

Workers News



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FORWARD TO THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA!

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

THE Workers International League salutes the black working class and youth of South Africa who have entered a critical stage of their struggle to overthrow the hated Botha dictatorship. The black working class, students and school youth, organised in their trade unions and township committees, have deepened the crisis of Botha's National Party government.

Ten years after he came to office to implement the 'Total Strategy' for economic and political 'reform', Botha has failed to win significant support for his 'reform' pro-

gramme from any section of the black population, while the base of support of the National Party among the Afrikaners has continuously narrowed.

After the heroic youth uprising in Soweto in 1976 and the growing militancy of black workers, the apartheid regime has attempted to sustain itself by alternating between police-military repression against the working class, and a 'reform' programme designed to create a black middle class as a buffer. The struggles of the rising black trade unions and the impact of Soweto coincided with the growth of South Africa's foreign debt. Temporarily cushioned from the effects of the world economic crisis by the soaring price of gold in 1979-80,

the foreign debt has continuously mushroomed.

The pressure of the world economic crisis has systematically undermined the apparatus of apartheid. Forced to modernise its economy, the South African ruling class has been obliged, in spite of itself, to relax legislation governing the movement of labour. Increasingly unable to maintain the system of migrant labour, South African capitalism has created its own gravedigger in the shape of an industrial working class which has rapidly grown in numbers and self-confidence.

Botha's Total Strategy aimed to:

- Lift restrictions on black working class mobility;
- Incorporate the emerging black trade unions into a



Miners' rally in Soweto

PHOTO IDAF

framework of state-regulated labour relations;

- Encourage the growth of a pro-capitalist black middle class;

• Promote a layer of stooge black, 'coloured' and Indian legislators with a consultative voice in the policing of their own communities;

- Transform the front-line states into an anti-communist buffer zone;

• Bring senior military and police officials into the boards of state-owned industries.

In the aftermath of Soweto, prominent white 'liberal' industrialists, including Harry Oppenheim of Anglo-

American and Anton Rupert of Rembrandt, formed the Urban Foundation, whose objective was the creation of a black small business class with 'Western-type materialistic needs and ambitions'.

Caught between the hammer of the resurgent struggles of the working class over the past three years, and the anvil of the deepening economic crisis, growing numbers of the Afrikaner ruling class are being driven towards a fascist solution.

Botha regime in crisis

The Botha government is a Bonapartist regime. That is to say, basing itself on the extremely sharp tensions between the classes, the regime concentrates the power of the police and the military into the hands of the supra-parliamentary presidential government. Without for one moment ceasing to be the representative of the capitalist class, the Botha regime balances between the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC to the one side, and the ultra-right Conservative Party and the fascist AWB to the other. Fearing an open civil war, the Botha regime tries to avoid one by supplementing the most brutal repression of the working class with paltry concessions.

The specific characteristics of South African Bonapartism are rooted in the historical development of South African capitalism. Depending upon the exploitation of a black working class bound by slave labour conditions, capitalism could not afford the luxury of bourgeois democracy, and lacked the support of a substantial middle class. Greatly outnumbered today by the black working class, the white capitalist class is forced to seek allies among opportunist elements in the black nationalist movement

— or take the road to fascism.

Botha is walking a tightrope. Since 1983 he has concentrated enormous powers in his hands, taking direct control of the armed forces, amalgamating the posts of prime minister and president, and abolishing the cabinet in favour of a president's advisory council. In the same period, support for Botha's National Party has steadily ebbed among white voters, to the point where the ultra-right Conservative Party has massively increased its vote in a recent series of by-elections. The fascist AWB has picked up increasing support from Boer small farmers. The traditional white liberal party, the Progressive Federal Party, funded by leading industrialists, has been in continuous crisis since the resignation of its leader, Fredrick van Zyl Slabbert, in 1986.

The crisis of the white minority is graphically measured by the rapid growth of unemployment, net emigration and the growth of bankruptcy amongst Boer farmers. Having failed to contain the foreign debt, the Botha government was forced to announce plans for the sale of state-owned industries on February 5. These include phosphorus mining, iron and steel mills, railways, South African Airways and docks. VAT has been introduced on basic items of consumption.

The Bantustan policy, dreamt of by the racists as a solution to black opposition, has become an albatross around Botha's neck. The stooge Bantustan administrations have become bywords for corruption and instability, and Botha is threatening to slash economic support.

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Mass strikes rock Poland

By Richard Price

THE resurgence of the Polish working class is the latest in a chain of struggles against the Stalinist bureaucracies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Seven years after the banning of the Solidarity trade union, and the declaration of martial law, the nationwide wave of strikes has demonstrated the abject failure of the regime of General Jaruzelski either to solve Poland's economic crisis or to stem the tide of working class opposition.

Following the government's humiliating defeat in last November's referendum on economic restructuring, it has pressed ahead with steep increases in the price of basic foodstuffs, gas, coal and electricity. In the first three months of this year, the official price index rose by 45 per cent. The foreign debt has risen to \$40 billion.

After several weeks in

which disputes simmered in several regions, bus and tram drivers struck in the northern city of Bydgoszcz on April 25. After a twelve-hour stoppage, a pay rise of 63 per cent was conceded.

On April 26, 12,000 workers went on strike at the giant Nowa Huta steel plant near Krakow. Workers at Nowa Huta, which was prominent in the militancy of 1980, demanded a 50 per cent pay increase as well as national pay increases for all industrial and health staff, rises for pensioners and the reinstatement of four sacked Solidarity activists.

Shaken by the upsurge, the Stalinist authorities attempted to head it off by zig-zagging between concessions and a crackdown. On the same day that forty oppositionists, including Jacek Kuron, were arrested, a strike of 2,000 steelworkers at the Stalowa Wola plant in south-east Poland was settled with a wage increase.

The Nowa Huta strikers were joined on May 2 by

7,000 workers occupying the Lenin shipyard, Gdansk — scene of the historic 1980 strike. During the next two days, strikes halted an oil refinery and a ship repair yard in Gdansk, a railway rolling stock works in Wroclaw in the south-east, and a copper mine at Polkowice in the south-west.

The strike at Nowa Huta was only broken on May 5 when riot police invaded the occupation and arrested the strike committee. A further one-day action took place on May 9 at the Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw, which was at the centre of militancy eight years ago. A Solidarity spokesman announced the decision of workers at the Lenin shipyard to leave their occupation voluntarily on May 10.

The older generation of Solidarity leaders want to restrain the mass movement within the limits of a protest to the government. Speaking at the Lenin shipyard on May 3, while riot police ring-

ed the occupation, Lech Walesa counselled the government that it should act to avoid 'a revolution, and a bloody one'. Walesa spoke as the advocate of peaceful reform, perestroika and national reconciliation: 'There is no place for Poland on the road to reform, there is no chance, if we don't come to an understanding with each other.' Walesa's programme is that of a petty-bourgeois democrat — 'economic pluralism, trade union pluralism and political pluralism'.

And while Walesa remains tied to the church, the Catholic hierarchy declared that they were 'filled with fear' by the strikes. On May 4, the Jaruzelski regime accepted an offer by the bishops to act as intermediaries in an attempt to get the strikes called off.

Only the building of a revolutionary leadership, armed with the Trotskyist programme of political revolution can bar the road to capitalist restoration and smash the Jaruzelski regime.

All-out strike to smash ferry employers' plans!

By Daniel Evans

THE difference between the servile and treacherous Labour and trade union bureaucracy and the revolutionary working class is no more in evidence than on the Dover picket lines of the sacked P&O ferry workers.

Whilst the rank-and-file members of the National Union of Seamen have demonstrated their support since the beginning of February for an all-out national strike, the union's general secretary, Sam McCluskie, is doing his utmost to head one off.

Before the High Court sequestration of the NUS's assets on May 3, both the national and local bureaucracy of the union attempted to avoid it by isolating the P&O seamen and driving back to work those who sought to spread the strike to other ports. McCluskie capitulated to the High Court's ruling that any action in support of the sacked P&O men would be 'secondary' and, therefore, in breach of the Tory anti-union laws.

Two days after the sequestration, McCluskie and TUC general secretary Norman Willis went to ACAS with proposals all but identical with P&O's. They offered 233 redundancies — the company seeks 360 — and wage reductions and increases in working hours which would save P&O £5 million — the company is looking for a saving of £6 million. When this failed, McCluskie sought to resolve the strike by falling in with the cut-throat instincts of the employers. Conscious that the rival ferry operator Sealink was desperate to gain the competitive edge over P&O on the cross-channel routes, he offered to 'sell' them 750 strikers. This despicable tactic, which would allow Sealink to operate more ships and deny P&O trained labour, also included a call for the TUC to set up a 'trust fund' for the remaining 350 strikers. It could only, of course, be accomplished at the expense of seafarers. Sealink only agreed to employ 450 on a temporary basis and there was fierce resistance from seamen to McCluskie's attempt to sell the deal.

McCluskie began undermining the struggles of seamen long before the current dispute erupted. The decision to seek amalgamation of the NUS with the railway workers' union was itself an open acceptance that ferry jobs would rapidly disappear as the Channel Tunnel rail-link neared completion. The leadership of the NUS had only one objection to P&O's proposals: the speed of their introduction. They privately reasoned

that the slower they were implemented, the easier it would be to suffocate the militancy of ferry workers.

The key word in McCluskie's vocabulary is 'dignity': this is essentially a plea to the employers to compromise over the timetable for the introduction of new working practices. Norman Willis echoed this line when he addressed the May Day rally in London: the right to negotiate change and not have it imposed was the central issue of the seamen's dispute, he said. 'All we demand is dignity in change.'

The employers, however, are acutely conscious of the need to slash costs if they are to remain in business after most of the cross-channel traffic transfers to the rail-link after 1993. With this background of intensified competition, P&O management are in no mood for conciliation.

After sequestration, McCluskie attempted to limit the strike to P&O shipping operations only and sent an ambiguous telex to NUS members on deep-sea vessels asking for support in 'any and every form you can give it', avoiding a firm call for an all-out strike. He refused to ask other unions for support, stating that it would be wrong to risk their funds being sequestered as well. In fact, the leadership of the T&GWU has already made it clear that it won't ask dock workers to boycott scab-crewed P&O ferries — for the nationalist reason that they sail under the British flag.

On May 12, the NUS Executive voted to call off all secondary action, and purge the union's contempt of court.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party Executive finally passed a motion in support of the sacked men at Dover. But Michael Meacher, Labour's Employment spokesman, has



Sacked P&O seaman on the picket line at Dover's Eastern Dock

outlined the kind of 'support' they can expect. In a speech at the quayside, Meacher told a mass picket of seafarers from all over the country that they should appeal to Thatcher to intervene in the dispute on their side since P&O's new work practices would threaten the safety of the travelling public.

The Workers International League says:

- The NUS leaders must issue a clear instruction to

their members all over the world to commence all-out strike action immediately;

- No confidence in the right-wing McCluskie leadership;

- The T&GWU leadership must instruct its members in the docks to boycott all scab-crewed ferries;

- The TUC must lead a fight to smash the Tory anti-union laws and co-ordinate strike action amongst all workers connected to the shipping industry;

- Seafarers and dockers in mainland Europe must refuse to handle or crew ferries to and from British ports;

- Bring down the Tory government — for a Labour government pledged to socialist policies including the nationalisation of the shipping industry under workers' control;

- Build a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership in the trade unions;

- Join the Workers International League.

Social services under attack

DAYCARE workers employed by Wythenshawe Agency for Community Services in Manchester came out on strike at the end of April. They are fighting against plans for a substantial reduction in the services they offer, which will lead to a cut in the hours worked and a loss of wages of

By Terry McGinity

between £7 and £20 per week.

The strikers, members of the Transport and General Workers' Union and youth on government schemes, are concerned about the effect of the cuts on the local

community. Daycare teams organise recreational activities for the elderly, the disabled and single-parent families, as well as running youth clubs and playgroups. The cuts will mean the complete closure of seven venues and a reduction of services to others.

Closures and redundancies for NHS

TORY government attacks on the National Health Service have forced two of London's health districts to make further cuts and staff redundancies. West Lambeth and Bloomsbury Districts have been forced to cut services in order to meet government demands for reduced expenditure.

At a meeting of West Lambeth Health Authority in April, a package of £4.6 million cuts was agreed. Further cuts must follow shortly to meet 'overspending' of £500,000.

After nine hours, the authority agreed that 181 beds would be taken out of service, and 333 jobs abolished. Among the jobs cut are 34 doctors' posts and 101

nursing staff; 66 administrators, 62 technical staff, 27 maintenance staff and 43 ancillary workers will also be made redundant.

In a bid to raise extra cash, the authority will be opening 16 new private beds. An NHS operating theatre which had been 'mothballed' during a previous round of cuts will now be re-opened to service the private beds.

Bloomsbury Health Authority in central London has agreed to close the Soho Hospital for Women and St. Peter's Hospital in Covent Garden. Further savings are to be made by reducing the budget for Family Planning Services by 50 per cent. The College Health Service, which provides medical support for students from Bri-

tain and overseas attending 12 polytechnics and colleges in London, will be abolished on August 1.

At the authority's meeting in May, further proposals for closures and redundancies, designed to meet a part of the district's £6 million debt, were postponed.

The members of Bloomsbury Health Authority were told by the chairman, Dr John Dunwoody, a Labour Party member and junior minister for health in the Wilson government in the 1960s, that the only way to reduce the district's debt was 'to close buildings and make staff redundant'. When a number of the authority's members objected to proposals drawn up by managers at the University Col-

lege and Middlesex Hospitals, they were told by the District General Manager that failure to agree cuts in services would lead to the Regional Health Authority imposing cuts in a matter of weeks.

Clinton demands purge

ALAN CLINTON, deputy leader of Islington's Labour council, who only a few years ago reckoned himself a 'Trotskyist', is now leading a witch-hunt against Labour Party councillors and members who are opposed to the council's cuts policy.

Clinton is a former member of Alan Thornett's Workers Socialist League and of

Teachers' militancy curbed

By Wendy Upson

THE National Union of Teachers conference in Scarborough at the beginning of April saw the executive attempt to push through plans for the immediate introduction of a new style of organisation aimed at giving the union a less militant image.

Delegates were angry at the executive's attempt to pre-empt discussion on a series of wide-ranging organisational changes which would include devolving power to the regions, thereby weakening the union's ability to take effective industrial action on a national scale, and voted to defer debate until a special conference in September.

The leadership's 'new realist' policy is intended to handcuff union members to the Tory government's education strategy, watering down opposition to the Education Reform Bill and Clause 28 of the Local Government Act.

Although a motion to commit the NUT to non-compliance with legislation on teachers' hours of work was rejected, the narrowness of the vote — 99,380 to 87,560 — revealed a growing hostility to the line being taken by the leadership.

Under pressure from the executive, the conference rejected outright opposition to the government's plans for pupil-selection tests and instead voted to set up an independent education commission which will act as a rival to government-appointed bodies. It will monitor the national curriculum and tests for children of seven, 11, 14 and 16, working within the framework of the Education Reform Bill, and will only oppose 'educationally unacceptable methods of testing'.

By a huge majority of 10 to 1, delegates reversed the executive's decision to appoint Doug McAvoys as general secretary. The executive was forced to convene a private meeting to decide what method of selection it should adopt. McAvoys was due to take over from Fred Jarvis next year. He was appointed last November and has been the main proponent of the 'new realism' intended to guide NUT policy sharply to the right.

Sean Matgamna's Socialist Organiser Alliance.

In a letter to the 'Islington Gazette' (April 18), Labour Party member Mick Miles writes: 'The pack are now baying for blood, led by Alan "Witchfinder General" Clinton. They are calling for censure and expulsions.'

BENEFITS SYSTEM — BACK TO THE HATED MEANS TEST

THE 1986 Social Security Act which came into force on April 11 is the most reactionary piece of welfare legislation since the 1930s. Along with Tory housing measures and the Poll Tax, it aims to deepen divisions between those in work and the unemployed, the sick, the elderly, single parents and the disabled.

By lowering the state benefits received by almost five million out of the current eight million claimants, the Tories are out to force unemployed workers into the lowest paid, non-union jobs, and drive still more onto Thirties-style means-tested benefits.

Over recent weeks, the Labour leaders have sudden-

ly 'discovered' the Social Security Act, and have tried to gain some cheap publicity by raising individual cases of hardship in the House of Commons. But the Act is not directed against individuals. It is a class question, and can only be fought by class methods.

Having remained silent for two years, refusing to call demonstrations, and refusing even to make it a central issue of their election campaign in 1987, the Labour leaders only found their voices when the Bill was already passing through parliament. Labour's 'campaign' is directed solely at winning the support of Tory wets.

The measures to reduce state spending on benefits

By Susan Keepence

are, according to a document issued by Tory Central Office, based upon five 'principles':

- Encouraging 'independent saving for retirement' (in fact penalising pensioners with small savings and preparing further cuts in state pensions);
- Increasing 'incentives to work' (driving the unemployed off benefits);
- 'Holding down the future cost of social security';
- 'Helping the family' (while freezing child benefit);
- 'Improving and simplifying the working of the system' (anyone who has had to wait in a DHSS office recently will have a fair idea of what this means!).

Under the Act, even after the amendments accepted by the Tories, spending on housing benefit has been slashed by £540 million. The single payments system has been effectively abolished and replaced by a system of loans — the misnamed Social Fund — thereby saving £230 million. The freezing of child benefit has saved a further £230 million.

Within these changes, the hardest hit are single unemployed people under 25, single parents, families with two or more children and only one parent working, and pensioners with small savings.

In addition to means-tested benefits, the non means-tested benefits are

also under attack. Those claiming unemployment benefit now have to complete a lengthy 'availability test', and from next July entitlement will depend on two years' National Insurance contributions instead of the current one year. The period of disqualification (for such 'offences' as being sacked or leaving a job) is to go up from 13 to 26 weeks. Entitlement to sickness and invalidity benefit will similarly now depend upon two years' contributions.

Changes in eligibility for widow's benefit now mean that it will only be paid in full to women widowed at the age of 55 or over, rather than the present age limit of 50.

Equity vote for action

ACTORS have voted to resist the Tory government-led attempt by TV and film employers to break up the closed shop and drive down wages.

At their union's AGM in April, Equity members were told by general secretary Peter Plouviez that the largest-ever response to a referendum had produced over 99 per cent in favour of taking 'any action necessary' to defend their interests.

However, the leadership has no intention of calling all-out strike action. An emergency motion on the referral of the TV and film industry to the Monopolies Commission, moved by Plouviez on behalf of the Council, restricted the fight to 'legal methods'.

Strike against fascist



Strikers outside Hither Green DHSS office

THERE has been widespread support for the strike action by staff who are refusing to work alongside a known fascist employed in the DHSS office at Hither Green, south-east London.

Malcolm Skeggs, a former National Front election candidate and subsequently a member of the British National Party, was given a job at Hither Green DHSS after being sacked by Lewisham Council for photocopying a BNP leaflet.

During his period of training, CPSA union members repeatedly informed management of their concern that a man with proven racist views should have access to the files of claimants. Management responded by issuing a warning that any member of staff boycotting Skeggs' work would be suspended and disciplined.

A union ballot calling for strike action returned 90 per cent in favour and, on April 5, the CPSA membership was called out.

Onay Kasab, the CPSA sub-branch secretary, spoke to Workers News three weeks into the strike. He praised the level of support that the dispute had received. Out of 28 CPSA members at Hither Green, 27 were on strike. Other offices in Lon-



The march organised by Anti-Fascist Action through London on April 23 as part of the European Day of Action Against Racism and Fascism

don had joined in a day of action, and provincial offices as far away as Doncaster had said they were ready to take sympathetic strike action.

He explained that management was using a strike-breaking force drawn from the Regional Reserves — two teams of six clerical officers

with supervisors, whose usual function is to assist with temporarily increased workloads.

There has been a high attendance by strikers and their supporters on the picket line, which assembles outside the Hither Green DHSS office every weekday from 7.30 to 9.30am.

Willis and 'lefts' encourage Hammond and Jordan

By Eugene Ludlow

FURTHER concessions to the extreme right wing of the trade union bureaucracy are being prepared by the majority on the TUC General Council, aided and abetted by the 'Broad Left', following the collapse of the TUC-backed single union deal between the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) and the Ford Motor Company at Dundee.

On April 6, the TUC special review body agreed in principle by 13 votes to two to draw up a code of practice governing single union agreements. Discussion documents before the review body accept the 'reality' of such deals, but aim to bring them under TUC control.

Bill Jordan of the AEU and Eric Hammond of the EETPU electricians' union voted against the motion, having threatened earlier in the week to withdraw their unions from the TUC if it made any attempt to restrict single union or no-strike deals. The review body dutifully capitulated to the threats of the extreme right wing, and deferred agreement on the terms of the code of practice until May 18.

The intervening six weeks have been used by TUC general secretary Norman Willis to find a formula by which the AEU and EETPU can continue their activities with the agreement of other major trade unions. Jordan and Hammond, for their part, have used the breathing space to press ahead with business as usual.

The AEU is negotiating for sole union rights at the joint Jaguar/GKN plant in Telford. It also recently signed deals with AC Delco (a subsidiary of General Motors) in Dunstable, and at the new Coca Cola/Schweppes plant in Wakefield, as well as extending its single union agreement with Nissan on Tyndale.



JORDAN

The EETPU is currently attempting to make further inroads into SOGAT territory by angling for single union status at the new Caledonian Paper mill being built in Irvine, Ayrshire. Hammond announced that the EETPU had no intention either of obeying a TUC ruling calling upon it to end its single union agreements with Orion Electric near Port Talbot, and the Christian Salvesen transport company, or of accepting the TUC General Council decision of April 27 censuring its conduct during the Wapping dispute.

Willis's refusal to take action against these flagrant breaches of fundamental trade union principles rests heavily on the so-called 'Broad Left'. At the meeting of the policy-making AEU National Committee, the 'Broad Left' and the Stalinists rallied to the defence of Jordan, with the result that a motion critical of his role over the projected Dundee plant was lost by 105 votes to 4, with 6 abstentions. The

National Committee went on to reject any code of practice governing single union agreements by 62 votes to 53.

Transport workers' leader Ron Todd, who had been forced by the opposition of Ford's shop stewards to oppose the Dundee deal, subsequently stated that he was not opposed to single union deals 'in principle'. At the Scottish TUC Conference in late April, Stalinists and 'lefts' combined to appeal for 'calm' after the collapse of the Dundee agreement. Jimmy Knapp of the NUR appealed to the conference not to turn the debate over single union deals into a 'blood bath'. Leading Stalinist Jimmy Airlie, who had piloted the Dundee agreement, said: 'Single union deals are the flavour of the month, but that will pass. The real struggle is unionising the non-union plants.' Airlie's cynical remark was an attempt to cover his willingness to gain union recognition at any price with a veneer of 'orthodoxy'.

Private ownership sanctioned in China

THE annual session of China's legislature, the National People's Congress, held between March 25 and April 13, marked a deepening of the reactionary turn by the bureaucracy towards extending private ownership.

Measures passed by the Congress give legal status to China's already mushrooming private sector, which received a major impetus from the 13th Congress of the Communist Party held last October.

In his opening address, premier Li Peng set the tone. He called on the country to abandon 'egalitarianism' in favour of the pursuit of profit. Prosperity, he said, would come quicker for some than for others (in other

By Martin Sullivan

words, inequalities will deepen). The next five years would be critical for the switch to a market economy.

A new company law will permit the 90,000 state firms to maximise profitability, but also provides for bankruptcy if they prove 'uneconomic'. Management will be increasingly vested in non-party specialists, who will have the power to hire and fire. The Stalinist paper 'Guangming Daily' candidly explained this policy last year as 'the pursuit of the greatest possible profit'. More significant still are the laws passed which formally legalise private ownership of companies for the first time. Only 22 out of 2,859 delegates voted against.

Although private companies only account for three per cent of Chinese industrial output, there are already said to be 21 million people engaged in small businesses in the towns and cities.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is consciously aiming to consolidate its support among the richer sections of the peasantry. Although all land remains in theory state property, the Congress passed measures which allow the transfer of the right of 'land-use' from one peasant to another, as well as the subletting of land.

Party publications frequently let slip the deepening antagonisms between rich and poor in the countryside. According to official

figures, 470,000 people are currently engaged in rural manufacturing in co-operative 'integrated economic establishments', while there are no less than 307 million 'specialised households' producing (and presumably trading in) a single agricultural commodity. Last October, the 'Peasant Daily' rebuked poorer peasants who take a 'negative attitude' towards private ownership and the new landlordism.

Plans are also underway to drive up the price of grain by reducing subsidies to urban consumers. This project is being supported to the tune of \$300 million by a loan from the World Bank.

• China's representative in Hong Kong recently described capitalism as 'one of the greatest inventions (sic) in the history of mankind'.



JESSE JACKSON

Jackson: radical cover for capitalist politics

MICHAEL DUKAKIS is now certain to gain the Democratic Presidential nomination, but the main feature of the Democrats' primary election campaign has been the challenge of the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

By Karl Lewis

Jackson's 'radical' campaign, coupled with the fact that he is the first black candidate to make a serious challenge for the Presidency, has gained more air time and column inches in the capitalist media than the rest of the candidates put together.

The mass of free publicity Jackson has received is no accident however, since he has an important part to play in propping up the capitalist two-party system, and misleading American workers seeking a radical alternative to the deepening slump of the US economy.

Jackson's demagogic appeals to the poor and to the minorities is a cover for his commitment to maintaining capitalism and the American political system. His campaign platform has principally consisted of calls to defend the US economy against cheap foreign goods, a strong emphasis on the anti-drugs campaign, and vague promises of lower armaments and higher welfare spending.

His campaign completely ignores the crisis of the capitalist system, whilst making populist appeals to revive Roosevelt's 'New Deal'. While millions of American workers are being forced to bear the brunt of the slump, and are daily being squeezed ever harder by the Reagan administration, Jackson's role is to tie the working class, and particularly black workers, to a coalition with the 'liberal' wing of the ruling class.

Needless to say, a charlatan like Jackson is also a thorough-going opportunist. Nowhere was this more clearly demonstrated than

in his grovelling to the powerful Zionist lobby in New York during the April primary election, in a forlorn attempt to gain a few more votes. His emphasis on the anti-drugs campaign, which is backed by Hollywood advertising agencies, closely echoes the 'concern' over the same issue shown by Ronald and Nancy Reagan.



DUKAKIS

However, Jackson's large share of the Democratic vote does reflect, in a distorted way, the radicalisation of important sections of American workers, who are not prepared to see their living standards and democratic rights destroyed. The fact that they voted for Jackson shows that they are alienated by the established capitalist politicians, and are searching for an alternative.

Jackson's 'Rainbow Coalition' is a blind alley for the American working class. It means, in practice, class collaboration and capitalist politics hiding behind a veneer of 'radical' demagoguery. From now until the Democratic Convention, Jackson's campaign will become more and more openly an attempt to sell himself as an acceptable Vice Presidential running-mate for Dukakis.

Capitalist utopia begins to crack

By David Lewis

EARLY in April, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson, attacked the EEC's administrative body, the European Commission, for aiming to bring VAT rates into line throughout the 12 EEC countries.

His remarks highlighted the utopian character of attempts to achieve European unity under capitalism. They also called into question the European Commission's objective of eliminating by 1992 all remaining barriers to the free movement of people, goods, services and capital. Entirely overshadowing all the hopes and wishes of EEC bureaucrats and member nations is the world economic crisis and the resulting sharpening of rivalries between the countries of the EEC.

These rivalries have their sharpest expression in the sphere of agriculture. The Common Agriculture Policy conceals differences rooted deep in history. In Britain, farming is dominated by large-scale capitalist enterprises. By contrast, countries such as France and Germany have substantial small farmer, or peasant, populations. From this comes the opposed attitude of Britain to the majority of the other EEC countries on the issue of over-production in the form of butter mountains, wine lakes, etc. Whereas the British government in general favours a sharp re-



LAWSON

duction in farm production, the others have to keep the political power of their small farmers constantly in mind.

At February's Common Market summit, amid much acrimony, a compromise agreement to reform the CAP so as to discourage over-production was reached. But, as always, agreement serves mainly to throw

into relief the underlying disagreement and conflict of interests. One of the recent examples is the British demand that pork subsidies be abolished to allow the market price of pigs to rise in the UK and thus to halt the claimed impending collapse of pig farming.

Conflict is ripening not only within the EEC but also between the EEC and the United States. Farm output of both the EEC and the US is rising at about three times the rate of increase in demand. Both are dumping their produce on the world market. As a result, world trade in cereals is in crisis, with the US demanding last year that the EEC remove the tariff protection provided by the Common Agricultural Policy by the end of the century. The response of the EEC was to propose a system of minimum prices and

trade restrictions. The effect of this trade war between Europe and America may be gauged from the fact that, between them, they are responsible for 60 per cent of world cereal production. The US alone produces 41 per cent and thus, in effect, determines world prices. Through a \$7 billion Export Enhancement Program, the Reagan administration has increased subsidies so as to cut domestic prices and boost exports. The EEC is forced to match subsidies in order to compete. This produces further tensions within the EEC.

Conflict is not confined to the farmyard. The British government's decision to allow the pound to rise freely against the Deutschmark was a clear reversal of previous policy to maintain a stable exchange rate between the two currencies. The refusal of member governments to allow the European Parliament to call national officials and ministers to give evidence to its inquiry into the nuclear waste disposal scandal puts a definite limit on co-operation.

In this context, the predictions of the European Commission that the removal of all barriers planned for 1992 will lead to an increase of output by £175 billion and create five million jobs is, to say the least, optimistic. On the contrary, the real future that faces Europe is one of division, disruption and depression.

Lange cuts jobs

RATIONALISATION measures carried out in government departments by the New Zealand Labour administration of David Lange have resulted in over 17,000 jobs being cut. These include 10,000 job losses in railways, coal and forestry and 2,200 in the Post Office.

Meanwhile, a recent government-commissioned report into the health service calls for 'savings' of \$600 million per year.

• The largest group of trade unions affiliated to the New Zealand Labour Party, the Service Workers' Federation, have called for the de-selection of Labour MPs voting for the privatising State Sector Bill.

Crisis conference for Hungarian Stalinists

AN extraordinary conference of the Hungarian Stalinist party opens on May 20, amid mounting economic crisis and deepening divisions in the leadership.

In a draft policy statement for the conference — the first to be held since the 1985 Congress — the party leadership acknowledges its responsibility for the present situation, and states that it underestimated 'the impact of world economic changes on the Hungarian economy'.

The ritualistic 'self-criticism', together with proposals for multiple candidates and secret ballots for elections, are designed to sweeten the bitter pill of economic 'restructuring' be-

ing pursued by the Janos Kadar regime.

Already this year, VAT and income tax have been introduced for the first time and spending on the health service has been cut by five per cent in real terms. Unemployment — technically illegal under the Hungarian constitution — is set to rise a further 30,000 this year, as state subsidies to 'uneconomic' industries such as steel are slashed. Prices are expected to rise a further 15 per cent this year (following the massive rise on staple items last July) and workers' living standards are set to fall by 20 per cent. Hungary's foreign debt — the highest per capita debt in Eastern Europe — stands

By Richard Price

at over \$10.5 billion and is growing.

Since last summer, sections of the bureaucracy have been openly calling for the entire economy to be operated on a so-called 'market' basis. This would give even greater impetus to the already massive growth of social inequalities. While state-owned firms are being progressively starved of support, private employers are flourishing, sporting BMWs and holidaying in the Far East.

The position of 76-year-old leader Janos Kadar, who has led the Stalinist Socialist

Workers' Party since the brutal suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, looks increasingly insecure. In December last year, a cabinet reshuffle resulted in five new ministers being appointed. The 'reform' element in the Stalinist leadership is energetically lobbying for an end to Kadar's policy of 'continuity' and for a further shift to the right, championing 'market' economics, 'structural' unemployment and the other major tenets of the 'new' Stalinism. In early April, Kadar hit back, expelling four leading advocates of 'reform'.

But there have been widespread calls within the Stalinist party for Kadar's

resignation. Prime minister Karoly Grosz gave a broad hint about Kadar's future when he stated in London on May 6 that 'top personnel' in the government would be changed.

The pre-conference period also saw the completion of the reregistering of party membership — a procedure begun last October and carried out only every eight to ten years. According to the April 9 edition of the foreign affairs magazine 'Magyaroszag', 40,000 members have resigned, 1,500 were not reregistered and a further 250 have been expelled. In the Budapest party organisation, the largest in the country, over ten per cent of the membership have resigned.

Buried in style

HE died as he lived. Ezekias Papaioannou, for 40 years general secretary of AKEL, the Cypriot Communist Party, was awarded an honour which has still eluded many Stalinist party leaders in the West — a state funeral.

Among the mourners on April 14 were the president and members of the Cypriot House of Representatives, various ministers, the Attorney General, the president of the Supreme Court, former Greek president Kyprianou, representatives of all the main capitalist parties in Cyprus, the head of the armed forces and, last but not least, the Chief of Police!

The funeral service was conducted by Archbishop Chrysostomos.

Mitterrand woos UDF

THE re-election as president of France of Francois Mitterrand brings to a close two years of 'cohabitation' with the right-wing Gaullist premier Jacques Chirac.

Mitterrand, who polled 54 per cent, ran a campaign almost entirely devoid of policies, standing as the candidate 'above parties' to unite the French nation. His 51-page election manifesto avoided making a single reference to socialism.

The post-election resignation of Chirac, and the accession to power of Michel Rocard, who is on the extreme right of the Socialist Party, heralds a new political situation. Following the elections to the National Assembly in 1986, Mitterrand was able to blame the deep stagnation of the French economy on Chirac's cabinet. Now his own party

will carry the can. Rocard is a leading advocate of coalition with the capitalist UDF ('the Republican Front'). The UDF in turn operates numerous local electoral pacts with the National Front. Mitterrand, throughout the election campaign, posed as the representative of stability, and claimed that there would be no major changes in economic policy.

Mitterrand was elected on a solid working class vote, in spite of his treacherous record. The extreme volatility of the middle class was sharply revealed in the first round of voting. The fascist demagoguery of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front gained 14.4 per cent, polling heavily in the south. Whipping up anti-immigrant racism, Le Pen feeds off the frustrations of the petty-bourgeoisie who despair at the impotence of the Stalinist Communist

Party and are alienated from the traditional capitalist parties by the economic and social crisis.

The official Stalinist candidate, Andre Lajoinie, polled a disastrous 6.76 per cent in the first round — the worst ever result for the Communist Party. Lajoinie stood on a thoroughly nationalist platform, including 'the defence of French industry' and opposition to any new immigration, thereby underlining the responsibility of Stalinist betrayals for the growth of Le Pen's fascists. In Marseilles, where the Stalinists polled 25 per cent in 1981, roles were reversed and the National Front picked up a quarter of the vote.

Rival Stalinist candidate Pierre Juquin, who heads a breakaway faction aiming to float a new right-wing Popular Front, gained only 2.1



MITTERRAND

per cent, confounding the cluster of revisionist groups who hailed his candidacy as a landmark in 'the process of recomposition'. In fact, Juquin fared only slightly better than Arlette Laguiller, candidate of the revisionist Lutte Ouvriere.

The facade of national unity created by Mitterrand's victory and his overtures to the UDF will give way at a certain point to the sharpest class struggle. Neither the working class mobilisation against the right, nor the mushrooming vote for the National Front were accidental. They foreshadow the clashes to come.

Sandinistas in retreat

ANGER is growing amongst Sandinista fighters at the concessions offered to the demoralised and divided Contra groups by the Nicaraguan government of Daniel Ortega.

Acknowledging that there was 'serious disquiet' at the release from prison of 100 counter-revolutionaries in late March, Interior Minister Tomas Borge nevertheless described the move as 'the most concrete expression of our vocation for peace'.

The current round of negotiations are the result of an agreement signed in Managua on March 23 which committed both sides to a 60-day ceasefire and to seeking a 'definitive' end to the six-year war. It was widely interpreted in the capitalist press as a crushing defeat for US President Reagan.

In fact, although the Sandinistas appear to have the advantage, the terms on which they are proposing settlement would allow the return to active economic and political life of the pro-imperialist section of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie.

That this is being positively encouraged is clear from the frank assurances given to Contra leaders by General Humberto Ortega, the Defence Minister. He told them in mid-March that the Sandinista revolution was not 'frozen in time' and that the country had changed since their departure in 1979.

The newspaper 'La Prensa', mouthpiece of the extreme right, has been back in publication since last September and the government has promised to legitimise right-wing political parties if the war is ended.

This commitment, called for by the Arias 'Peace Plan' signed in August last year,

has been made under the combined threat of US invasion and the ending of Soviet economic assistance. Indeed, the 'Peace Plan' itself was signed by the Sandinistas during a scaling-back of oil shipments by the Soviet Union which necessitated emergency rationing. The following month, after the signing, they were resumed, though that still left Nicaragua 55,000 tons short for the year.

The Stalinist bureaucracy cynically used the fact that it supplies Nicaragua with over 50 per cent of its energy needs to force the Sandinista regime to the conference table. In line with its policy of allowing imperialism to dominate Central America, the bureaucracy has insisted on the return of full-blown bourgeois parliamentary democracy in Nicaragua. This was underlined by Mikhail Gorbachev's special envoy Vadim Zagladin, who announced in Managua last September that: 'This revolution takes the path of progress, committed to the principles of pluralism and non-alignment.'

The present crisis in the ranks of the Contras marks a split between those who want to inflict a decisive military defeat on the Sandinistas and those who are prepared to sign a permanent peace treaty and form a political opposition inside Nicaragua. Either way, the stranglehold of imperialism over the country will remain.

Self-determination for Nicaragua cannot be guaranteed by the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas, but requires a socialist revolution led by the working class under a Trotskyist leadership, supported by the poor peasantry.

Waldheim — the long cover-up by imperialism

THE most recent investigations into Austrian president and former United Nations General Secretary Kurt Waldheim's war-time career in Yugoslavia have produced fresh evidence of a cover-up of Nazi war criminals by the United States, Britain, France and the Stalinist leaders of the Soviet Union.

In 1942, Waldheim was an officer in a German military intelligence unit seconded to the West Bosnian Fighting Group, a combined force made up from German and Italian troops and quisling Croatian units. Waldheim's responsibilities included organising the transportation of thousands of Yugoslavian partisans, Jews and former Italian soldiers stationed in Greece to slave labour and death camps in Nazi-occupied Europe. After the Kozara campaign at the

By Eugene Ludlow

end of 1942, he oversaw the splitting up of families and the sending of children to a special camp at Stara Gradiska.

Waldheim is just one of many Nazis who slipped back into comfortable positions after the war. Wernher von Braun, the rocket scientist who experimented on live human subjects at the guided-missile centre at Peenemünde between 1937 and 1945, was quietly spirited away to the US to work on the American space programme. The Apollo moon project owes much to this butcher. The Soviet Union recruited many rocket scientists in the same way. If they agreed to put their talents at the disposal of imperialism and Stalinism, their war-crimes were

conveniently forgotten.

The 'discovery' of mass murderers such as Eichmann and Mengele in South American havens after the war, and more recently Klaus Barbie in France and a clutch of high-ranking Nazis in Britain, exposes the trials at Nuremberg (1945-46) for the sham that they were. Orchestrated by the US, Britain, France and the Soviet Union to put the lid on the Nazi epoch, Nuremberg also helped to restore a capitalist status quo while preventing the working class from understanding that the Second World War was fought, not to destroy fascism, but to redivide territory. A real hunt for Nazis would have strengthened the German working class and the working class internationally.

Waldheim's star-studded career since 1945 has only

been possible because of a conspiracy of silence about his war-time activities. At the end of the war, his application to join Austria's diplomatic corps was authorised by the OSS (forerunner of the CIA) which was in possession of his actual war record. In 1972, Austrian Military Intelligence unearthed the same record, only to bury it once more in order to protect the by now General Secretary of the United Nations. Waldheim served two five-year terms while listed as a war criminal on the UN secretariat's own files. During this same period, the Yugoslavian president, Tito, who in 1947 had executed Waldheim's superior, General von Lohr, after a show trial, received Waldheim like a head of state, cynically awarding him that country's highest honour, the Red Star.

EDITORIAL

BENN AND HEFFER: OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES

AFTER five years in which the Labour Party leadership was uncontested, the decision of Benn-Heffer to stand against Kinnock-Hattersley represents a desperate attempt by these veteran 'lefts' to refurbish reformism in the eyes of the working class.

Under the lash of the Tories, the Labour leaders have moved so far to the right that they have arrived at the point where they threaten to give the game away — that reformism in a period of capitalist crisis is unable to wrest a single reform for the working class. Benn and Heffer are obliged to draw a 'democratic' veil across Kinnock's support for state attacks on the working class. The tide of struggles since February has stirred the 'lefts' from their slumbers and obliged them to try and put themselves at the head of the movement in order to divert it into peaceful parliamentary channels.

Both Benn and Heffer are former Labour ministers with opportunist records which stretch back for decades. Both are devout Christians; Benn comes from a long line of wealthy Liberal non-conformists while Heffer favours the incense of the High Anglican Church. Even more devout is their belief in the religion of 'gradualism', and the benefits of British democracy.

The Benn-Heffer platform operates in the realm of pure abstractions — 'dignity', 'peace', 'equality', 'free speech', 'conscience', 'the right to life', etc. Entirely absent is any mention of the raging crisis of capitalism, out of which arises the objective necessity of the struggle to smash the capitalist state and establish socialism.

While every brand of revisionism is frantic to discover something 'profound' and 'new' in what Benn and Heffer have to say, this ragbag of ethical 'socialism' tinged with religion is not in essence different from the 'evolutionary socialism' of Ramsay MacDonald almost a century ago.

What has changed is the position of British imperialism. In its heyday, the reformist leaders could rely on the crumbs from the master's table. Today, they are compelled to act more and more openly as the policemen of the working class. In 1925, Leon Trotsky succinctly summed up the role of the Labour 'lefts' under such conditions. They reflected 'the disquiet of a part of the labour bureaucracy over the link with the leftward moving masses. It would be a monstrous illusion to think that these left elements of the old school are capable of heading the revolutionary move-

ment of the British proletariat and its struggle for power. They represent a historical stage which is over. Their elasticity is extremely limited and their leftness is opportunist through and through. They do not lead nor are capable of leading the masses into struggle'.

In perpetuating the well-worn reformist lie that workers' democratic rights can be defended by 'extending democracy' (i.e. capitalist democracy), Benn and Heffer politically disarm the working class in the face of the Tory offensive. Having sat through two Labour governments which oversaw police-military rule in the north of Ireland, they omit entirely from their 'platform' any reference to Ireland. These champions of 'democracy' have nothing to say in relation to the Diplock courts, the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the secret assassination squads of British imperialism.

On economic policy, despite vague references to 'full employment' and 'common ownership', Benn and Heffer have no programme whatsoever to meet the crisis. These self-proclaimed 'internationalists' are, on the contrary, little Englanders with nationalist politics.

Workers News places no political confidence in Benn and Heffer's politics. However, we are not in favour under any circumstances of abstaining from the struggle to remove the right-wing Labour leaders. We call upon Labour Party members and trade unionists to vote for Benn and Heffer, but to repudiate their 'platform' and demand that they stand on socialist policies which must include:

- A clear break with the right-wing Labour and TUC traitors;
- Nationalisation of all major industries and banks without compensation and under workers' control;
- Repeal of all anti-working class legislation;
- Index-linked increases for all workers and claimants;
- Abolition of cheap-labour schemes and their replacement with proper training on trade union rates of pay;
- An emergency programme of house-building and public works to combat homelessness and unemployment;
- Immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland, release of all Irish prisoners-of-war and unconditional Irish self-determination;
- Material support for all national liberation struggles.

Abu Jihad murdered - Arafat submits to Syria

A SAVAGE irony hangs over the assassination of the PLO deputy leader and military commander, Abu Jihad, in Tunis on April 16.

At the point at which the PLO leadership announced its willingness to recognise the state of Israel, and accept the convening of an imperialist peace conference, the Zionist regime, rocked by the five-month uprising in the Occupied Territories, repaid the 'moderation' of the Palestinian leaders by riddling the body of Abu Jihad with over a hundred bullets.

This is the most conclusive proof — if any more was needed — that peace with the Zionist regime is only possible at the cost of the betrayal of Palestinian national aspirations.

Abu Jihad's murder was sanctioned by a meeting of the Israeli inner-cabinet, attended by both Likud and 'Labour' leaders. It was carried out by a mixed squad of Mossad intelligence agents, naval commandos and members of an elite army unit.

But an operation of this complexity, involving naval support, seaborne landing and evacuation, and an Israeli Boeing 707 overflying Tunisian airspace to electronically jam telephone links, would not have been possible without the knowledge and complicity of US imperialism.

Co-founder with Yasser Arafat of the main Palestinian nationalist organisation, Al Fatah, in 1960, Abu Jihad was targetted by the Shamir-Peres government in an attempt to intimidate the revolt of Palestinian workers and youth. Peres's Labour Party has swung away from supporting US Secretary of State, George Shultz's 'peace' proposals, and behind the uninhibited use of the 'iron fist' in Gaza and the West Bank. On the day of the Tunis shooting, 17 Palestinian demonstrators were shot dead, and dozens injured.

The response of the PLO leadership has been to embark upon yet another diplomatic round of enlisting the support of the Arab bourgeoisie. On April 25, Arafat met Syrian Ba'athist leader Assad. Assad has a bloody record of treachery against the Palestinian cause. In 1976, Syrian troops barred Lebanese nationalists from aiding the PLO against the butchery of the Falangists. Seven years later, the Ba'athists promoted a murderous civil war between pro-Syrian breakaway factions and the PLO. Syria still holds an estimated 3,000 Palestinians in jail.

Assad's hypocritical offer to 'co-ordinate' support for the Palestinian uprising is merely the latest in a long series of attempts to control the PLO. This time, however, Arafat has accepted the bait. Behind Assad stands the hand of Moscow, whose recent reception for Arafat was used to cement a Syrian-PLO agreement. But while Arafat promotes illusions in these false 'friends', the Syrians and the Stalinists want to turn the PLO into a pawn on the chessboard of 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism.

The PLO leadership's endless search for allies among the Arab bourgeoisie is incapable of resolving the Palestinian national struggle. 'Steadfastness Fronts' have come and gone over the years, steadfastly doing nothing, if not actively stabbing the Palestinian resistance in the back.

The only ally of the Palestinian working class and poor peasantry is the working class throughout the Middle East. This force alone can and must overthrow the Arab bourgeois regimes and the Zionist state. This requires the construction of Trotskyist parties in each country, fighting under the banner of the Socialist United States of the Middle East.

FORWARD REVOLUTI

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

Revolutionary upsurge of trade unions

The outstanding development in the class struggle in the last four years has been the emergence of mass black trade unions. The two main trade union confederations, COSATU and NACTU, today claim combined membership of 1.5 million, with a number of other unions not yet affiliated to either body. The trade unions have continued to grow in spite of the continuous state of emergency and the banning orders issued by the Botha government in February this year. Previously unorganised workers such as agricultural labourers and domestic servants have joined trade unions in large numbers. This development of a class-based movement contains deeply revolutionary implications. It stands in contrast to all previous attempts to organise the black population along multi-class nationalist lines. Such a movement, developing with enormous rapidity, transcends bread and butter questions of wages and conditions, and thrusts the working class into a struggle for power.

The impact of trade union struggles has been felt among unorganised sections of workers in the townships and squatter settlements where trade union militants have played a leading role in organising defence committees, drawing support from women, youth and the unemployed. In Alexandra township, Johannesburg, leading members of the metalworkers' union, including Moses Mayekiso, organised the defence of the township against troops sent in to break rent strikes and boycotts of white shops. Trade unions cannot, in themselves, spontaneously resolve the tasks of revolutionary leadership, or guarantee the successful struggle for power. The question is to arm these mass organisations with a revolutionary leadership and programme.

Bankruptcy of bourgeois nationalism

The greatest brakes on the development of the consciousness of the black working class are the petty-bourgeois nationalist organisations — the ANC, the UDF, the PAC and AZAPO.

In the last year, strikes have swept the railways, mines, and throughout industry. In the townships of Natal province, workers and youth have fought pitched battles against vigilantes from the stooge Inkatha

movement, whose murderous assaults on UDF members and trade unionists have been supported by the police. School youth and students have once more been drawn into the struggle. At each stage, every movement of the working class has run up against the obstacle of its opportunist leadership.

Leaders of the UDF were instrumental in calling off the school strikes of 1985-6. In September 1987, only two months after the ANC held talks with prominent white liberals, the ANC-dominated leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers was propelled into a struggle against the 'liberal' mine-owners, including Oppenheim. During the course of the three-week strike — the largest in South African history — six miners were murdered by company goons, only for the NUM leadership to sell out. The ANC and the South African Communist Party have also been responsible for a disgraceful slander campaign against Moses Mayekiso and four other members of the metalworkers' union, currently on trial for high treason. In the face of military-police and vigilante attacks on black townships and picket lines, the ANC leaders have refused to call for, or establish, armed workers' defence squads. They have pursued instead a futile campaign of individual terror bombings through their armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

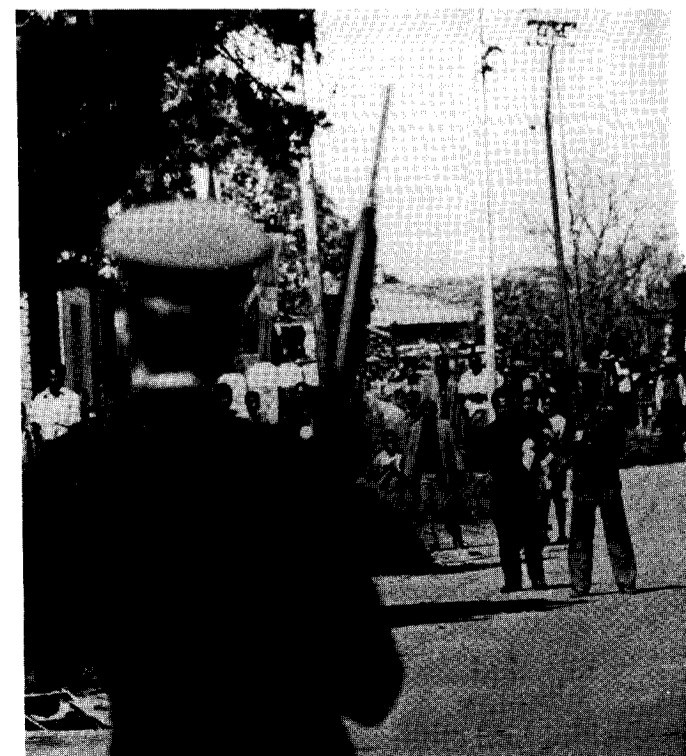
The ANC bases itself on the bankrupt, Stalinist-drafted, 'Freedom Charter', adopted by the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955. The Freedom Charter



Forcible removals at Crossroads

enshrines multi-racial class collaboration: 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white . . . All the people shall be entitled to take part in administration of the country . . . All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride . . . All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose . . . The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis.'

Within the black trade unions, there is a fierce struggle being conducted by large numbers of workers who refuse to accept the Freedom Charter and support instead the 'Workers' Charter', which contains demands for nationalisation of industry under workers' control. The ANC-inspired leadership of COSATU have gone to extraordinary lengths to impose the Freedom Charter



Soweto 1976: Students confront police

TO THE SOCIALIST ON IN SOUTH AFRICA



quatter camp

PHOTO IDAF

upon the federation and its constituent unions. At every stage they have opposed discussion of demands for the nationalisation of industries under workers' control. At the COSATU congress in July 1987, leaders stated that 'socialism should not be raised to a principle'. ANC members within the catering workers' union, CCAWUSA, were recently expelled for attempting to hijack the union by imposing the Charter by the back door.

Founded in 1912 by tribal chiefs and representatives of the black petty-bourgeoisie, the ANC modelled itself upon the 'non-violent resistance' outlook of Gandhi. From the Second World War onwards, and particularly after the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, the Stalinist South African Communist Party played an increasing role in the ANC.

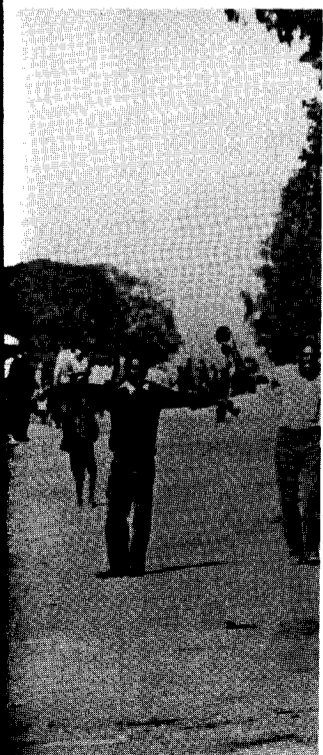


PHOTO IDAF

Stalinism gave a 'theoretical' cover to the moderation of the traditional leaders in the form of the Popular Front and the 'two-stage' theory of revolution. According to this scenario, the African masses will first of all achieve a democratic republic, based on the demands of the Freedom Charter, and then, after a long period of 'democratic' capitalist development, embark on the construction of socialism. In order to achieve the 'first stage' — the democratic republic — it is necessary to subordinate the interests of the working class to those of its 'progressive' allies, in particular the 'liberal' wing of the white ruling class. This endless pursuit of the liberal bourgeoisie has been the hallmark of every Stalinist betrayal in Africa in the past fifty years. No section of the ruling class, or for that matter of the African petty-bourgeoisie, is capable of carrying through to its conclusion the bourgeois revolution. As Trotsky demonstrated, in all countries with a belated capitalist development, the bourgeoisie, having arrived late on the scene of history, acts as the guarantor of imperialist interests. It is incapable of summoning the support of the 'nation' to break the shackles of imperialism because its own interests would be directly threatened. The only class capable of achieving a genuinely democratic transformation is the working class through the socialist revolution. Only a revolutionary workers' party armed with the theory of permanent revolution can lead this struggle. Inscribed upon its banner must be the slogans: Confiscation of all big farms and estates — land to the agricultural labourers and the peasants! Destruction of the Bantustans and

all discriminatory legislation! Full and unconditional independence for Namibia! Release of all political prisoners! Build a workers' militia and soviets in every township! Nationalisation of all industry and the banks, without compensation, and under workers' control! Long live the black workers' republic of South Africa!

In the entire 76 years of its history, the ANC, despite enjoying mass support, has failed to win a single demand of its democratic programme. Stalinism attempts to rationalise this by referring not infrequently to an 'unfavourable balance of forces'. This grotesque charlatanism must be exposed before the African working class. Never will the 'balance of forces' become any more favourable than at the present time. The hour of the working class has struck, and all those who bewail the 'unfavourable' conditions are themselves organically incapable of revolutionary leadership. The church-going leaders of the ANC (Oliver Tambo remains a member of the Anglican Church!) are not representatives of the working class. On the contrary, they reflect all the vacillations of the black petty-bourgeoisie aspiring to its own place in the sun.

Since 1983, the ANC has sought to extend its policy of class collaboration through the umbrella Popular Front of the United Democratic Front (UDF). Claiming to unite four hundred organisations under the leadership of churchmen such as the Rev. Allan Boesak, the UDF adopted a programme still weaker than the Freedom Charter. Even a British TV producer describes it as 'so bland in its praise of democracy, freedom and other noble ideals that none of the nurses' guilds or sports clubs that were affiliated could object — nor could the police' (B. Lapping: 'Apartheid, A History', p.227).

In acting as midwife to the UDF, the ANC has attempted to tie the working class not only to the white liberals but to the cassocks of Boesak, Archbishop Tutu and the Rev. Beyers Naude. The role of these church leaders has been to attempt to shepherd the black masses along the road of peaceful settlement with the vigilantes of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement — under conditions where Inkatha has terrorised black townships, picket lines and school youth and established the scab union, UWUSA.

Following the crackdown on February 24 when 17 black organisations were banned and restriction orders placed on 18 leading

activists, the leaders of the UDF, supported by the ANC, retreated from a confrontation with the Botha government. As the fascists of the AWB took to the streets to demand further action against the black working class, the bishops in their purple robes invoked the power of prayer against the water-cannon and rhino whips of the police.

PAC and AZAPO

One consequence of the growing influence of Stalinism in the ANC during the 1950s was the emergence of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), formed in 1959 by members of the ANC Youth League. However, the entire history of the PAC has demonstrated its utter inability to pose a genuine alternative to the ANC. Although it rejected the Freedom Charter, the PAC nonetheless remained a bourgeois nationalist organisation, tied to the outlook of 'Africa for the Africans', and based its differences with the ANC on opposition to 'communism'. Following the disastrous POQO rebellion in 1963, the PAC toyed with Maoism. During the 1970s, civil war erupted within the organisation and, despite its claims to have led the Soweto uprising, the PAC has never again been able to win any substantial foothold in the working class. Lacking any coherent programme, the PAC is condemned to cover its sterile existence with 'socialist' phrasemongering, 'armed struggle' rhetoric and appeals to outworn 'pan-Africanism'.

AZAPO, founded in 1978, and descended from Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement, represents another attempt by radical black intellectuals to establish a 'left' nationalist movement. The inherent contradiction of AZAPO is that its stated aim — the achievement of 'black unity' and the 'just distribution of wealth and power to all' — cannot be achieved except through the socialist revolution. This goal requires the building of a revolutionary party armed, not with a 'black consciousness' but with a socialist consciousness. As Trotsky wrote in 1935:

'Insofar as a victorious revolution will radically change the relation not only between the classes but also between the races and will assure to the blacks that place in the state that corresponds to their numbers, thus far will the *social* revolution in South Africa also have a *national* character.

'We have not the slightest reason to close our eyes to this side of the question or

to diminish its significance. On the contrary, the proletarian party should in words and in deeds openly and boldly take the solution of the national (racial) problem in its hands.

'Nevertheless, the proletarian party can and must solve the national problem by *its own* methods. The historical weapon of national liberation can only be the *class struggle*'.

Riven by the internal crisis within the settler minority, the Botha government is living on borrowed time. Its tanks and armoured cars cannot ultimately save it from its

tion in South Africa. This means an irreconcilable struggle to expose such 'friends' of the black masses as Neil Kinnock and the TUC leaders. Behind a mask of religious 'concern', their entire activity against the apartheid regime has, over decades, added up to a small, round zero. Every appeal from the South African working class to the British trade union bureaucracy to impose a trade boycott has fallen on deaf ears. Willis and Co, who could halt all movement of goods to and from South Africa by rail, sea and air tomorrow, cynically redirect the appeal



Moses Mayekiso being arrested

PHOTO IDAF

historical fate. Its only asset is the absence of a revolutionary party to lead the black working class to overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist state.

Revolutionary internationalism

The South African and the British socialist revolutions are intimately bound together by the historical development of imperialism. Despite the bogus claims of 'disinvestment' by British banks, they continue to operate as South Africa's largest investors and creditors. Among others, Shell, BP, British Nuclear Fuels and ICI retain substantial holdings in South Africa and Namibia. The internationalist duty of the British working class is to support, by every possible means, the socialist revolu-

tion to Botha's number one ally, Thatcher. Through the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Labour and TUC leaders seek, like their ANC counterparts, to boost the reputation of clerics such as Bishop Trevor Huddleston in the British working class.

The Labour and trade union bureaucracy came into existence as a privileged layer in the working class precisely by living off the crumbs of British imperialist exploitation of the colonies. Solidarity with the South African revolution, shorn of its pious speechifying and pacifist 'sympathy', means the conscious struggle for the British socialist revolution as part of the world socialist revolution. This requires that the reformist traitors are removed and replaced by a Trotskyist leadership. Join the Workers International League.

LIARS FABRICATE EXCLUSION FROM CONGRESS

WORKERS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

ON March 6, 1988, a minority of three members, including Colin Harrison and Gary Hollingsbee, walked out of the founding Congress of the Workers International League.

Before they left, they distributed and read out a pre-duplicated statement which is reproduced in the March 19 edition of the 'International Worker', the paper of the International Communist Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI). Waiting for them outside the Congress were members of the ICP, who maintained a vigil until long after the end of that day's session.

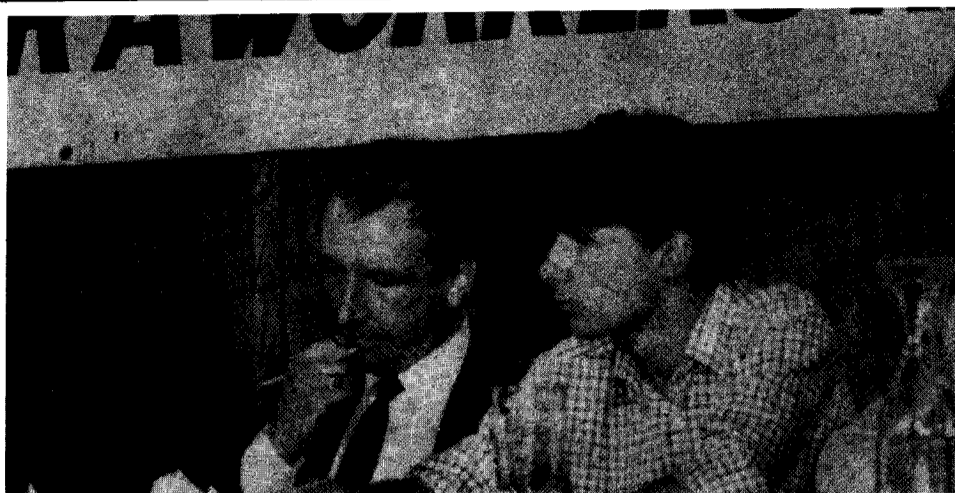
The minority group had been working under the direction of the ICP for several months. This connection was never disclosed to the WIL. Whilst posing as a 'loyal' minority, committed to fighting to change the political positions of the WIL, Harrison and Hollingsbee systematically tried to smash the WIL, abandoning their political responsibilities in the working class, and withholding finances. In August 1987, the minority demanded the immediate suspension of production of Workers News, and the convening of a congress. When the Congress took place seven months later they opposed the adoption of a constitution and walked out of the organisation, denouncing the WIL for not immediately dissolving itself into the ICFI.

Although the WIL would have been entirely justified in expelling this group for

complete inactivity, it avoided any pre-emptive action against them, and conducted the most thorough political discussion of their positions over a period of seven months.

In spite of their refusal to uphold the democratically-decided policies of the WIL, Harrison and Hollingsbee were given rights to discuss and circulate their political differences, together with the material of the ICFI. No comparable rights were ever given to opposition groups within the ICFI, or its former British section, the WRP, in the past two decades. A total of six aggregate meetings of the WIL were held specifically to discuss the minority's documents.

Yet in the March 19 edition of the 'International Worker', it is claimed that their documents have never been answered and that the majority 'manoeuvred for eight months to avoid a full political discussion with the minority'. It further claims that the WIL leadership 'was forced to bureaucratically manoeuvre to exclude the minority' from the Congress. This hare-brained accusation rests on the fact that Harrison and Hollingsbee demanded that Clause Three of the WIL's constitution be amended — ironically a clause which they themselves drafted! Having failed to get a single member to agree to their



HARRISON (left) and HOLLINGSBEE

ultimatum, they walked out. The substance of their opposition to this clause is that it upholds the history of the ICFI's struggle against Pabloism in the 1950s and 1960s, but fails to fall in with Harrison and Hollingsbee's defence of 'the entire history of the ICFI'. In the opinion of the WIL, to do so would be to betray revolutionary internationalism, since it involves supporting the growing revisions of Trotskyism made within the WRP and the ICFI during the 1970s and 1980s.

Harrison and Hollingsbee's 'statement' in the 'International Worker' claims that they produced two internal documents. In fact, they produced four, the first two of which contain even more embarrassing and elementary errors than numbers three and four. So far these documents have not been reproduced in the 'International Worker' as promised. It goes on to attribute to the WIL the opinion that

the Labour 'lefts' are 'captives of the right'. This is a wholly bogus 'quote', manufactured by its authors, and not drawn from any WIL publication.

Their document 'In Defence of Internationalism' contains the following passage: 'Workers News has remained silent on the issue of the "lefts", which now assumes a life or death significance for the working class. In the decisive class confrontations emerging as capitalism enters a new stage of crisis, the working class must take power or face barbaric dictatorship. Today, as in 1926, the "lefts" are the main enemy within the workers' movement, not the right wing.'

Any honest reading of Workers News will show that the WIL, far from remaining 'silent', has carried out a systematic struggle against such 'left' reformists as Benn, Scargill, Bickerstaffe, Livingstone, Grant, etc. Harrison and Hollings-

bee's 'Trotskyism' draws its inspiration, in fact, from Stalinism's 'Third Period'. Harrison earnestly told WIL members that, in his experience, the right wing in the labour movement was indeed the 'lesser danger'. This does not prevent him from demanding that the 'lefts' ('the most dangerous enemies') immediately expel the right wing ('the lesser danger'). He unwittingly echoes the 11th Congress of the Stalinised Communist Party of Great Britain, which declared in 1929: 'The tactic of the united front from below is the most effective means of winning over the Left workers and, at the same time, exposing the "Left" reformist leaders, the most dangerous enemies of the workers.'

The ex-minority's departure was finally prompted by the decision of the WIL to publish the findings of the

ICFI's International Control Commission (published in Workers News, April 1988). This report, which had been suppressed for the previous two-and-a-half years, reveals in detail the corrupt and mercenary relations established between the WRP and Arab bourgeois governments after 1977. Before departing, Harrison made a frenzied attack upon the WIL, denouncing its leaders as 'provocateurs' and as agents of the 'Sunday Times', 'Time Out' and the anarchists, aiding the state.

Do Harrison and Hollingsbee really think that such information should be withheld from the working class? We have to conclude that they are only in favour of selective passages being published, as the ICFI has already done in 'Fourth International'. Handled in this way, the ICC report remains a damning indictment of the former leadership of the WRP without serving as the most urgent injunction to examine the theory and practice of the entire World Party. Harrison and Hollingsbee's opposition to publishing the full text of the document has the same source as their Congress walk-out over Clause Three of the WIL constitution: their mechanical assumption that the ICFI represents the unbroken continuity of Trotskyism and their refusal to proceed with a thoroughgoing analysis of the history of the ICFI through the practice of building the WIL.

Lambertist 'International' splits

THE revisionist international tendency led by the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI — formerly OCI) recently split. Four sections, including John Archer's Socialist Labour Group have formed a breakaway 'Liaison Committee'.

This uninspiring rift between two groups of centrists

would barely rate a mention were it not for a statement published in Archer's 'Socialist Newsletter' (February 1988) which, in its abject liquidationism, sums up much of what is passing through a host of revisionist trends on a world scale.

In splitting from Lambert's PCI, the 'Liaison Com-

mittee' rejects the notion that any group or series of groups can build an international Trotskyist movement. The task of building a world party is, it claims, 'not that of the Trotskyists alone'. Instead, Archer and Co intend to place themselves 'within the unfolding processes of reorganisation and repositioning (?) within the workers' movements in all countries' — in other words, put themselves at the disposal of social democratic, Stalinist and petty-bourgeois nationalist agencies. Since the 'Liaison Committee' regards Trotskyism as only one trend among many, it follows that the idea that only Marxists can lead socialist revolutions is 'an error of formal thinking'.

Naturally the SLL and the ICFI are attacked for opposing the SWP's capitulation to Pabloism in the early 1960s. Safely free of 'formal' prejudices, the 'Liaison Committee' solemnly declares its intention to 'turn to the study of Marxism in its full sense' — evidently Archer somehow missed out this 'turn' in his previous half century in politics.

Endorsing the candidacy of right-wing Stalinist Pierre Juquin in the French presidential election, the document advocates 'participation in the currents which his candidature is engendering', i.e. support for a new Popular Front.

As befits a thoroughly petty-bourgeois formation, the 'Liaison Committee' reserves special spleen for revolutionary centralism and the history of Trotskyism. It calls for a 'break with the methods of "leaderism" and fake "vanguardism"', and adds that 'the Trotskyist movement after the death of Trotsky took on board many of the sectarian-leaderist characteristics of Stalinism'.

Finally, we should note that these fervent opponents of 'leaderism' — and leadership — had an observer from Cliff Slaughter's 'Workers Press' group present at their last conference. The more acute the world crisis and the crisis of revolutionary leadership become, the more such revisionist 'birds of a feather' want to liquidate even the semblance of revolutionary parties.

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IN DEFENCE OF THE THEORY OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION

IN bourgeois historiography, it is customary to refer to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution as growing inspirationally out of the revolution of 1905, and achieving finished form in *Results and Prospects* (1906), where it lay on the shelf gathering dust until 1917. In fact, it continued to be the guiding thread of his work throughout the decade after the victory of counter-revolution in Russia in 1907.

Between 1908 and 1913, Trotsky wrote extensively on the Balkans. Throughout, Trotsky stressed that the bourgeoisie in the various Balkan states was incapable of liberating them from the twin shackles of economic backwardness and imperialist domination. Due to their late entry onto the historical stage, the Balkan capitalist classes were condemned to act as the allies of dynastic cliques in their own countries, and as the agents of the imperialist powers competing for control of 'the cockpit of Europe': 'The Balkan bourgeoisie, as in all countries that have come late to the road of capitalist development, is politically sterile, cowardly, talentless, and rotten through and through with chauvinism. It is utterly beyond its power to take on the unification of the Balkans. The peasant masses are too scattered, ignorant, and indifferent to politics for any political initiative to be looked for from them. Accordingly, the task of creating normal conditions of national and state existence in the Balkans falls with all its historical weight upon the shoulders of the Balkan proletariat . . . A federal republic in the Balkans . . . has become the banner of the entire conscious proletariat of the Balkans without distinction of race, nationality, or state frontiers' (*The Balkan Wars*, Monad, pp.40-41).

No less trenchantly did Trotsky expose the pretensions of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie in posing as the liberator of the South Slavs. In particular he conducted a vigorous exposure of the chauvinist atrocities carried out by the Bulgarian and Serbian bourgeoisie upon the Muslim population of the Balkans — atrocities which were defended to the hilt by the Russian Kadets.

By Richard Price

Trotsky's writings during the first imperialist war contain a stream of important contributions to Marxist theory. In the two months following the collapse of the Second International into chauvinism on August 4, 1914, when the major socialist parties of the imperialist nations voted to support their 'own' ruling classes, Trotsky wrote the first major internationalist analysis of this capitulation in his book *The War and the International*.

Whereas the reformist patriots in every country attempted to rationalise their support for the war by citing the aggression of a 'foreign' imperialist power, Trotsky related the origin of the war to the development of imperialism and world economy: 'The present war is at bottom a revolt of the forces of production against the political form of nation and state. It means the collapse of the national state as an independent economic unit . . . the real objective significance of the war is the breakdown of the present national economic centres, and the substitution of a world economy in its stead . . . The war proclaims the downfall of the national state. Yet at the same time it proclaims the downfall of the capitalist system of economy. By means of the national state capitalism has revolutionised the whole economic system of the world . . . All the historical forces whose task it has been to guide the bourgeois society, to speak in its name and to exploit it, have declared their historical bankruptcy by the war' (*The War and the International*, pp.vii-viii).

From this it followed that the development of imperial-



Millions were mobilised by the Tsarist regime to fight in the Russian Army during the First World War

ism had finally put paid to any 'independent' solution to the democratic tasks facing backward countries such as Russia, Austria-Hungary and the Balkan states: 'War is the method by which capitalism, at the climax of its development, seeks to solve its insoluble contradictions. To this method, the proletariat must oppose its own method, the method of the Social Revolution. The Balkan question and the question of the overthrow of Tsarism . . . can be solved only in a revolutionary way, in connection with the problem of the United Europe of tomorrow' (ibid, p.x). Trotsky lashed the social patriots of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and France who posed as the liberators of oppressed nations, whilst entrusting the 'liberation' to their 'own' military and bureaucratic cliques. Nowhere was this betrayal of internationalism more graphically expressed than in Austria-Hungary, where the social democrats disintegrated into a series of warring national groupings.

Trotsky and Lenin's sharp disagreements from 1914-16, over the questions of defeatism and the 'peace slogan', are well known. In his criticism of Trotsky's 'peace slogan', and his insistence that the working class in every imperialist country must fight for the defeat of its 'own' bourgeoisie, Lenin was correct. He recognised the necessity to demarcate sharply revolutionary internationalism from any connotations of pacifism and half-patriotic centrism. But Trotsky was firmly opposed to pacifism, and any peace concluded on the basis of the interests of the warring imperialist powers. He explained his demand for peace as 'primarily a fight to preserve the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. To assemble the ranks of the proletariat in a fight for peace means again to place the forces of revolu-

tionary socialism against raging tearing imperialism on the whole front. The conditions upon which peace should be concluded — the peace of the people themselves, and not the reconciliation of the diplomats — must be the same for the whole International. No reparations. The right to every nation to self-determination. The United States of Europe — without monarchies, without standing armies, without ruling feudal castes, without secret diplomacy' (ibid, p.74).

The imperialist war placed world revolution on the agenda: 'An additional factor of decisive importance is the capitalist awakening in the colonies themselves, to which the present war must give a mighty impetus. Whatever the outcome of this war, the imperialistic basis for European capitalism will not be broadened, but narrowed. The war, therefore, does not solve the labour question on an imperialistic basis, but, on the contrary, it intensifies it, putting this alternative to the capitalist world: *Permanent War or Permanent Revolution*' (ibid, p.76).

In a series of articles, *The Military Catastrophe and the Political Prospects*, which appeared in the Paris-based 'Nashe Slovo' in August and September 1915, Trotsky analysed the relationship between the war, the class forces within the Russian revolution, and the prospects for the international socialist revolution. The backwardness of Russia made it far less able than Germany to sustain an extended war. The overwhelming predominance of peasants in the army — the working class had been largely retained for war production in the factories — contained the seeds of its downfall. Trotsky opposed the conception that, under all conditions, revolution would be accelerated by defeat: 'The link between

defeats and revolution is not mechanical but dialectical in character' (*The Military Catastrophe and the Political Prospects*, 'Labour Review', September 1980, p.249).

Rather than merely restating the conclusions of *Results and Prospects*, Trotsky extended and deepened them. The decade 1905-15 had seen enormous changes within world and Russian economy. The rapid development of class differentiation among the peasantry, the 'spiritual shipwreck' of the Russian intelligentsia after the 1905 revolution, and the definitive passage of the Russian bourgeoisie to the camp of counter-revolution lent even greater weight to the theory of permanent revolution: 'While the "national" revolution of 1905 could not be completed, a second national revolution, that is, a revolution that unites "the nation" against the old regime, cannot now even be mounted by history' (ibid, p.254). The impossibility of a 'national' Russian revolution therefore connected the fate of the Russian proletariat to that of the international socialist revolution. 'And, contrariwise, the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat . . . will itself quickly become . . . a very important factor in the balance of social forces in Europe, and give a mighty impetus to the revolutionary offensive of the European proletariat against the foundations of capitalist society' (ibid, pp.255-256).

In the article *The Struggle for Power* written in October 1915, Trotsky sharply attacked the document 'The tasks confronting the Russian proletariat', signed by a group of leading Mensheviks including Axelrod and Martov. This centrist group, which refused to carry out an open struggle against the social patriots, advocated a 'people's revolution' to end the war. The authors presented this 'people's revolution' as an alliance between the

proletariat and 'the democracy', (the latter being a sly reference to the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie). But as Trotsky showed, the development of class relations in Russia since 1905 had, far from strengthening the prospects of bourgeois democracy, immeasurably weakened them: 'We are living in an epoch of imperialism which is not merely a system of colonial conquests but implies also a definite regime at home. It does not set the bourgeois nation in opposition to the old regime, but sets the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeois nation.' (*The Struggle for Power in The Permanent Revolution*, New Park, p.251).

The intermediate strata of artisans, traders and intellectuals, far from revolutionary in 1905, had declined still further in their social weight. The absence of an 'urban democracy', and the growing division of the peasantry into rich and poor, meant that 'the workers must take the political leadership of the whole struggle . . . The question, therefore, is not simply one of a "revolutionary provisional government" . . . but of a revolutionary workers' government' (ibid, p.254).

During the course of the war Trotsky, without surrendering his differences on the questions of defeatism and the 'peace slogan', drew steadily closer to the positions of the Bolsheviks. In November 1915 he called for a complete organisational break with the social patriots. One month before he was deported by the French government in August 1916, Trotsky wrote a sharp attack upon the Menshevik Organising Committee, and called for co-ordinated action with the Bolsheviks. While maintaining his opposition to Lenin's 'defeatism', Trotsky accepted the correctness of the slogan of civil war. By October 1916, the Mezhrayontsi or Inter-District organisation in Petrograd, which was closely associated with Trotsky, published an appeal which adopted the slogans of civil war and the struggle for a new, Third, International. (*Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, Monad, pp.399-407).

The essential preparation for the revolutionary collaboration of Lenin and Trotsky in 1917 on the basis of the Bolshevik Party armed with a correct appraisal of the class forces in the Russian revolution therefore took place during the decisive war years — not in a spirit of mutual amnesty, but through the sharpest revolutionary criticism.

To be continued

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THE February edition of Workers News published an article on the life and the murder by Stalinist agents in 1938 of Trotsky's son Leon Sedov, who was an outstanding leader of the Trotskyist movement in his own right.

Below we print for the first time in English a section of the extensive correspondence between Trotsky and Alfred and Marguerite Rosmer, who were living in Paris, which covers the period immediately following Sedov's murder. Alfred Rosmer (1877-1964) had been a close friend of Trotsky ever since their collaboration on the internationalist paper 'Nashe Slovo' during the First World War. Although not formally members of the Fourth International, the Rosmers subsequently joined Trotsky in exile in Mexico.

From Marguerite Rosmer

Wednesday 16th February 1938

Dear Friends,

I have just come from the Mirabeau Clinic; the irreparable act has been carried out¹ and we are in deep pain, all the deeper because we are thinking of you and of the courage which you have had once again to find within yourselves in order to keep your balance and continue to live and work.

We loved Lyova for a number of reasons; for the way he gave himself without reserve to you, once for all and for the understanding and humanity of his tender and delicate nature, which I knew well because, in the course of our frequent conversations over these last 18 months, we did not have to place ourselves in the bitter political context but were on a footing of friendship and mutual understanding.

These last few months I have had the opportunity of understanding him better through his relationship with Elsa². A really strong friendship grew up between the two of them and when I had to tell our unfortunate comrade about the terrible outcome, she was shattered and cried a great deal as did the child³ who was very much attached to Lyova. Her first thought was of Seva and she told me it was her wish to continue to bring him up with her own child. I told her that Jeanne was there and that she had always looked after the child caringly and that, if he continued to live in France, I thought it would be difficult to separate him from her unless she agreed. Also, on this point, you will know better than anybody what is best for the child and you know you can call on us whenever necessary.

Friday 18th February 1938

The autopsy took place yesterday and all the doctors agreed that it was natural death. When you get this letter you will already have had all the details so I won't expand on the subject here. There may be some important particular details to establish which I will talk to you about in a later letter. The funeral will certainly be next Sunday.

All the party comrades will be there with friends.

Lyova's will, apparently handed to Henri Molinier⁴, was quite a surprise. He makes no mention of the organisation and although obviously his material goods will go to Jeanne, the papers or at least a part of them should have gone to the political organisation. The will was written when he was in a critical condition at the moment he left for the clinic apparently, nevertheless Jeanne asked me at midday on Wednesday when I saw her at the clinic whether 'Lyova had given me his will because he had often talked about wanting to make a will but she couldn't find any trace of it'.

Does that mean that last Wednesday she didn't know about the will Lyova had made a week before? This worries me. That is why I mention it.

We both send our deepest and most affectionate regards. Alfred will write to you later.

Marguerite

Copy of will enclosed

NOTES

¹ Marguerite Rosmer was coming out of the Mirabeau Clinic, Rue Narcisse-Diaz in the 16th arrondissement, where Leon Sedov, who had been taken there on February 9, died on the 16th. The GPU had been duly informed of his presence and of the operation by their agent Mordka Zborowski, known as Etienne.

² Else or Elsa, sometimes Elsa Reiss, was the pseudonym of Elisabeth Bernaut, companion of the Polish communist Ignace S. Poretsky, known as Ludwig, an agent of the GPU in Western Europe who had broken with Stalin in July to join the Fourth International and had been assassinated at the beginning of September near Chamblandes in Switzerland. Elsa identified him to the Swiss investigators as Ignace Reiss and he was buried under this name and finally known by it.

³ This child, Roman Bernaut, was the daughter of Elsa and Ignace.

⁴ The engineer Henri Molinier was the elder brother of Raymond Molinier, like Jeanne Martin a member of the PCI.

From Leon Trotsky

Coyoacán, 1 March 1938

Alfred Rosmer
Paulsen
Gerard Rosenthal
Alexis Bardin

Dear Comrades,

We received Marguerite's letter and those of Gerard and Alexis Bardin. Letters of friendship and sympathy obviously can't reduce the pain but they do bring some satisfaction

ROSMER-TROTSKY CORRESPONDENCE

on another level.

I shall write later to each of our friends separately, for the moment I have to restrict myself to a few brief lines. Natalia is too weak to be able to write over the next few days. I am sending you a copy of my letter to Henri Molinier. I would ask you (particularly Rosmer) to do or have done what is necessary. I would ask you also, dear Marguerite, to send me your suggestions about the future of Seva. This is a very important decision.

From Alfred Rosmer

10 March 1938

Dear Friend,

Lyova's closest friends, those who worked regularly with him, wanted to write an account of the grief they have suffered over these last few terrible days. In their grief it would have been a consolation to them to have been able to talk with you about the man who had been their companion and who had been the dearer to them in that they knew that his life was under threat. The feelings that separation, which is all the harder to bear in such circumstances, did not allow them to express by word of mouth, they have put down in writing and have asked me to collect together their letters and send them on to you; you will find them enclosed herewith (from E. R[eiss], Lola, Etienne, Gerard, Rous and Prau¹).

You will see that on several occasions there is mention of a great tiredness of which Lyova complained sometimes, and of feverishness which hardly ever left him and which was particularly noticeable at the end of the day. This however in no way contradicts what you said, that nothing, absolutely nothing, certainly nothing normal could explain such a sudden and premature end. Tiredness and fever were the natural consequences of the life Lyova had to lead over these last months, particularly since the assassination of Ignace Reiss, knowing that he was constantly being observed and watched, and had constantly to take care to avoid falling into the traps and ambushes being set for him, when he received proof that one of the members of the GPU 'murder' group had taken an apartment close to his own². All this, together with a heavy daily workload, was bound to cause and sustain a certain degree of nervous stress. But this was at the same time an additional reason to summon up his strength and harden his will to continue to struggle, to defend himself but also to attack. Besides, the constitution of a 30-year-old man, healthy and strong, easily withstands these types of stress.

The savage animal in the Kremlin does not even give us time to mourn our dead — his victims. We had hardly finished burying Lyova when we received the news of a new trial. Those who imagine that these sickening parodies of justice are merely unfortunate, but secondary, episodes of Stalinist policy have received a painful shock. They thought these executions of old Bolsheviks were over and done with and the horror and stupidity of the new proceedings exceeded what they had had to swallow previously. This made the reaction all the sharper. There were some who up till then had approved or else had jibbed, in which case their anger, at least for the most part, was due to the fact that Stalin clearly took them for fools, which for them was the worst insult. Perhaps it was also the fact that now it is no longer possible to be deceived because we all know Joseph Stalin's tricks; at any rate it appears that the police operations this time were even more clumsy than the previous ones and that the trial had been started in haste before the accused had been sufficiently prepared. Firstly there was Krestinsky's³ protest, then Bukharin's resistance⁴. The denials and protests became more numerous every day. I don't know what you have already gathered from the dispatches. Obviously you know that Krestinsky, when he agreed to 'confess', stated that he had paid substantial sums of money to Magdeleine Paz and to me at the Hotel Excelsior in Berlin in 1928. The press, except the pro-Stalinist journals, has published our denials, and in particular the telegram that I sent straight away to Vyshinsky asking for the hearings to be suspended to allow an investigation into Krestinsky's statement, has been very widely quoted. We tried to find the best means of obtaining maximum impact for my protest and, from this point of view, we did achieve our objective.

We also organised a large meeting. This took place yesterday in the salle Wagram. It was a good meeting, serious, with an attentive audience and good speakers. Th. Dan⁵, who had agreed straightaway to come in fact only sent a letter. It seems that he is in fact very ill, with cancer, and that his doctor expressly forbade him to go out. But Magdeleine Paz, who is not ill, didn't come either and merely sent a message. It is clear that the leaders of the Socialist Party, Blum and Co., had given their instructions; they do not like our company and, moreover, the government crisis had just broken; they didn't want to upset their horse dealing with the Communist 'brothers'. They are accusing Dan of being a spy and a traitor but these at least are 'comrades'.



Trotsky, Natalia and their grandson Seva in Mexico

In the circumstances, the Belgians, who have no popular front, behaved better. De Brouckere⁶ made a dignified and stinging reply to that old crook Smeral⁷, who had personally questioned him. In the trade unions, trouble is increasing, protests are more numerous, but the popular front blocks the way and those friends of Jouhaux⁸ who resist will not go very far, either because at bottom they are in agreement with the Stalinists on the question which overshadows everything else at the present time, the preparation for the new imperialist war.

The anarchists, who used to come to our earlier meetings, are now staying away. They were less inclined to support your criticisms in that they have an increasingly bad conscience, and that they are finding the same criticisms being expressed in their own ranks and are not able to suppress them; they have not been able to prevent a split occurring; their best people have left and set up against them, against their policy of abdication.

I have already written to Suz[anne] LaFollette. I suppose the American members of the Commission have already decided to start their investigation to examine this new trial as was done for the previous ones. This is the more necessary in that this trial comes as a challenge to the Commission's decisions and conclusions.

We can carry out a large part of this work here.

I have to stop now; I shall try to write to you again soon.

Affectionate regards to you and Natalia

A.R.

NOTES

¹ Lola, also called Paulsen, was a young lawyer of Soviet Russian nationality, Lilia Ia. Ginzberg, married name Estrine, who was a professional colleague of the Menshevik historian Boris Nikolaievsky. She married 'Sovietologist' David Dallin. For details of her suspicious role in the events surrounding Sedov's death, see 'How the GPU Murdered Trotsky', New Park, 1981. Etienne was the pseudonym of Mordka, known as Marc Zborowski, an emigre of Polish origin who had been in the service of the GPU and had joined the POI on orders in order to be near to Sedov. Gerard was Gerard Rosenthal and Rous, another lawyer, was also a leader of the POI, Jean Rous. Prau was the pseudonym of Alexis Bardin, a Grenoble drawing teacher whom the Trotskys had known when they were living at Domène.

² Two of the members of the GPU group who had followed Reiss and Sedov on several occasions, Louis Ducomet and D. Smirensky known as Marcel Rollin, shared the rent for the apartment at 26, Rue Lacroix, when Sedov was living at No. 28.

³ Krestinsky stated at his first interrogation that these 'confessions' were not the truth. The following day he admitted everything that was required of him.

⁴ Bukharin defended himself well against some of the accusations, those relating to contacts with spies abroad and the attempt to assassinate Lenin among others.

⁵ Fedor Dan was the former leader of the Russian Mensheviks.

⁶ Louis De Brouckere was Chairman of the Second International.

⁷ Bohumir Smeral was a sort of Czechoslovak Cachin. Elected as a deputy in 1911, he had been a patriotic Socialist during the war before rallying to the Communist International and becoming a leader of the PCT in which he never questioned Stalin's authority. He subsequently died in Moscow.

⁸ Léon Jouhaux, General Secretary of the CGT before the war, had moved from revolutionary trade unionism to reformism.

- To be continued -

Eleanor Marx on the emancipation of women

ELEANOR MARX, the youngest daughter of Karl Marx, and her husband, Edward Aveling, wrote 'The Woman Question' in 1886.

Inspired by August Bebel's book 'Woman Under Socialism', it was intended to expand on his view that 'there can be no emancipation of humanity without the social independence and equality of the sexes'.

The essay points out that the feminist movement of the time was based on disputes over property and status, or on sentimental and professional questions, which only affected middle class women. It turned its back on the revolutionary struggle to resolve the economic conditions which gave rise to female servitude.

As today, many feminists believed that the women's struggle had to be conducted

The Woman Question
by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and Edward Aveling

By Christine McDermott

by women alone. The essay stresses the need for action by both sexes, but undermines this correct conclusion by basing it ultimately on the philosopher Immanuel Kant's mystical notion that 'a man and woman constitute, when united, the whole and entire being; one sex completes the other'. This, the weakest section of the essay, follows Bebel in seeking a 'natural order of things' in monogamous, heterosexual relationships.

Marriage and divorce are discussed at length. Whilst the authors support the demand for easier divorces advanced by contemporary feminists, they point out that the relative difference

in the economic positions of the sexes would bring freedom to the man, but starvation to the woman and her children. Marriage, too, they insist, is tied to the capitalist system: 'Our marriages, like our morals, are based on commercialism. Not to be able to meet one's business engagements is a greater sin than the slander of a friend, and our weddings are business transactions.'

This insistence that the oppression of women is rooted in the economic conditions, not in biological difference, is a dominant theme of the essay. It is streets ahead of the Stalinist feminists of today who, like Beatrix Campbell in her book

'Wigan Pier Revisited', try to push the 'woman question' into a debate about sex and sexuality, having decided that the materialist analysis of Frederick Engels is 'old hat'.

Countering those middle class thinkers who maintain that women can never be equal to men because they have a 'natural calling' and are the 'weaker sex', the authors argue that so-called 'sex-helplessness' is a product of unhealthy conditions and that given rational conditions, it would disappear. 'There is no more a "natural calling" of women than there is a "natural" law of capitalistic production, or a "natural" limit to the amount of the labourer's product that goes to him for means of subsistence. Those who use this argument forget that the employers also find it very useful when



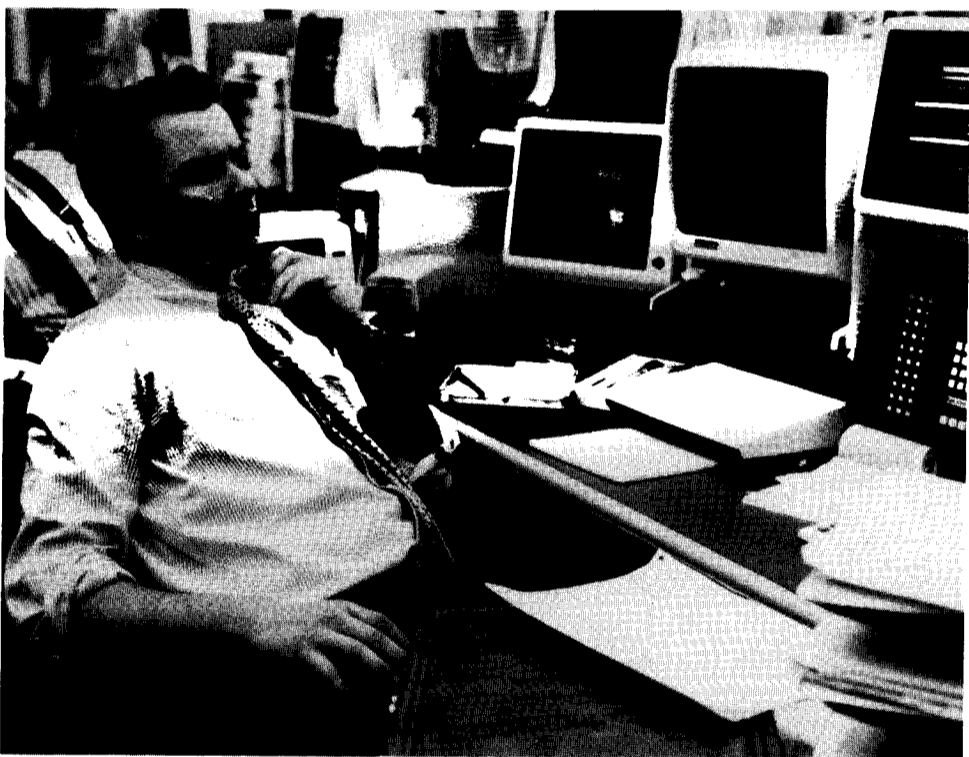
ELEANOR MARX

they want to drive down the general rate of wages.

'The Woman Question' never abstracts the emancipation of women from the overthrow of capitalism: 'No confusion as to our aims is more common than that which leads woolly thinking people to imagine that the changes we desire can be brought about, and the conditions subsequent upon them can exist, under a

State regime such as that of today.' The struggle of women must be intertwined with the struggle of the working class, or else it becomes a fight for middle class women to share the oppressive role played by middle class men for the advancement of capitalism.

This welcome reprint of 'The Woman Question' is published by Verlag für die Frau, Leipzig.



Charlie Sheen in 'Wall Street'

Wall Street whitewash

HOLLYWOOD has never been shy about sharing its domestic moral preoccupations with the rest of the planet.

Often they come in a coded form, using unlikely subjects as 'star' vehicles for some particularly obnoxious variant of bourgeois ideology. Director Oliver Stone, however, wears his liberal campaign medals openly. If 'Salvador' and 'Platoon' were his attempts to cauterize the wounds inflicted on middle class sensibilities by US foreign policy, **Wall Street** tackles the beast in its lair.

Charlie Sheen plays Bud Fox, a young broker whose rapacious outlook has been moulded by the bull market years of the early and mid-eighties. His guru is the thoroughly implausible Gor-

CINEMA

don Gekko, a multi-millionaire asset-stripper and insider dealer (the actor behind the Oscar-winning performance is Michael Douglas). Bud's dilemma — should he remain a 'poor' but honest (!) broker or throw in his lot with Gekko — is the theme of the film. Stone resolves this sim-



Michael Douglas

plistic, modern-day morality play by such a crude device that it makes the sudden appearance of the gods in a puff of smoke during ancient dramas seem positively sophisticated by comparison. Bud's father, you see, is a mechanic and a trade union organiser down at Blue Star Airlines. 'Inside' information enables Bud, guided by Gekko, to buy up most of the shares for a song. Bud's salvation comes when he balks at breaking up the firm and disposing of the assets, despatching Dad (an even greater object of sympathy since his heart attack) to the dole queue.

Visual pyrotechnics and expensive electronic hardware cannot hide the film's offensive message: the economy is 'fundamentally sound' — but you may have to take a wage cut to get us over this bad patch.

Based on J.G. Ballard's

autobiographical novel of the same name, **Empire of the Sun** is the story of the young son of a wealthy English colonialist family captured by the Japanese after the invasion of Shanghai in 1941. Separated from his parents, he lives out the occupation as an inmate of a concentration camp. The film charts his struggle to survive, and comprehend, his hostile surroundings.

Steven Spielberg skilfully directs the harrowing tale of Jim Graham, played by Christian Bale, using it, however, as a vehicle for his own liberal world outlook. The child's-eye view of wholesale brutality and oppression serves to obscure the truth of the historical events depicted and replace them with a plea for a more 'humanitarian' world based on goodwill.

Through Jim, he serves up a 'classless' society, employing the natural concern and sympathy of the audience for children to create a truly enormous tear-jerker designed to help us see the error of our barbaric ways. It is a story with all the ingredients — adventure, struggle, horror, snippets of comedy and emotion — but, for all that, it leaves the viewer wondering what's the point of it all?

Karajan — the missing years

IN April, amid a blaze of tributes in the capitalist media, Herbert von Karajan, conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, celebrated his eightieth birthday.

The first conductor to become a millionaire, Karajan's prolific recordings of classical music — especially Beethoven, Mozart and Richard Strauss — can be found on the shelves of collectors throughout the world. These days, Karajan conducts a strictly limited number of concerts outside Berlin and Vienna, which are always sold out in advance.

Karajan has studiously cultivated the image of an austere creator-genius, conducting without the aid of a score. Off stage, however, he is never one to miss a business opportunity. He was among the first to grasp the

immense market for polished, high quality recordings after the Second World War.

What many of his admirers do not know is that Karajan's career first flourished in Nazi Germany. Unlike many of his contemporaries, such as Otto Klemperer, Bruno Walter, Kurt Weill and Bela Bartok, who emigrated to America, Karajan chose to stay behind when Hitler came to power.

What followed is never mentioned in the blurb on his records or concert programmes. With Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, introducing decrees banning Jewish musicians from performing, the young Karajan joined the Nazi Party. According to the master-file of the Nazi Party's membership list, held in the Document Centre of the United States Mission in Berlin, Karajan was

issued card number 1607525 on April 8, 1933 — two months and eight days after Hitler came to power.

Karajan became Goebbels' protege, and throughout the 1930s and early 1940s conducted concerts for the Nazi Party. During this period, the music of Mahler, Bartok and Berg was banned as the work of 'degenerates'. When Hitler invaded Austria in 1938, Karajan celebrated with performances of Beethoven's opera 'Fidelio'.

Together with the singer Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, Karajan systematically denies any knowledge of the purging of Jews from German and Austrian orchestras. In an interview with Roger Vaughan, published in 1986, Karajan stated: 'If you look back with objectivity and perspective, you see things that were happening economically that were basic-

ly good ideas . . . On the other hand, if you say Hitler was only a murderer, he wouldn't have been followed by seventy million people. Impossible.'

While the collaboration with the Nazis of such French artistes as Maurice Chevalier and Edith Piaf has been exposed in 'Chanson Sous l'Occupation' and Marcel Ophul's 'The Sorrow and the Pity', no comparable study has yet been made in Germany and Austria, in spite of the considerable material which exists in the archives of Goebbels' propaganda unit.

Karajan's post-war career took off when, along with Schwarzkopf, he was rescued from Germany at the end of the war by Walter Legge, the head of EMI. Legge married Karajan under an exclusive recording contract.

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BUILD DEFENCE SQUADS AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS

THE policies of the Thatcher government are actively encouraging the growth of racial attacks and harassment of black and Asian workers and youth. Along with measures which will further ghettoise housing, another reactionary Immigration Act came into force this year.

Under its terms, Commonwealth and Irish citizens who entered the country before 1973 are required to reregister with immigration authorities, even if they are married to a British citizen. People who are claiming state benefits and who are 'suspected' of not holding British citizenship are liable to be investigated, along with their families.

Racism is inseparably bound up with the history of imperialism, and pro-imperialist leaders of the Labour Party have never led a consistent struggle against it. The governments of Ramsay MacDonald and Clement Attlee administered British colonialist rule and fought every independence movement.

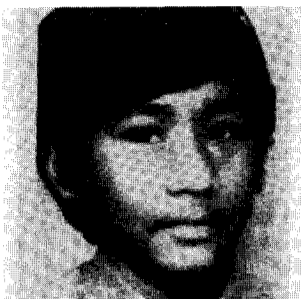
The Wilson and Callaghan governments passed their 'own' immigration controls. Capitalism in crisis injects the poison of racialism and nationalism to weaken and divide the working class.

Two recently published reports document the growth of racial attacks in east London and in education. 'Learning in Terror', published by the government-backed Commission for Racial Equality, is a

By Lizzy Ali

survey of racial attacks and abuse in British schools and colleges. The report outlines 18 cases ranging from that of Ahmed Ullah, a 13-year-old Asian youth stabbed to death in a Manchester secondary school, to playground attacks on children as young as seven. In many cases, local education authorities took little or no action to defend the pupils concerned. This admission by the thoroughly discredited CRE only serves to underline the role of the state in promoting racism.

The second report is from the Newham Monitoring Project, described by Deputy Assistant Commissioner Wyn Jones of the Metropolitan Police as 'the most devious, sinister and destructive group operating in Newham today'. It covers racial attacks on individuals in the east London borough, as well as going into the failure of the local council's housing and social services departments to respond to attacks on families. Last year Newham had the highest incidence of racist attacks in the country.



AHMED ULLAH

The report highlights the fact that the police do little or nothing about reported attacks despite all the special committees set up by them in the Newham area.

Certain areas in the borough, such as Forest Gate, which is outside the centre of the black community, have developed into no-go areas for black people in recent years. The report also shows that even if cases reach the courts it is virtually impossible to get a conviction, despite overwhelming evidence. Frequently, police are likely to arrest the victim of a racist attack by claiming that it was the result of a fight or a disagreement.

The authors have presented a comprehensive account

of racial violence in Newham. In contrast to the CRE, they uphold the right of black and Asian communities to defend themselves physically, but they remain trapped in the reformist perspective of 'putting pressure on the authorities'.

What is required is a policy which unites white and black workers and youth through the forming of workers' defence squads. These must draw their support from the trade unions and working class political parties as well as the black and Asian communities.

Inquiry into NUS spending

By Graham Fenwick

AS protests against the Education Reform Bill mount, an investigation is being launched by the Tory government into the role of student unions.

Education Secretary Kenneth Baker, announcing the inquiry in the House of Commons on April 18, said that the government wanted to ensure that student unions did not spend their funds on political causes.

A week before Baker's statement, Tory backbenchers had attempted to insert a clause in the Education Bill preventing university, college and polytechnic union bodies from affiliating to the National Union of Students (NUS), compelling students to join individually.

However, this would have presented legal difficulties for the government as it would also prevent campus unions from affiliating to sports and leisure associations.

The investigation, which will look at ways of getting round this problem, was supposedly introduced as a concession to the disappointed backbenchers, but is in line with the general Tory aim of destroying the trade union closed shop. The Thatcher government is anxious to bring in laws as quickly as possible to restrict the power of students to fight back against the sweeping attacks on education.

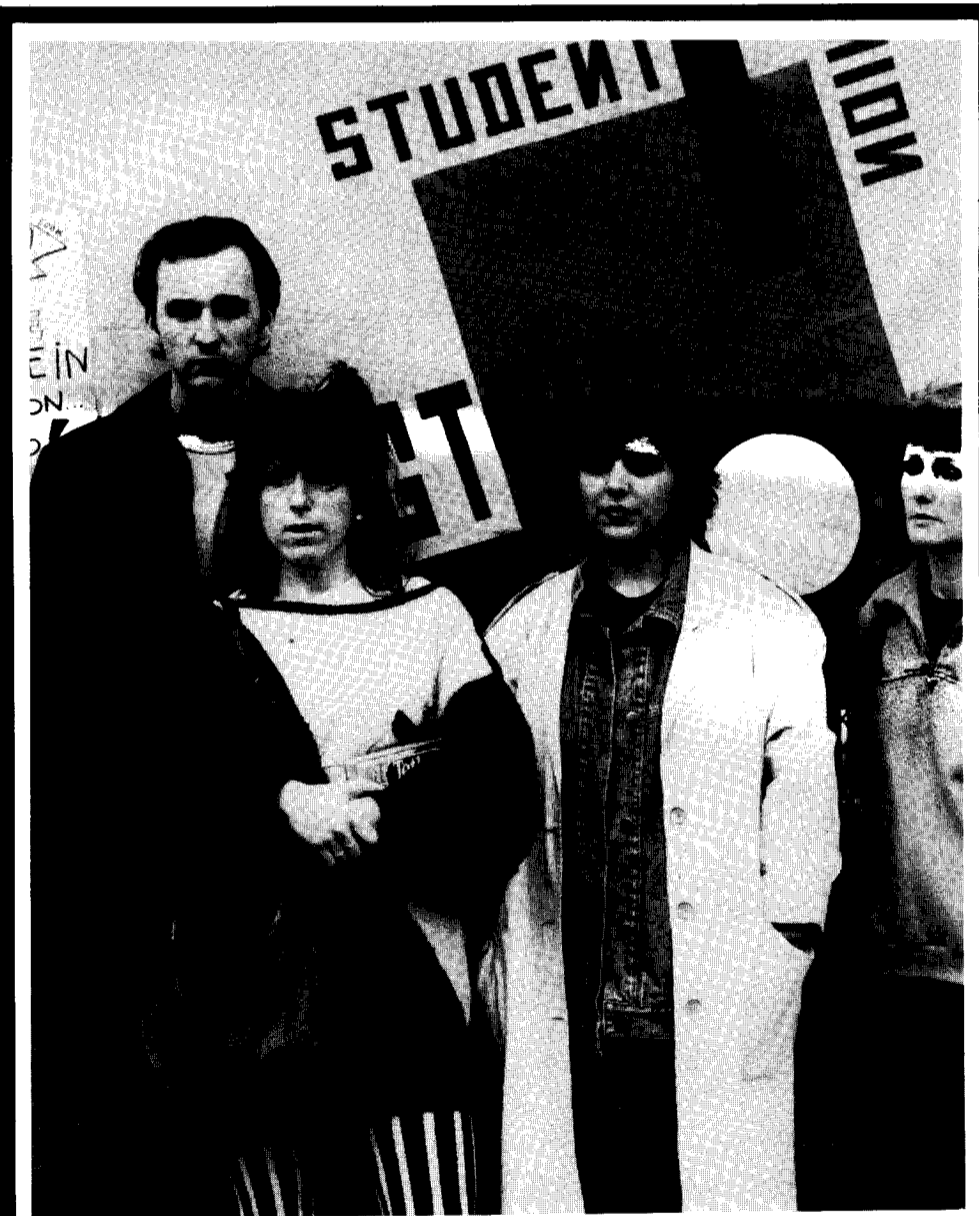
The NUS leadership, which is itself opposed to uniting students in all-out action against Baker's Bill, deliberately played down this latest Tory attempt to stifle protest. A spokesman said that the NUS was 'neutral' towards the inquiry since it was bound to vindicate the unions!

Police spies

THE police are trying to use youths as young as 13 as informers by threatening them with prosecution for minor offences if they do not provide information on young people in their neighbourhoods.

Intelligence gathering in youth clubs, under the guise of 'helping out', is a common practice according to Sue Atkins, president of the Community and Youth Workers' Union. Youth workers in many parts of the country have reported instances of police attempting to get them to inform on members of youth clubs.

HUNDREDS of students demonstrated when Education Secretary Kenneth Baker visited a college in Twickenham on May 9. Seven students were arrested after Baker's car was surrounded. Five of them were subsequently charged - four with disorderly conduct and one with obstruction.



The occupation of the Elgin Avenue site of Paddington College in April, part of the growing revolt amongst students against Tory cuts in education

University cuts in Scotland

By Christine McDermott

THE impact of the government's commerce-orientated education policy can already be seen in Scotland. Massive cuts in staff and department closures will mean students will have less choice and fewer resources.

Tory policy has hit the arts hard. Aberdeen University has taught classics for nearly 500 years but, as an education in the classics offers no direct advantages to industry, it's going to be scrapped. If a university with such a notable history in the arts can face such closures (six departments in all), then how can the arts hope to survive anywhere?

Academic studies generally are being eroded and replaced with studies to aid business. Aberdeen is losing 155 academic staff, Edinburgh 130, Dundee 40 and St Andrews 30. Academic studies are viewed as 'insufficient' for a career in capitalist society. Stirling University has 'solved' this by starting entrepreneurial

courses. The danger lies in that universities will be forced to start such courses at the expense of the arts.

Foreign students have consistently faced savage attacks from the government. They have been denied grant-assisted places and forced to pay their costs in full. Faced with government cuts, Scottish universities have been searching for foreign students as a method of meeting costs. In Edinburgh, 39 per cent of students are foreign.

This attempt by educational institutions to solve their cash crisis is totally in harmony with the longer-term Tory aim of making further education available only to those who can pay for it. It also creates the conditions for foreign students to come under racist attack. Students and workers must fight for guaranteed further education for all who want it, with full mandatory grants for all students, both British and foreign.

Ealing firms sponsor new GCSE exam

BUSINESS and education have made official links in Ealing. A new GCSE exam in Travel and Tourism has been developed by the London Borough of Ealing in association with various commercial travel organisations and the British Tourist Authority.

The introduction of the course will follow an 18-month pilot scheme in Dormers Wells High School and Greenford High School, two Ealing secondary schools. Practical rather than intellectual skills will be

emphasised in the course, which will be sponsored by industry.

The plans have been met with open arms by some teaching staff, who have worked closely with the companies involved. A full-time director has been appointed by the 'partnership' to co-ordinate activities in Ealing. The programme threatens to spread rapidly as a national office is currently being set up to introduce similar

schemes all over the country.

As business increases its influence there will be a steady change in the aims and methods of education. Industry will only provide sponsorship on the condition that, in return, it gets an education system specifically geared to steer pupils into industry. It will also demand the 'right' to select its workforce from youth forced to carry out unpaid 'work experience'.