysms engulfing these countries—from the murderous nationalist bloodbath in Yugoslavia to the wholesale destruction of industry in Eastern Europe to the general immiseration of the working masses from Warsaw to Moscow—are the product of the replacement of the centralised economies (albeit bureaucratically mismanaged) of the deformed

theoretical foundation” from which to advance the cause of all humanity!

State Capitalism—a “theory” for capitulation

“State capitalism” is not really a “theory” at all, but rather an *appetite*. The purpose of all efforts to define the USSR as a new form of capitalism was nothing other than to create a justification for support to one’s “own” bourgeoisie. Just as the onset of World War I led the opportunist “socialists” of the Second International to put aside their internationalist antiwar verbiage and enlist on the side of their own ruling class, the Cold War pulled self-described “socialists” into the “camp” of the “free world”.

In 1950, when the Cold War got hot over the Korean War, Tony Cliff and his followers split from the Fourth International, refusing to defend North Korea against US and British imperialism. This was a direct echo of the then-ruling Labour government, which had swung in behind the US, sending in troops to fight the North Koreans and later the Chinese also. Through the intermediary of these Cold War social democrats, Cliff’s group capitulated to the British Empire and its US imperialist allies.

The class-collaborationist appetites of Cliff’s SWP could be seen yet again in its antics around the Persian Gulf war. On the eve of the war, John Molyneux declared in his column: “We call for the withdrawal of Western forces from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. And if war breaks out nonetheless we are for the defeat of America and the victory of Iraq” (*Socialist Worker*, 25 August 1990). That was the

continued on page 8

SWP...

(Continued from page 7)

first and last that was heard of any mention of defence of Iraq against imperialism, as the SWP rushed headlong to join Tony Benn's Labour "left" in the CND's "Committee to Stop War in the Gulf". The Cliffites tailored their "antiwar" agitation to suit these Union Jack "pacifists"—whose alternative to war was the call for UN sanctions to starve the Iraqi masses.

This "antiwar" work was the cause for some exhilaration on the part of the SWP. In an article in the *New Statesman* (3 May 1991) leading SWPer Paul Foot enthused that during the war the SWP "had to make friends, link arms and speak on platforms with all sorts of people we would once have denounced as reformist trash". He boasted: "The CP in Britain has effectively been replaced by the Socialist Workers Party—the only organisation on the left to have survived the 1980s with any confidence."

Anti-Labour name, Labour-loyal game

As Trotsky noted, the British Communist Party became nothing other than a third-rate version of the Labour Party, organised independently but programmatically indistinguishable. Ditto for the SWP. The Cliffites left the Labour Party in 1968 for purely opportunistic reasons. Cold War I had worn off, it was the height of the New Left radicalisation around the Vietnam War, and Labour prime minister Harold Wilson—a flunkey for the US—was not exactly popular with newly radicalising youth.

Tony Cliff caught which way the wind was blowing, opting to take his followers out of the Labour Party. Realising that their Cold War pro-imperialist line over Korea was hardly going to sell to young militants in the Vietnam antiwar movement, the SWP manufactured a difference between the two wars in order to come out in support of the Vietcong. Since the British never sent any troops to Vietnam, it was cheap to strike a leftist pose. But a year following its departure from the Labour Party, the SWP once again grovelled to British imperialism with its support to the Labour government's dispatch of troops to Northern Ireland: "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital."

Despite having existed outside the Labour Party for the past 25 years, the complete sham of the SWP's anti-Labour posture was captured in an article by Socialist Organiser's Sean Matgamna (*Socialist Organiser*, 19 November 1992).

Although Matgamna's point was to attack the Cliffites from the right for its failure to build the Bennite "left" within the Labour Party, he does a nice job in exposing the Cliffites' abject hypocrisy, using longtime SWP spokesman Paul Foot as his foil:

"In the 1979 General Election the SWP while proclaiming itself 'the socialist alternative' to the Labour Party, declined to put up candidates, backed the Labour Party!... It fell to Foot, in a much-quoted interview in the *London Evening Standard*, to express the SWP's dualism, the approach which left the political labour movement to the right wing, in all its crassness. He said:

'For the next three weeks I am a strong Labour supporter. I am very anxious that a Tory government shouldn't be returned, and I shall be going around to meetings we are having telling everyone to vote Labour' (9 April 1979)."

Matgamna concludes: "In his role of SWP ambassador to the bourgeoisie and the media, Foot often blurts out the truth about the SWP's politics, without the usual 'socialist' obfuscation and phrasemongering. Michael Foot's nephew Paul is thus a useful man to have around."

The 1979 General Elections followed five years of the Wilson/Callaghan government in which wage controls (the "social contract") had been imposed on the working class, and army and police strikebreakers were used against firemen, ambulance workers and Glasgow dustmen. In this period, in an effort to help the labour bureaucracy "maintain unity" against the Tories, the SWP stopped running even token campaigns in parliamentary elections, and they have not done so since. When workers' rage exploded in the "winter of discontent" of 1978-79, the Spartacist League called for a general strike, pointing out that defence of the interests of the proletariat meant toppling the Labour government through class struggle, with the perspective of fighting for workers rule. This slogan had no takers from the SWP and the legions of the fake left, who are perfectly happy to call for a "general strike" as long as it is not "their" (Labour) government which is in office.

In the spring 1979 elections there was a large section of militant workers, including those who had struck during the "winter of discontent", who hated the Tory candidate Thatcher, but didn't want to vote for Labour. The SL gave no support to Labour, and called on the unions to run candidates against Labour, on a full revolutionary programme. In contrast, the SWP campaigned for Labour on the particularly grotesque slogan of "defend the unions—keep the Tories out", notwithstanding the fact that the unions had

been pounded by the Labour government for the past five years, and that Labour had been in a corridor coalition with the Liberals. Thus, at a time when a section of the working class could have been politically broken from the LP, the Cliffites sought to steer them back into the Labourite fold.

At times it is principled for Marxists to offer critical electoral support to bourgeois workers parties like the LP, when it is running independently of the bourgeois parties and is not decisively identified with openly anti-working-class or pro-imperialist policies. The tactic of critical support presupposes running open communist candidates against Labour, resources permitting. As such it can be a useful tactic in forging a Bolshevik party through splitting the working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops of the Labour Party. But the SWP's ritual support to Labour—including to scabherder Kinnoch in 1992—as well as its refusal to challenge Labour, manifestly constitutes a political loyalty oath to the LP.

For revolutionary regroupments! For Lenin's communism!

As the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is felt by many. But what kind of "leadership" is being offered by Tony Cliff's SWP?

To militant miners and their allies in Britain they offer bigger parades on Parliament, combined with appeals on the TUC labour traitors to call a "general strike", and pusillanimous letters to Norman Willis asking "What have you done, Norman?" In their "Miners' Open Letter to the TUC Leader", the SWP bleats that "The history of the trade union movement is littered with acts of betrayal and cowardice. If you don't act now, your place in this roll call will be secure." But Willis' "place in this roll call" was already secure, as was demonstrated when striking miners hung a noose by his head during the 1984-85 coal strike.

To militant youth who want to fight against fascist terror, the SWP offers the resurrection of its "Anti Nazi League". Originally set up in the 1970s, with the endorsement of Liberals, church leaders and Labour Party politicians like Neil Kinnock, this outfit should have more appropriately been called the "Avoid the Nazis League". In 1978, close to 2000 fascists marched through the Asian-populated Brick Lane area of London. Despite repeated appeals by immigrant groups in the East End, calling on the ANL to mobilise to stop the fascists, some 60-100,000 people were mobilised instead for an "anti-racist" rock carnival on the other side of town.

At the time Cliff argued that if they had gone to Brick Lane "the result would have been"...the "disintegrating of the ANL", ie the disintegration of the SWP's popular front alliance. Today, the ANL is simply making straight out appeals to capitalist rulers to clamp down on the very fascist forces that their decrepit system has spawned. (See "For trade union/minority mobilisations to smash the fascists", page 1.)

In any case, what kind of "revolutionary alternative" could be offered by an organisation which championed the forces of capitalist reaction in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union? Now the SWP promises an anti-capitalist fightback. Are you going to buy it?

The International Communist League fights for a communist leadership worthy of the name—for a world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Contrary to the SWP "state capitalists", the counterrevolutionary tide sweeping Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union today only underscores Trotsky's fight for the unconditional defence of the gains of the October Revolution against imperialist attack and internal capitalist restoration.

In opposition to conservative Stalinist bureaucracies, we actively fought for the restoration of the proletarian internationalist understanding of the founding Bolsheviks, that an isolated workers state could not survive indefinitely under the pressures of world imperialism. Over Afghanistan, where the Soviet Army was pitted against the forces of Islamic reaction, we declared "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend social gains of October to Afghan peoples!" In 1981, the ICL stood alone on the left in calling to "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland!"

When the Berlin Wall was opened, we intervened intensively in the DDR with all the forces we could muster. This intervention was capped by our initiation of the massive anti-fascist mobilisation in Treptow Park in East Berlin in solidarity with the Red Army which smashed Hitler, where our speakers took the podium to call for the organisation of workers' and soldiers' councils to oppose capitalist reunification and carry out political revolution. In August 1991, we called on the workers of Moscow to smash the forces of Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution—a mobilisation which would have been a point of departure towards proletarian political revolution to preserve and regenerate the gains of October.

Our forces are small and our achievements modest. To resolve the disproportion between this and our task of building genuine communist parties on every continent, we fight to win subjectively revolutionary elements to the programme of Leninist internationalism. Without a revolutionary party, there can be no workers revolution—and what this country needs is proletarian revolution. As we wrote in our article launching the International Communist League:

"We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. We choose the communism that had Lenin as its greatest teacher in the imperialist epoch. We choose the communism of Lenin's comrade Trotsky, who beginning as early as 1923 understood the main lines of what needed to be done. We choose the communism that Stalin utterly betrayed as he deliberately destroyed the Third International. We choose the communism of a new Fourth International that will do away once and for all with the exploitation of man by man and establish a socialist society based on a new vision of the continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life."

—"International Communist League Launched", *Spartacist* no 43-44, Summer 1989 ■

Timex...

(Continued from page 12)

[to] turn Timex into an industrial outcast". And their paper is advertising a demonstration outside the US embassy on 4 July appealing directly to bloodstained US imperialist rulers to join the boycott. While the fake left protest the fact that Timex is American and buy into prevalent anti-American nationalism, the same yardstick doesn't apply to embracing the defeatist consumer boycott "strategy" long associated

with the US trade union bureaucracy as a means to avoid any class struggle action.

The SML has also asked the trade union tops to mount a one-day general strike which along with mass pickets and international boycotts it believes would pressure Timex to back down. But if that fails *Scottish Militant* demand that the "government should step in and nationalise Timex" (18 June). Workers Power similarly pleads for nationalisation. To call on the privatisation-crazed Major government to "nationalise" Timex is absurd. But the essence of the SML line is that workers actions exist mere-

ly to pressure the bosses and ultimately the capitalist government to act as an instrument of progressive social change, which the SML identifies with capitalist "public ownership". This is simply the bankrupt programme of left Labourism to bail out decrepit British capitalism. Moreover, in a period of heightened capitalist rivalries in the wake of capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc, such state intervention is necessarily protectionist in character—pitting worker against worker and fuelling nationalist chauvinism on which fascism feeds.

Today the iron logic of decaying capitalism with its system of production for profit is the destruction of entire industrial regions and millions of jobs. It has brought wholesale poverty to working people and all the oppressed. Capitalism cannot be reformed and parliament cannot be pressured to deliver better living standards. This system must be destroyed root and branch through workers revolution. *For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe!* ■

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Anti-fascist...

(Continued from page 1)

wage parity downed tools. It is precisely this social force—the proletariat—which in alliance with all the oppressed has the power to crush the fascists, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. But to mobilise the strength of the working class, above all what is necessary is revolutionary leadership.

Here in Britain there has been a proliferation of groups that claim to fight racism and fascism. There's the Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA), which has the support of numerous Labour MPs. The SWP has resurrected its Anti Nazi League (ANL), while Militant Labour has set up two different "anti-racist" organisations: Youth Against Racism in Europe (for white youth) and Panther UK (for blacks and Asians). But for all their bluster and claimed differences, the ARA, ANL and YRE/Panther have the same bankrupt strategy: they all, without exception, seek to pressure the racist capitalist state to ban the fascists. Thus, *Socialist Worker* (13 February) boasted of a planned meeting of ANL representatives with the Bexley mayor "to urge an immediate clampdown on local Nazi activity"—the meeting with the mayor was "a result of three years campaigning...for the closure of the Nazi British National Party headquarters in Welling, Bexley". Earlier, in response to the brutal racist murder of Rolan Adams, the SWP circulated a petition "calling for the police to act" against the fascists (*Socialist Worker*, 23 March 1991). And Panther's leaflet for its 8 May march was equally explicit in its appeal to the state: "We are marching today to bring pressure on the powers that be to achieve justice and to prosecute to the end the killers of Stephen Lawrence. In addition, to bring pressure to bear on the authorities to close down the headquarters of the British National Party and to curb their activities."

Let's be clear. The "state" is "special bodies of armed men", with its "prisons and repressive institutions of all kinds", ie, police and standing army and courts. Its purpose? "According to Marx, the state is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another" (Lenin, *State and Revolution*). And as Lenin correctly insisted, the attitude to the state is the dividing line between reformists and revolutionaries. The repressive apparatus of the capitalist state beats and jails militant workers, leftists, minorities and anti-fascists, while protecting the race terrorists. This is exactly the role the cops played on 8 May in Welling. Any laws passed by the capitalist state aimed at banning "extremist organisations" will be used not against the race-terror thugs but against the left. Such has been the case with the Public Order Act in this country, which ostensibly was passed to deal with Mosley's fascists in the 1930s. The state is not neutral, and any illusions in it will prove suicidal. Hitler's stormtroopers were banned in 1932, yet a year later Hitler was handed power to save German capitalism.

In contrast to the reformists who suicidally appeal to the racist capitalist state to ban the fascists, we in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have fought to mobilise the organised working class to smash the fascist scum. Our call "For mass, union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists" points the way to victory. This January in Vancouver, when the fascist Canadian Liberty Net attempted to stage a provocation, our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada issued an appeal to the working class. With endorsements from, and contingents mobilised by union locals (dockers, truckers, railwaymen,

public employees, among others) together with people from the Asian and black communities as well as women's groups and gays, 3000 people turned up and militants ensured that the fascists were dispersed. This was not some small demonstration of leftists that the cops could easily disperse but a proletarian-centred mobilisation. The anti-fascists had the numbers and social muscle to send the fascist scum packing—notwithstanding the disgusting antics of reformists like the Canadian International Socialists, affiliated to the British SWP, who linked arms to bolster the line of cops who were trying to protect the fascists from angry demonstrators ("3000 drive off fascist skinheads", *Workers Hammer* no 134, March/April 1993).

In the US, throughout the Reagan years, our comrades of the Spartacist League/US initiated several demonstrations to stop the Klan and Nazis when they sought to spew their filth in large cities with substantial black populations. We communists put our faith in the working class, calling for "union/minority mobilisations to stop the Klan". Thousands turned out, in Detroit, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Washington DC—confirmation of the Trotskyist tactic of the workers united front. We take our strategy of bringing out the power of the organised working class, together with minorities and all the intended victims of fascist terror, from Leon Trotsky—a leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution—who called for a workers united front to stop Hitler's Nazis from seizing power in Germany.

ARA, SWP/ANL, Militant/YRE/Panther: Reformists who crawl to the state

The brazenly popular-frontist ARA is backed by the Scottish, Wales and South-east Region TUCs, and "70 MPs, from all parties" [our emphasis]. This is the "anti-racism" of the Labour Party—the same party that brought you "virginity tests" for Asian women, and whose cops murdered Blair Peach in 1979 while he resisted the NF invasion of Southall. And it was the post-war Labour government that ran the Nazi "rat line" which helped fascist war criminals to escape to Canada, South America and other places using Britain as a transit point.

The "anti-racists" of the ARA spend their lives propping up this racist, capitalist system. The ARA's Marc Wadsworth, along with supporters of the dubious RCP, "debated" fascist Patrick Harrington on the James Whale TV show on 29 May. This is not only the "logic" of parliamentary cretinism, but also deadly dangerous. It is ABC for Marxists that fascists are not a debating society. Their genocidal programme means terror in action: their stock-in-trade is the firebomb, the knife, the gun, the lynch rope. "Debate" and discussion with these thugs only emboldens them and provides them with a platform and legitimacy on which to recruit, while disarming their potential victims in the face of intended racist viol-



Smash fascist attacks through trade union/minority mobilisations! Above, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, Halle 1991.

Defend the Welling anti-fascists!

We print below the statement of the Partisan Defence Committee sent on 16 June to the Crown Prosecution Service in Sidcup, Kent. Charges have now been dropped against six of the demonstrators arrested on 8 May.

Dear Sir or Madam,

The Partisan Defence Committee vehemently protests the intended prosecution of the Welling 10, arrested at the 8 May anti-fascist march organised by Youth Against Racism in Europe and Panther UK, in Welling, South London. We demand the charges be dropped immediately against the nine protesters appearing in court on 17 June and George McNeilage, charged with "holding an object with intent" and due to appear in court on 8 July.

It is particularly outrageous that protesters, reportedly including a 15-year-old Asian girl and a black youth, were viciously beaten by the police.

On 8 May these protesters and others expressed the outrage felt by decent people everywhere that fascists, in growing numbers, feel confident they can carry out murderous attacks against minorities with impunity. The arrests and beatings of these and other protesters demonstrate, for all to see, the state's commitment to the protection and nurturing of fascist scum.

Drop the charges against the Welling 10 and all other anti-fascist protesters!

Ellen Munday
for the Partisan Defence Committee
cc: YRE and Panther UK

ence. Don't "debate" fascists—mobilise the workers movement and oppressed to crush them!

Alongside the ARA outside Bexley Council's offices, begging the (Tory-run) council to shut down the BNP, you'll find the Socialist Workers Party-dominated ANL. The ANL is modelled after an earlier version of the same name, which the SWP set up in the 1970s with the endorsement of Liberals, church leaders and Labour Party politicians like Neil Kinnock. In 1978, while the fascist NF marched through the Asian Brick Lane area of London, the ANL was holding an "anti-racist" rock carnival on the other side of town.

In the 1980s the SWP preached ignoring the fascists at home, while simultaneously—in the service of Cold War anti-communism—it supported any opposition to Stalinism, no matter how reactionary. Thus the SWP backed the women-hating *mujahedin* in Afghanistan and Thatcher's favourite union Solidarność in Poland. Indeed, in the name of anti-Sovietism, the SWP hailed outright fascist cut-throats, such as the rabid nationalists in the Baltic states who collaborated with the Nazis during WWII. All over Eastern Europe and the former USSR rabid nationalists and anti-Semites preside over the destruction of the former workers states. In Latvia you have the obscene spectacle of former Latvian SS soldiers strutting through towns where memorials are now officially erected in their honour!

We in the Spartacist League fought for unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism, defending the gains of the October Revolution. In August 1991, we called for the workers to mobilise to smash Yeltsin's barricades (infested with fascists, monarchists and

social democrats like the Militant). In January 1990, in East Germany, after fascists desecrated the Soviet war memorial at Treptow, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) initiated a call for a demonstration, which was then taken up by the SED-PDS. A quarter of a million turned up on this pro-Soviet, anti-fascist mobilisation. The SpAD uniquely opposed capitalist reunification of Germany, fighting for a proletarian political revolution in the DDR, for a red soviet Germany.

In contradistinction, the fake left fell in line with imperialism's revanchist drive to smash the East German deformed workers state. Militant and its German publication *Voran* chimed in with the anti-communist SPD, claiming that the fascist attacks in the DDR were "provocations by SED supporters" (*Militant*, 12 January 1990). They gloried in the skinhead attack on the "Stasi" [security police] administration building on 15 January! Serving imperialism, Militant sought to deny the danger of fascism being unleashed by capitalist counter-revolution. Tell that today to the Turkish, Vietnamese, Mozambican and other immigrant workers who face daily murderous attacks at the hands of the fascist scum! In contrast to Trotskyist unconditional defence of the workers states against imperialism and internal counter-revolution, Militant/*Voran* supported every reactionary "anti-Stalinist" movement in the workers states—from Solidarność in Poland in 1981 right down to manning counterrevolutionary Boris Yeltsin's barricades.

With large numbers of workers and youth fed up with the Labour Party, the majority of Militant split, setting up an "open" organisation. The "new" Militant Labour organisations claim to embody the "historic traditions" of the Labour Party. And in fact they do; however, these are not the traditions of socialism but of social-democratic chauvinism. Thus Militant Labour refuses to call for the unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. During the Falklands/Malvinas War, Militant gave backhanded support to Thatcher's war, calling for economic sanctions against Argentina. And during the Gulf War, Militant refused to take a side for the defeat of imperialism and defence of Iraq, instead campaigning for a general election to put Labour into office. (Kinnock & Co of course supported Bush/Thatcher/Major's war to the hilt.) And in Scotland the SML has debated with fascist punks in Penilee ("Scottish Militant alibies BNP

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Anti-fascist...

(Continued from page 9)

race-terrorists", *Workers Hammer* no 128, March/April 1992).

Despite its attempt to posture these days as an "alternative" to the Labour Party, you only need scratch the surface of the "new look" Militant Labour outfit to find the same old social-democratic philistinism, preaching illusions in the capitalist state. Thus Militant brags that its YRE affiliates receive funding from the racist capitalist state: "Antifa plans to send 300 people to the Brussels demo. The Austrian Ministry of Education has donated £2,000 to the campaign. When this was announced it was greeted with applause" (*Militant*, 2 October 1992). The programme of the Panther group says that "police must be democratically accountable to the communities which they serve". And for years Militant has called for organising the cops into unions, claiming that these racist strike-breakers are "workers in uniform". To these "Trotskyists", let's quote Trotsky: "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" (*What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat*, 1932). Nothing ambiguous there.

So when the French police in a bloody orgy execute three minority youths on 6-7 April, impelling hundreds of youth onto the streets yelling "Cops—fascists and murderers", while our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France mass-leaf-letted factories calling for workers to mobilise to defend immigrant neighbourhoods, where did Militant Labour's class solidarity lie? With its "workers in uniforms"? Danish cops shoot eleven youths protesting the pro-Maastricht vote. Would

you want these murderous police thugs in your union movement?

Panther UK, Militant Labour's front group, looks attractive to many black and Asian youth. The rhetoric may be militant, all right, but what about the programmatic reality? Panther UK claims to act in the tradition of the American Black Panther Party. The Black Panthers were not revolutionary socialists—they did not see the centrality of the integrated proletariat for overthrowing capitalist rule. But the Panthers inspired militant black youth of the time because they advocated armed self-defence against racist attacks. For this the Panthers were savagely hunted down and murdered by the American government. Some of those who survived have since made their peace with American capitalism, while others such as Mumia Abu-Jamal—on death row in Pennsylvania—and Geronimo Pratt were framed up and are among America's foremost political prisoners. (See "The Rise and Fall of the Black Panther Party", *Workers Vanguard* no 576, 21 May.)

The Panthers believed that blacks had a right to bear arms—a right won in the American political revolution against the English monarchy. And indeed, anyone who renounces the right to bear arms is renouncing the right to make a revolution. But what does all of this have to do with Militant's "Panther UK" operation, which cynically preaches that the cops can be made "accountable", and begs the cops and the bourgeois state to defend blacks and Asians by banning the fascists?

Forge an integrated Leninist vanguard party!

Still other groups on the left, such as Workers Power (WP) or the Revolution-

ary Internationalist League (RIL), posture as left critics of the Militant or SWP. But such outfits as WP and RIL do not in practice seek to mobilise the integrated trade unions in proletarian-centred actions to crush the fascists. Instead they seek to act as pressure groups on the SWP and Militant, who in turn... seek to pressure the capitalist state. Thus in a leaflet issued after the murder of Stephen Lawrence, Workers Power bleats: "There are many deeply held differences between different left wing and anti-racist organisations. But all of us claim to be in agreement on fascism: we are all against it. Many groups, including the SWP, claim to be in favour of No Platform for Fascists. Let's unite and implement it!"

Thus while claiming to oppose reliance on the capitalist state, Workers Power says it has no differences on fighting fascism with the SWP, for whom "no platform for fascists" manifestly means appealing to the government to "ban the BNP"! What this gobbledygook "appeal for unity" means is that Workers Power wants to replace the several competing popular front "anti-fascist" organisations with one "unified" popular front. Ditto for the RIL, which calls on the craven legalists of YRE to "work consistently to build united fronts for defence against the fascists" and calls on "anti-fascists" to "combine their forces on a wider and more systematic scale" (leaflet issued 25 April). The popular front is a cross-class alliance which subordinates the workers movement to the racist capitalist state!

Revolutionaries support united-front actions to crush the fascist scum. But this is qualitatively different from the perspective of RIL or Workers Power, who want to be the "left wing" of an ongoing popular front which will act as an *obstacle* to any serious struggle against fascism. The growth of fascist organisations is an

inevitable product of the decay of capitalism, and the fascist excrement cannot be rooted out short of a struggle for proletarian revolution. Above all, such a struggle requires a revolutionary Leninist vanguard party. Such outfits as Workers Power and RIL, which supported counterrevolutionary forces in the ex-USSR and Eastern Europe, cannot possibly lead the fight to smash imperialism and fascism. And like their reformist big brothers in the SWP and Militant, Workers Power and RIL similarly seek to keep the working masses tied to the Labour Party. Thus they all called for a vote to Kinnock's Labour Party in the last general election.

In the wake of Clinton's incineration of an integrated religious commune in Waco, Texas (recalling the slaughter of the black MOVE commune in 1985), and on the anniversary of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto uprising against Hitler's Nazis, we stress again the need for a Bolshevik party, part of a reformed Fourth International. Such an *integrated* revolutionary party must be a tribune of the people, mobilising the workers movement to smash the fascist plague and to combat all instances of oppression, linking the struggles of workers, blacks, Asians, women, gays in the fight for proletarian rule. Such a party will be dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism worldwide, the only sure way to sweep away the horror of fascism once and for all. That's what we in the Spartacist League are all about. Join us in that fight.

For trade union/minority mobilisations to smash fascist terror!

Down with Fortress Europe—full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!

For proletarian internationalism!

For a Socialist United States of Europe!

Balkans...

(Continued from page 1)

weak, vacillating and inept presidency. But Clinton's uncanny ability to shoot himself first in one foot and then the other is not just a matter of personal incompetence. Behind all the zigzags and inconsistencies of US policy in the Balkans lie the weakness and contradictions of American imperialism. America's arrogant rulers long to punish the Serbian nationalists for flouting the dictates of the Western powers. The self-proclaimed sole superpower looks feeble if it cannot restore order in the Balkans. But neither Washington nor its imperialist allies/rivals know what kind of order they want to restore—or can possibly restore—in

that region, a tinderbox of murderous nationalist passions and lust for historic vengeance.

There is a difference between Washington and West European capitals on how to deal with the Bosnia crisis. The Europeans want to end the war quickly, even if this means underwriting Serbian territorial gains, in order to stop the flood of Bosnian refugees into their own countries. The Germans, who precipitated the bloody break-up of Yugoslavia, are now appalled at finding the victims on their doorstep. Furthermore, the European bourgeoisies are concerned—and rightly so—that Western military intervention in Bosnia would provoke a wider Balkan war drawing in Macedonia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, etc. Fearing retaliation against their forces on the ground, the

Europeans opposed Clinton's call for air strikes against the Serbs. The British have deployed 2400 soldiers in Bosnia. We revolutionaries demand: UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!

For months we've been deluged with go-to-war propaganda against Serbia. The forced population transfers, called "ethnic cleansing", arising from the territorial conflict between three South Slavic peoples in Bosnia are being compared to the Nazi Holocaust. Belgrade strongman Slobodan Milosevic is portrayed by the Western media as the Adolf Hitler of the Balkans.

To gain popular support at home for a renewed Western imperialist overlordship in the Balkans, the media played up the plight of the Bosnian Muslims. But as the US got cold feet about going in, suddenly they discovered that the Croats were doing their own "cleansing" in Mostar, and now it's reported that Bosnian Muslim forces are driving thousands of Croat refugees out of Travnik into the arms of Serbian troops! An account in the *Guardian* (9 June), headlined "Muslims wreak revenge", reported that the Muslim 17th Brigade had torched Croat villages surrounding Travnik, and Bosnian soldiers fired on fleeing Croat civilians and butchered others.

While the American imperialists are clearly reluctant to rush into the Balkan quicksand, the liberal and rad-lib milieu has taken up "poor little Bosnia" as its latest cause, and various pseudo-leftists are falling over themselves trying to think up arguments for direct or indirect imperialist intervention against the Serbs. As Marxists and proletarian internationalists, we take no side in the squalid nationalist blood-bath that has ripped up the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of the workers and peasants of all nationalities. But we

oppose all forms of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from the economic boycott of Serbia to "peace-keeping" troops, whether or not they wear UN blue helmets.

US imperialism and the Balkan quagmire

Washington is not opposed to a Greater Serbia as such provided it sets the terms for it. It was, after all, the Western imperialist powers—Britain and France—which, following World War I, established a far greater Serbia than anything Milosevic is aiming at. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles created Yugoslavia by attaching the South Slav regions (Slovenia and Croatia) of the defunct Habsburg Empire to the Kingdom of Serbia. The Yugoslavia of the Serbian monarchy was destroyed by the Nazi German invasion in 1940. The Germans then set up a puppet government in Croatia and Bosnia under the clerical-fascist Ustasha, who massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, as well as Jews and Gypsies.

In this cauldron of war and intercommunalist slaughter, Tito's Communist Partisans fought and defeated the Croatian Ustasha, Serbian royalist Chetniks and Nazi German occupiers, thereby laying the basis for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, post-war Yugoslavia was from the outset a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Especially after Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy fissured along national lines. That fissuring was personified by Milosevic, who took over the Serbian League of Communists in the late 1980s, and Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman, a former general in the Yugoslav Federal Army who became a notorious apologist for the Ustasha.

With capitalist counterrevolution

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sweeping Eastern Europe and then the Soviet Union in 1989-91, Tudjman asked for and received Western, especially German, imperialist backing in creating a Croatian client state. In the eyes of the US rulers, Milosevic's only crime is that he has tried to redraw the boundaries of the Balkans without getting Washington's approval first. Current imperialist strategy—to the extent that there is one—is to starve the Serbian people in order to pressure Milosevic into reining in the Bosnian Serbian militias. But the Bosnian Serbs have defied Milosevic, who himself has come under heavy political attack from even more fanatical Serbian nationalists.

Direct US/NATO military intervention risks igniting an ever-widening Balkan war, potentially involving both Russia, historically the protector of its Balkan "Slavic little brothers", and Turkey, in support of the Bosnian Muslims and Albanians. The Balkan conflagration could prove a decisive obstacle in the already difficult project of transforming Russia into an American neocolony through Washington's agent, Boris Yeltsin. US/NATO attacks on Serbian forces would give Yeltsin's Russian nationalist opponents an emotionally powerful issue. And while Russian diplomats have voted for all the anti-Serbian sanctions in the UN, they've lobbied for a softer line. However, Washington's other major ally in the region, Turkey, is pushing a hawkish line against Serbia.

Today the imperialists are held back from intervening more massively in the Balkans by their own competing interests and the daunting prospect of untangling the interpenetrated peoples of the former Yugoslavia. But the region is a powder keg and the fuse is burning. The world situation today resembles the pre-1914 period of mounting imperialist rivalries. It is widely known that World War I was triggered by national disputes in the South Slav region. But it was more than just some Serb nationalist shooting an Austrian archduke. The first imperialist world war, with its horrendous carnage, was prefigured by a succession of Balkan Wars manipulated by the Great Powers, fuelled by rival local nationalisms and marked by constant shifts in alliances.

The direct origins go back to the Russo-Turkish War of 1875. With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia, while Serbia and Bulgaria became independent monarchies under Russian protectorship. In the first Balkan War of 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria seized Macedonia and the Albanian-populated province of Kosovo from the Turks. The next year the two South Slav monarchies went to war with one another over division of the spoils, with the Serbs coming out on top. A year later the whole world was in flames.

While the imperialist powers and their various factions debate what to do about the Balkan crisis, we have insisted that in the face of US/NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders in an internationalist struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans stretching from the Danube to the Aegean Sea.

Liberals, leftists spearhead anti-Serbian warmongering

In the US the right wing of the bourgeoisie has generally advised against military intervention. Reacting to the barrage of imperialist war propaganda focusing on the suffering of the Bosnian Muslims, bleeding-heart liberals and self-styled radicals are the screechiest anti-Serbian hawks, making common cause with mad dog conservatives like Margaret Thatcher. In Britain the Labour Party leadership attacked the government from the right, demanding that it carry out air

strikes against the Serbs. Elements of the Labourist left like Ken Livingstone have openly called for imperialist intervention against Serbia.

Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) in its February resolution, titled "For a Multi-Ethnic and Sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina", claim: "The demand to lift the embargo on sending arms to the Bosnian forces is an answer to the main Greater Serbian aggression...." This is nothing but a call on Yankee imperialism, the Fourth Reich and Belgian merchants of death to arm the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim leadership.

Western liberals, social democrats and leftists may sell the line that the Bosnian

nance in an independent and unitary state."

—New York Times, 5 March

While the Muslims constituted roughly 45 per cent of the total population of Bosnia, they were heavily urbanised, while the countryside was dominated mainly by Serbian peasants (who owned 64 per cent of the land), with some Croatian areas. Consequently once the fighting broke out, the Serbian and Croatian militias quickly took over much of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

Echoing the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Bosnia", a whole host of fake-left groups in Britain—including Workers Power (WP) and the Workers

back all of the territory of this former Yugoslav republic. The actual programme of the "arm Bosnia" leftists—witting or unwitting—is to create a Muslim-dominated, US puppet state in the Balkans, driving out the Serbs and Croats or reducing them to subjugated minorities.

Even on its own terms, the demand for "democratic, multi-ethnic Bosnia" is undemocratic since the Serbs (a third of the population) and the Croats (almost a fifth) do not want to live in the same state as the Muslims or with one another. The American ostensibly Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (whose co-thinkers here are the Revolutionary Internationalist League—RIL), which opposes imperialist intervention on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims, nonetheless states: "The working class must fight for the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multi-ethnic state—but this is impossible under the leadership of Alia Isbegovic's strongly pro-imperialist government" (*Fighting Worker*, March 1993).

But why should the working class aim to establish an independent state encompassing all the territory of this former Yugoslav republic? The region called Bosnia originated as a province in the Ottoman Empire. Over the centuries three very closely related South Slav peoples intermingled in its territory. There has never been a Bosnian nation, nor any sense of common national identity among its inhabitants. The journalist Misha Glenny observed that Bosnia's "internal stability was invariably guaranteed by an external power which mediated between the three communities (the Sublime Porte, Vienna, the inter-war royal dictatorship or Titoism)" (*The Fall of Yugoslavia* [Penguin, 1992]). Izetbegovic's campaign for Western imperialist overlordship is the logical conclusion of his aim to create a state encompassing the historic boundaries of Bosnia against the will of over half its inhabitants.

The democratic and national rights of all peoples in the region can be secured only by proletarian political power within a socialist federation of the Balkans. In such a federation the present state and provincial boundaries could and in many cases would be redrawn in a democratic and equitable way according to national affiliation. For example, the oppressed Albanians of Kosovo, who make up 85 per cent of what is now a Serbian province, would certainly want to and have the right to unite with Albania. The only way out of this murderous cockpit is through socialist revolution throughout the region. Trotskyists fight to build proletarian-internationalist communist parties that will wage uncompromising struggle against all forms of nationalism. In such an area of geographically interpenetrated peoples, as with the Catholic and Protestant communities of Northern Ireland, the democratic issue of self-determination can only be resolved equitably within the framework of the proletariat in power.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 578, 18 June 1993.



Defending UN's "safe havens" (numbered in 26 May map) for Bosnian Muslims could be pretext for imperialist military intervention against Serbia.

Muslim forces are fighting for a "democratic, multi-ethnic state", but no one in the Balkans buys it. Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic came to prominence in the late 1980s as the author of a tract in favour of an "Islamic state". The Bosnian Muslim population was in fact largely secular, cosmopolitan and urbanised, and had little interest in an Islamic state. A veiled woman was and is a rare sight in Sarajevo. Izetbegovic's rise to power, along with Milosevic and Tudjman, indicated the ascendancy of reactionary nationalisms, each reinforcing the other, with the disintegration of the Titoist order in Yugoslavia.

The 1974 Titoist constitution, recognising the multinational character of the Bosnian republic, gave the Bosnian Serbs as well as the Bosnian Croats the right to veto its secession from Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic and the Muslim leaders simply violated the Serbs' constitutional rights when they organised a plebiscite on independence in early 1992 (which the Serbs boycotted). After this plebiscite, the Bosnian Serbian and Croatian leaders agreed to an independent Bosnian state, provided it was constituted on ethnically based cantons. But this was rejected by the Muslim leaders. Milovan Djilas, a one-time leading figure in the Tito regime who became a world-famous social-democratic "dissident", noted:

"The Serbs bear the largest share of responsibility for what has happened to Yugoslavia, but the Croats also have an authoritarian and chauvinist Government, and the Bosnian Muslims wanted domi-

International League (WIL)—have campaigned for military aid to the Bosnian Muslims. Cliff Slaughter's WRP went so far as to set up a "Red Aid" for Bosnian Refugees. Workers Power has managed to support every counterrevolutionary nationalist force in the former Yugoslavia. Along with undisguised anti-communists like the SWP, Workers Power pimped for the "rights" of Ustashi-loving Croat nationalists against the then-Yugoslav deformed workers state, demanding the immediate recognition of the Croatian and Slovenian declarations of independence. Later WP's Austrian group scandalously rallied together with Greater Serbian monarchists and Chetnik fascists in Vienna. Having then claimed that "Support for Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims is little more than support of the interests of the Austrian ruling class" (*Trotskyist International*, September/December 1992), today WP pontificates that "the Muslims' struggle to defend themselves has been a legitimate struggle deserving the support of workers the world over" (*Workers Power*, June 1993).

Naive liberals and radicals may support the imperialist arming of the Bosnian Muslim forces on the grounds of self-defence and ensuring a "fair fight". But the Muslim leaders are not simply interested in defending their present territorial positions, which they consider intolerable in any case, nor do they want a fair fight with the Serbs. A few months ago the Bosnian Muslim foreign minister reasserted his government's intent to take

Correction

In the article, "Defend abortion clinics!" (*Workers Hammer* no 135) a line was dropped, cutting off the end of one sentence and the beginning of another. The passage should have read, "Rescue America and the larger Operation Rescue which plans a foray in September are out to galvanise the same type of terroristic bigotry they foment in the United States. A small sample of what they intend came with the flying demonstrations of intimidations and pray-ins Rescue America and its Rescue Britain cohorts staged at abortion clinics from Essex to Birmingham to Aberdeen."

WORKERS HAMMER

Spread the Timex strike internationally!

Dump the Labour traitors! For a working class offensive!

For almost six months now the mainly woman workforce of over three hundred at Dundee's Timex plant has battled bosses' job-slashing and union-busting attacks. Time and again they have rejected sellout return-to-work proposals stitched up by the treacherous AEEU trade union tops. Their struggle has become the focal point of class struggle across Britain, intersecting the sense of millions of workers that there needs to be struggle against this crisis-ridden and decaying capitalist system.

The multi-national Timex bosses recently announced their plans to close the Dundee plant by Christmas and moved part of its operations to Besançon in France. Now comes news that a Timex components plant in Feltham, England will close throwing 120 more workers out of work. The Besançon plant, itself savaged by massive lay-offs reducing the workforce from 2000 to 500, has now taken back 30 workers at £100 a month less than before. Besançon is supposed to become the European link to Timex's international operation spanning Hong Kong, the US and the Philippines. Even the reformist leaders of the French CGT union noted that Timex is pitting workers against "each other in order to exploit them more and increase profits" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 27 June). *Timex workers from France, Hong Kong, the Philippines and the US need to strike together now in joint international struggle against the profit-gouging Timex bosses.*

The Dundee Timex plant is small and marginalised. For the bosses it is expendable, particularly when in the context of deepening economic recession they can easily prey off internationalised mass unemployment. Timex workers lack decisive economic power. But the importance of their fight lies in the fact that it can be a catalyst for class-struggle action. *Timex workers cannot be left to fight alone! The working class island-wide has got to be brought into combat through joint strike action!*

The Timex struggle comes hot on the heels of a dramatic upsurge of workers strikes in Western Europe, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. These struggles express mounting social unrest in post-Cold War Europe, a product of generalised capitalist economic crisis and the effects of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. They come in the midst of mounting inter-imperialist rivalries between Europe, Japan and America and amongst the European bourgeoisies. Capitalist counterrevolution in the bureaucratically ruled workers states in the former Soviet bloc is being followed up by a capitalist offensive against the bureaucratically led workers movements of Western Europe. And the bureaucrats are capitulating all along the line.

Reformist trade union bureaucrats and politicians accept the destructive logic of the capitalist system, based on production for profit. They ask only for a "fair slice of the pie", a few crumbs from the capitalists'



New Statesman & Society

Timex workers in Dundee: they must not be left to fight alone. For island-wide joint strike action!

table. But what happens when the pie is shrinking, and the economy is bankrupt? Right now what remains of the "welfare state" is being dismantled, there's massive unemployment, more plants like Swan Hunter are being shut, rail and other services are being slashed as part of the privatisation drive, wage controls have been imposed on public sector workers.

Scaling down the demands of the workers to what the bosses can "afford" in order to keep their operations profitable means disciplining the working class to accept *huge concessions*. AEEU leader Jimmy Airlie is notorious for his sell outs from the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders "work-in" in the early 70s to the sweetheart contract at Cambuslang recently, where he blatantly appealed to the Maytag bosses that Scottish Hoover workers would work for less than their counterparts in France. Airlie, Gavin Laird, and STUC head Campbell Christie have unsuccessfully tried to ram through pay cuts of 27 per cent and the dismantling of hard-won union gains at Timex. The union tops violence-bait pickets for stopping scabs, threaten them with expulsion if they don't comply with the state's Criminal and Civil Law, and attack leftists and Irish Republicans for supporting the strike. We say: no exclusion of the James Connolly Society! Drop all charges against pickets, as well as the SWP members and others in the Timex Strike Support Committee!

Arguing for restoration of what existed before the strike, AEEU organiser John Kydd (senior) says there is "a future for Timex at Dundee with reasonable wages and conditions" (*Financial Times*, 15 June). But who can live—let alone support a family—on wages averaging little more than £100 a week? Unless the workers are organised internationally, nothing will prevent the bosses from picking up and going elsewhere where they can pay even less, particularly in the case of labour-intensive plants like Timex.

While Timex workers may be particularly low paid, the lot of most workers here is not much better. In a period of sharp economic downturn and a determined capitalist offensive, working class interests must be directed towards the struggle for state power. The working class must fight for what it needs, not what this bankrupt capitalist system says it can afford. Writing in the great depression of the 1930s, the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky pointed out in *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International (The Transitional Programme)*:

"The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralisation, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

The Timex strikers' heroic battle has won the support of millions of trade unionists and others yearning to struggle against the capitalist bosses. What is necessary is not a "sympathy strike" but *joint strike action*. The strategically placed transport, rail, power, oil workers, miners and others must be mobilised alongside striking Timex workers: (1) smash the government's pay controls on government workers—for a big pay boost; (2) bust the job-slashing privatisation moves; (3) Timex workers, many of them older workers who face a lifetime on the dole, must get something real—how about a year's wages for every year put in at Timex—if the plant is shut. There must be jobs at decent pay for all. Divide up the available work, with no loss in pay, and full cost-of-living indexing—for a sliding scale of hours and wages. This would point the way to what is really necessary: a revolutionary workers government to expropriate the means of production, establishing within the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe an internationally planned economy.

But above all what is necessary is a revolutionary leadership of the working class. Nationally limited trade union reformism is a dead end. The seething discontent over the pit closures was demobilised and defused by the trade union tops, Scargill included, into a popular front embracing the bosses, and even raving racists like Winston Churchill. While they were pleading to the government to "save British coal" and demanding protectionist quotas on foreign imports, the trade union tops in Germany were trying to throttle protests of steel workers against mass redundancies by appealing to the German government for protectionist measures.

Protectionism doesn't "save jobs"—it merely pits the workers of different countries against each other and spreads racist poison while the bosses laugh all the way to the bank. It is necessary to link up with Timex workers in the Philippines, where the working masses experience superexploitation at the hands of the neo-colonial government of former Marcos crony Fidel Ramos. And while the bureaucrats are boosting their phoney consumer boycott and appealing to US imperialist chief Clinton, they do nothing to organise Timex workers in Clinton's low-wage, anti-union and Ku Klux Klan-ridden Arkansas.

The Labour Party leaders, intent on administering capitalist austerity if they get into office, don't even bother to promise reforms any more—indeed, you need a magnifying glass to find the differences between their policies and Major's Tories. What's needed is a Bolshevik party—a proletarian internationalist party linking the workers of Britain with their class brothers and sisters abroad. That is why we Spartacists fight to reforge the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky.

SWP/SML—Labour's loyal left toadies

While the Labour Party and trade union bureaucrats are working overtime to derail any class struggle the fake-left Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Scottish Militant Labour (SML) fill a niche to their left as loyal advisers. Addressing the Timex dispute the SWP's *Socialist Worker* (19 June) offered the following gem: "One circular from leaders of Britain's biggest unions would bring Timex bosses to heel... If our leaders don't stand up and fight, the Tories will push through more attacks..." The SWP's cringing loyalty to the Labour traitors translates into absurdly calling on those who are knifing workers in the back to "stand up and fight".

For their part the SML are awash with schemes for consumer boycotts of Timex, reporting favourably on TUC president Alan Tuffin's boast that US workers would support a consumer action. The *Weekly Worker* (19 June) of the minuscule Communist Party of Great Britain, even suggested "boycotting of all Timex products worldwide

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