

Margaret Thatcher: going, going...

Labour, Tories offer war, slump, inflation

21 NOVEMBER—As we go to press, Michael Heseltine's challenge for leadership of the Tory party has received 152 votes to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's 204, thus forcing a second ballot within a week. A bitter power struggle within the party has been open and public since the cutting parliamentary address of Sir Geoffrey Howe, until recently the sole surviving member of Thatcher's original 1979 cabinet. However the vote goes next week, the Thatcher regime is visibly on the rocks.

Discontent with the Thatcher government is widespread; she is one of the most unpopular prime ministers of this century. Trade unionists, minorities and the poor have always despised her. The middle classes are reeling under skyrocketing inflation and mortgage rates, top ruling echelons are worried by her attempts to sabotage "European integration", and everyone hates the poll tax. In Scotland, used as a guinea-pig for the tax and sharply hit by the Thatcherite devastation of industry, the Tory party is almost irrelevant, running a poor third behind Labour and the bourgeois nationalist SNP.

Plenty of people will be happy to see the back of Maggie Thatcher, the vicious "butcher of the *Belgrano*", ghoul of King's Cross, raving anti-worker swine. But the attempted purge of Thatcher is being engineered by those who seek to restore an effective *bourgeois* authority. Thus, among the most vehement exponents of anti-Thatcherism is the *Independent*, which is also among the most rabid supporters of an imperialist military adventure in the Middle East.

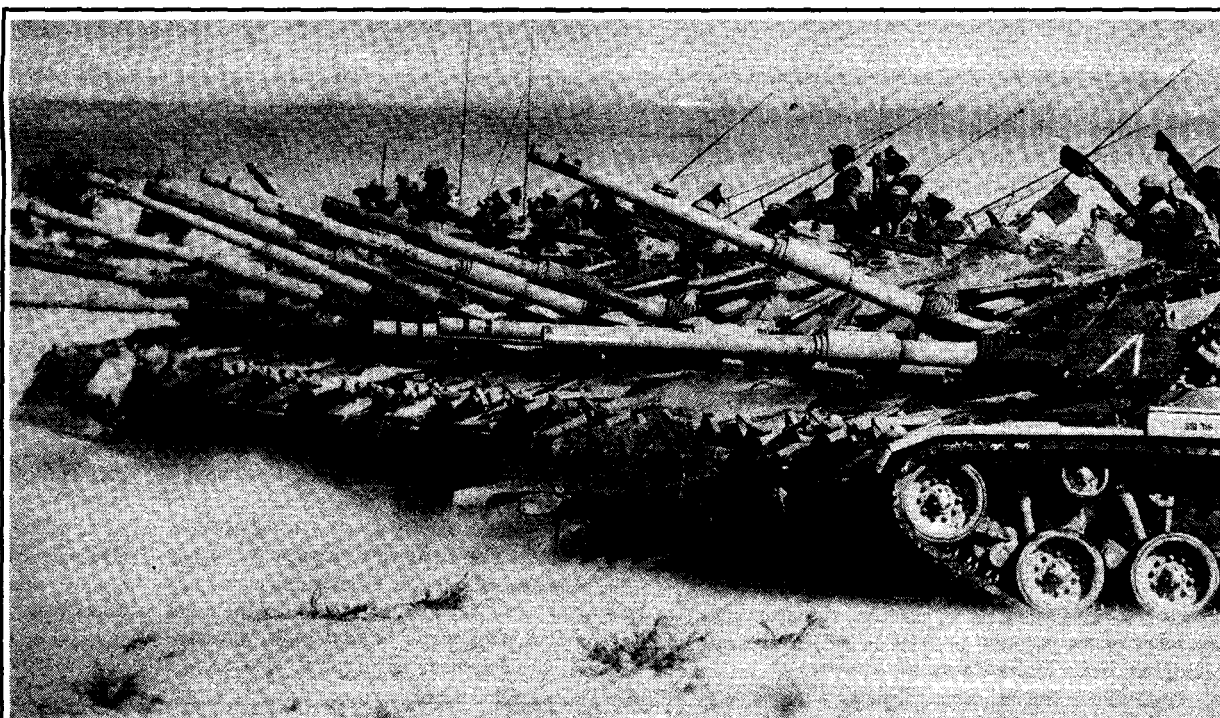
It is not an accident that the government crisis broke out at a time of sharp economic downturn, with the unemploy-

ment rate recording its largest monthly increase in four years. Recession and the Gulf crisis are rendering many governments in the imperialist West shaky—from Bush in the US to Mitterrand's France. The weak British economy, ravaged by decades of capitalist neglect and devastation, offers no easy options to the bosses. Industry has been cut to the bone, rail and transport starved of investment, and industrial murder has become commonplace, from the North Sea to London Underground.

The executive committee of the British bourgeoisie are telling Thatcher that her

"services are no longer required" as they rearm in the face of depression and impending war. What they have in mind is a regime better capable of waging the capitalist offensive against the working class and the poor—to cut jobs, to lower wages and if necessary to send them off as cannon fodder. As the *Sunday Times* (18 November) wrote in its editorial "A reluctant goodbye" of the Thatcher regime: "It now presides over an economy mired in stagflation. The poll tax—the conception of which was a mistake, its birth a mess and its infancy an expensive embarrassment—has proved to be the most unpopular tax in modern British history. All the perfumes in the government's boudoir cannot make it smell sweet."

The emerging dominant political forces are a more main-stream Tory party and a very right-wing Kinnockite Labour Party, whose policies are almost interchangeable. And whether a new government were to be headed by Kinnock or a Hurd or Heseltine, it would be *at least* as oppressive and vicious to working people as Thatcher's. That is what is *continued on page 8*



Jacques Langren-Sygnna

For military defence of Iraq!

Defeat US, British imperialism!

The imperialist war drums in the Gulf beat ever louder. Another 150,000 additional land, sea and air forces were ordered by US president Bush on 8 November to ensure "an adequate offensive military option should that be necessary". Bush's staunchest ally, Margaret Thatcher's government, is set to send thousands of additional ground forces as well. All leaves have been cancelled for US forces already deployed in Saudi Arabia, who were

supposed to be rotated out every six to eight months. Now it's official: US soldiers won't be coming home for Christmas. Meanwhile a "mock beach landing" just south of Kuwait's border with Saudi Arabia called "Imminent Thunder" was planned for the 17-18 November weekend, using 1000 aircraft including Stealth bombers, A10 tank killers and helicopters as well as a force of Marines. As the London *Evening Standard* (Friday, 16 November) put it:

"the sheer scale of the operation, particularly in the air, with extra missions to be flown by Saudi and British interceptors, is intended to give them an idea of what they are up against".

Despite talk of giving the UN fig leaf blockade of Iraq time to work in starving Iraqis into submission, Bush hasn't mobilised close to 400,000 combat forces in the Persian Gulf in an attempt to "scare" Hussein into

retreating from Kuwait or to wait for United Nations "authorisation" of the "use of force". As one military specialist from Washington's Brookings Institute put it: "It is too big a force to sit on." Arguing that Washington should go to war sooner rather than later a senior Bush administration official said: "It's tough to keep an edge on your forces out there as weeks go into months and they say, 'Why are we *continued on page 5*'"

US Supreme Court turns down death row political prisoner

On the first day of its autumn term, the United States Supreme Court shut its doors to death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. On 1 October the court denied Jamal's petition for review of his conviction and death sentence. Jamal, 36, had challenged the overtly political basis of his conviction and the exclusion of eleven prospective jurors solely because they are black, a challenge going to the heart of the racist death penalty in the US. The Court's action clears the way for Pennsylvania governor Robert Casey to sign a warrant of execution.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Jamal, a former Black Panther Party spokesman and supporter of the MOVE organisation, was president of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his 1981 arrest. Jamal became known as the "voice of the voiceless" because he spoke out for the poor and oppressed minorities, first from the streets and then from his radio

booth. Because he was an outspoken critic of racist cop terror, he was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman.

For years, Chief Justice Rehnquist, whose hero is the notorious hanging judge Isaac Parker who sent 164 men to their graves in post-Reconstruction Arkansas, has been the most outspoken proponent of speeding up the assembly line of death. Nearly every day Rehnquist & Co confirm that in death penalty cases there is no court of "last resort"—just a rubber stamp. The Rehnquist court says that racist application of the death penal-

pared sophisticated legal papers for numerous inmates. Despite widespread support from liberals and conservatives alike, the Court rejected Giarratano's request for a new trial because his lawyers in earlier stages of his case failed to raise the constitutional violations he cited.

If "Judge Death" Rehnquist is driving the "execution express", Congress is feverishly stoking its engines. In the Senate confirmation hearings for newly appointed Supreme Court Justice Souter they didn't even question his support for capital punishment. And on 4 October the Democratic-controlled House passed by a two-to-one margin an "anti-crime" bill which expanded the list of federal crimes to carry the death sentence. As frustrated Congressional opponents sarcastically chanted "Kill! Kill! Kill!" Wisconsin Representative David Obey ac-



TROTSKY

Defeat imperialist aggression

As the United States, Britain and their allies invade the Persian Gulf, we defend the Iraqi and Arab peoples against American colonialist aggression, and want to see the defeat and humiliation of the imperialists' military adventure. When Mussolini's Italy invaded Ethiopia, a feudal kingdom, in the mid-1930s, Trotsky supported the Ethiopian resistance and condemned those leftists, such as James Maxton of the British In-



LENIN

dependent Labour Party, who took a neutral stand on the ground that both sides were reactionary despotisms. We print below part of Trotsky's "A Letter to an English Comrade".

It is with great astonishment that I read the report of the conference of the Independent Labour Party in the *New Leader* of April 17, 1936. I really never entertained any illusions about the pacifist parliamentarians who run the ILP. But their political position and their whole conduct at the conference exceed even those bounds that can usually be expected of them. I am sure that you and your friends have drawn approximately the same conclusions as we have here. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from making several observations.

Maxton and the others opine that the Italo-Ethiopian war is "a conflict between two rival dictators." To these politicians it appears that this fact relieves the proletariat of the duty of making a choice between two dictators. They thus define the character of the war by the political *form* of the state, in the course of which they themselves regard this political form in a quite superficial and purely descriptive manner, without taking into consideration the social foundations of both "dictatorships." A dictator can also play a very progressive role in history; for example, Oliver Cromwell, Robespierre, etc. On the other hand, right in the midst of the English democracy Lloyd George exercised a highly reactionary dictatorship during the war. Should a dictator place himself at the head of the next uprising of the Indian people in order to smash the British yoke—would Maxton then refuse this dictator his support? Yes or no? If not, why does he refuse his support to the Ethiopian "dictator" who is attempting to cast off the Italian yoke?

If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The victory of the Negus [Ethiopian ruler Haile Selassie], however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must really be completely blind not to see this.

—Leon Trotsky, "On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo" (April 1936)



Workers Vanguard

Partisan Defense Committee rally for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Philadelphia, 14 July.

ty is "irrelevant", and now refuses to hear an appeal about the deliberate exclusion of blacks from the jury that convicted Jamal.

The same day the Court turned down Jamal it also refused to review the death sentence of Joseph Giarratano, who has won wide acclaim as a self-taught legal expert who, while behind bars, has pre-

curately characterised this licence to kill by asking, "Would it be possible to bring the guillotines directly to the House floor?"

The new law strips to the bone the centuries-old right of *habeas corpus* against unlawful imprisonment, limiting death row prisoners to one federal *habeas*

continued on page 11

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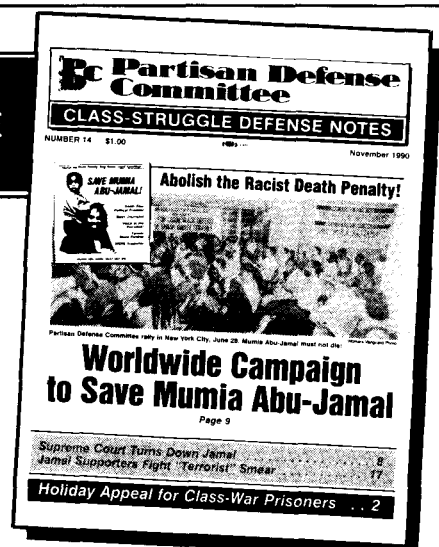
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Anti-Semitism stalks Europe

Workers, minorities must crush fascist vermin!

Emboldened by resurgent pro-capitalist reaction in Eastern Europe and the imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism", the anti-Semites and fascists in Britain have crawled from the sewers and stepped up their attacks. As in France, where last May fascists exhumed and impaled the corpse of an old man at a Jewish cemetery in Carpentras, the skinhead and fascist filth have added to their murderous race-hate campaigns against Asian, black, Arab and African peoples an increasing number of attacks against Jewish people, their synagogues and cemeteries.

Last month, the anti-fascist journal *Searchlight* reported the ominous chronicle of anti-Semitic attacks this year: the desecration of a Jewish cemetery in Edmonton, North London twice; 25 headstones smashed in a Jewish cemetery in Leeds and daubed with "Crystal Night 90" (a reference to Kristallnacht, when in 1938 the Nazis unleashed state-sponsored terror against Jews). In Chelmsford, a Jewish schoolmaster was threatened with gassing if he didn't leave the school and in London's Stamford Hill area, Hasidic Jews have been the targets of escalating attacks. On one occasion, however, two

men caught defacing a car were surrounded by 200 Hasidics who handed them over to the cops after giving them a lesson first. But what has caused particular outrage in the Jewish community was an incident in which Jewish schoolchildren were sprayed with a CS gas-like substance.

Unchallenged this deadly menace will only grow. The fascist vermin must be crushed in the egg. For worker/minority mobilisations to smash racist, anti-Semitic terror!

In the wake of the disintegration of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, the counter-revolutionary spearhead of capitalist restoration has resuscitated reactionary nationalism, fascism and anti-Semitism with ferocity. From the Pamyat Black Hundreds in the Soviet Union to the vicious fascist/nationalist organisations in Poland and what used to be East Germany, the targets of these scum are Jewish people, Gypsies, national minorities and foreign workers.

In Poland, for example, the presidential election campaign has been marked by aggressive anti-Semitic attacks, with anti-Jewish graffiti increasingly common. A Soviet Jewish folk group was attacked

in Kielce—the town which in 1946 achieved worldwide notoriety when Jewish survivors of the Holocaust were murdered in their hostel by pogromists. A Jewish mathematician and writer on Jewish affairs, Stanislaw Krajewski said: "The main thing is the presidential campaign of Walesa, who has legitimised the public expression of anti-Semitism. I don't say that he is an anti-Semite, but he is taking advantage of it, allowing it to be used" (*Guardian*, 19 November). Walesa, Thatcher's favourite "trade union" leader, is on record as saying: "sometimes it is Jews who create an anti-Semitic atmosphere in order to get into the limelight, because on the wave of these 'anti' feelings, you can rise in position" (*Independent on Sunday*, 27 May).

The struggle against fascism is integrally linked to the struggle to defend the gains of the Russian October against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution. Those on the fake left who give lip-service to "anti-fascist action", while at the same time promoting the likes of the Pilsudskiite-loving Polish Solidarność and even more vile formations from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, are charlatans. We are reminded,

of course, of the sponsors to this country of one Yuri Butchenko—connected to the Russian fascists of the NTS as well as the scab UDM of Roy Lynk—who like to pose as some sort of anti-fascist activists on their home terrain. (See "The Workers Power school of 're-elaboration' / Turning on the Butchenko spit", *Workers Hammer* no 117, October 1990.)

At the same time that the fascist thugs on the streets emulate the scum rising to the surface throughout Eastern Europe, the British ruling class fans the same flames. Thus, during the War Crimes Bill debate in the House of Lords earlier this year, the stench of anti-Semitism permeated the debate which ended in the defeat of any action being taken against Nazi war criminals resident in Britain. The debate laid bare sentiments widely prevalent in the upper echelons of the British establishment. It is well known that a section of the ruling class including the former king, Edward, Duke of Windsor, along with some Mitfords and the Mosleys, were Hitler fellow-travellers. An index of how steeped the British rulers are in anti-Semitic bigotry was the recent obscene outbursts of Lord Denning (for

continued on page 9

Workers Hammer greets our new subscribers

Congratulations to all comrades on the successful completion of the autumn 1990 *Workers Hammer* subscription drive. Participating along with the Glasgow and London branches of the Spartacist League/Britain were the members of the newly-formed Dublin Spartacist Youth Group (DSYG). We exceeded our overall quota of 340 points by 26 per cent with a total of 430 points.

In addition to the 157 single subs to *Workers Hammer*, we also sold 66 joint subs to *Workers Hammer* and *Workers Vanguard* (fortnightly newspaper of the Spartacist League/US) and 67 subscriptions to *Women and Revolution*, journal of the Women's Commission of the SL/US. Comrade Debbie was the top sub seller with 57½ points. We welcome our new readers and those who have renewed their subscriptions to our unique Marxist publications.

Concentrating on expanding our readership in Scotland and reinforcing our Glasgow branch as well as helping the

DSYG with their first subscription drive meant that our regional trips in England were less extensive this year. Thirty-nine points were sold on the Leeds trip, centred on the university, while at the universities of Kent and Essex we sold 30 and 20 points respectively. Door-to-door sales of subs in Southall not only brought in new subscribers from the predominantly Asian working-class neighbourhood but also resulted in renewing existing readers. The London campuses accounted for some 37 points, particularly among students at the London School of Economics.

Highlights of the Glasgow sub drive included the regional trips to Aberdeen and St Andrews University. Twenty-one points were sold in Aberdeen, mainly to

students at the university; this was a follow-up to an earlier successful trip in August where we sold subscriptions to striking oilworkers. At St Andrews, we sold 13 points, mainly to students attracted by our line on the Gulf crisis. In Glasgow, a gratifying number of subscribers renewed (22 points) including many Asian readers.

The overwhelming bulk of subscriptions sold in Dublin were to university students at Trinity College, University College Dublin and Dublin City University. (Our sub drive committee overdid it on the quota given the other tasks facing the Group). With the founding of the DSYG, *Workers Hammer* has an increased responsibility to provide coverage and analysis of the social and political

events in Ireland. Thus, the announcement of the DSYG's founding as well as our on-going coverage of the struggle for abortion rights were popular items with young militants in Dublin. We look forward to carrying articles of current and historical interest in forthcoming issues of *WH*. Part of the struggle to forge a Bolshevik party in Britain and Ireland is the polemical battle against the reformist and centrist pretenders (a number of whose members read *WH* regularly). This continues to be one of the central tasks for the monthly *Workers Hammer*.

With this issue, *Workers Hammer* is raising our single issue price to 30 pence and subscriptions sold beginning with this issue will be raised to £3.00. Resisting this price rise for probably too long, we still remain the least costly newspaper on the left in Britain. And the only newspaper to provide a revolutionary internationalist coverage of the historic events which are now taking place and which so urgently require the reforging of the Fourth International, party of world revolution. ■

Workers Hammer subscription drive



SL/B & DSYG joint sub drive

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Workers Power in Germany: taking it easy with Gysi

Arbeitermacht joins the PDS

The Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SpAD) is currently standing in the 2 December Bundestag elections on a class-struggle programme to fight the consequences of unification under capitalism (see "For workers resistance East and West!" WH no 117, October). We print below an article from our SpAD comrades exposing the antics of the German affiliates of Workers Power.

The group of anti-Soviet rightward-moving centrists around the journal *Arbeitermacht*, German organ of the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) has applied to join the PDS and build a "Trotskyist Platform" in it. Those familiar with *Arbeitermacht* know that the LRCI rabidly denounced the SED-PDS and saw, not capitalist reunification, but "Stalinism" as the main danger facing the working people in the DDR. So what has changed? The LRCI has evidently decided that the PDS has crossed the Rubicon of social democratisation.

In the critical months leading up to the 18 March DDR elections, which marked a decisive electoral victory for the forces of capitalist reunification, *Arbeitermacht* was second to none in screaming for "Stalinist" blood. At every crucial point, they tailed the forces of capitalist counter-revolution. Today, with Gysi inviting the bourgeois cops into party headquarters and setting up his own comrades for imprisonment in order to reaffirm the PDS' cringing loyalty to the German bourgeoisie, *Arbeitermacht* wants to enter the PDS. These centrists want to be on the ground floor of the new PDS-brokered popular front, as Gysi appeals to the Greens and others to join him in a new "left alternative".

Furthermore, LRCI is also advocating

a vote to the SPD, the social-democratic Trojan horse of capitalist counter-revolution in the DDR! In the November/December issue of *Class Struggle*, newspaper of the Irish Workers Group (IWG—affiliates of Workers Power) we read that: "The LRCI will stand with worker militants who look to the PDS and SPD in Germany, by voting with these parties against the capitalist parties.... That means voting for the PDS nationally and, locally, for PDS candidates or SPD where there is no PDS representative".

In a polemic entitled "Trotskyism versus stalinophile Spartacism" (*Arbeitermacht* no 1, March 1990), the LRCI asked: "Is the SED-PDS reformable?" and answered with a resounding "No!" Here the LRCI is vigorously thrashing a straw man, since the SpAD and its predecessors, the Trozktistischen Liga Deutschlands and Spartakist-Gruppen, did not have the position of attempting to reform the SED-PDS. The LRCI is in fact denouncing us for seeking to intersect the thousands of militants who wanted to break with Stalinism and be communists during the winter of 1989-90 when it was cheering on the mobs who stormed Stasi headquarters in Berlin under the black-red-gold colours.

In its polemic, *Arbeitermacht* wrote: "So what are the Marxist principles which must be observed for a tactical approach to a reformist, in this case Stalinist, party? First, you can't hide the fact that such a party is not reformable.... A consistent revolutionary orientation can be presented to oppositional SED comrades only when a break with the Stalinist party is openly propagated."

The key word here is "Stalinist". Is today's PDS a reformist party? Of course. But *Arbeitermacht* now say, in their "Call for the formation of a Trotskyist Platform", "we see our collaboration in the

arbeitsmacht

STELLT DIE PDS AUF DIE PROBE!

WAHLT "LINKE LISTE/PDS"

ORGANISIERT DEN KAMPF FÜR EURE INTERESSEN!

FÜR EIN REVOLUTIONÄRES KAMPFPROGRAMM!

Arbeitermacht (October 1990) cover text: "STELLT DIE PDS AUF DIE PROBE! WAHLT 'LINKE LISTE/PDS' ORGANISIERT DEN KAMPF FÜR EURE INTERESSEN! FÜR EIN REVOLUTIONÄRES KAMPFPROGRAMM!"

Arbeitermacht, journal of Workers Power's co-thinkers in Germany campaign for the reformist PDS which capitulated to capitalist Anschluss. PDS leader Gysi (below, left).



Der Spiegel

PDS as a contribution to resolving the current crisis of the left" (*Arbeitermacht*, no 10, 20 October). No call for a break with the party and its cringing reformist leadership here. Like Gysi & Co they talk about the "renewal" of the PDS.

Arbeitermacht's "irrevolutionary" intransigence corresponds only to the period when the SED-PDS was under heavy fire from the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic lackeys and the DDR deformed workers state had not yet been destroyed. The 3 January Treptow anti-fascist demonstration was a turning point; this powerful pro-Soviet mobilisation of 250,000 could have rallied workers resistance to capitalist reunification. That's why the bourgeoisie hated it, and why the PDS repudiated it.

Arbeitermacht has claimed that it supported Treptow. It would be bad for their "left" image to simply denounce the largest anti-fascist demonstration in German history. But the LRCI's international leadership declares that it was possible that "the state used agents provocateurs to exaggerate the impact of the Republikaner in the DDR" (*Trotskyist International* no 5, Autumn 1990)—almost word for word the same as the reactionary *Bildzeitung*, which labelled the desecration of the monument to the Soviet war dead (to which the demonstration responded) a "Stasi trick".

Trotskyist International goes on, "It was essential for revolutionaries to call for independent working class mobilisations against both the fascists and the state." In other words, the LRCI was actually against the united front with the SED-PDS, and for an imaginary "third camp" which is but a "left" variant of the bourgeois/social-democratic smear campaign against Treptow. For the LRCI the main enemy was the Stasi, not the fascists; the bankruptcy of this line is evident today as brutal assaults by fascist scum against leftists, immigrants and Soviet soldiers multiply.

The PDS leadership collapsed under

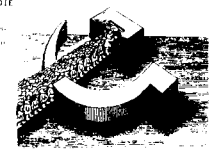
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Arbeitermacht (September 1990) cover text: "STARKE OPPOSITION FÜR DIE... PDS WIRKLICH GEGEN KOHLS ANKAMPFEN... ER MIT DER IMPERIALISTISCHEN AGGRESSION AM GOLF! DISKUSSION 'WOHIN GEHT DIE PDS?'"



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nationalism. *Arbeitermacht* continually raises the call for "foreign troops" out of Germany, putting imperialist forces and the Red Army on the same plane. The "Call for the formation of a Trotskyist Platform" even proposes that the PDS undertake a campaign against German membership in NATO! In or out of NATO German imperialism would be part of the anti-Soviet imperialist coalition. The thrust of LRCI's politics is the defence of "self determination" for German imperialism—a line they share with Gysi/Modrow.

No wonder the LRCI can't stand any mention of a Fourth Reich, howling "sectarian", "caricature", etc. The Fourth Reich is not a fascist regime, but its continuity with the Third Reich is evident. Does the LRCI believe, with Reichskanzler Kohl, in the "mercy of a late birth" for German imperialism? In Austria, their section followed the social democracy in politely demanding the resignation of Nazi war criminal Waldheim.

The bourgeoisie has targeted the PDS for destruction in its new Reich. As would-be members of this party, *Arbeitermacht* does feel obliged to give lip-service to defence of the PDS, even with language that seems to be (and probably was) cribbed from the pages of *Spartakist*. Quite a change coming from people who thought that the "anti-Stasi" anti-communist witchhunt was not bloody, not thorough, enough, who called to "root out and punish every filthy bureaucrat and secret police agent who made life hell for the GDR's workers for forty years".

Although the de facto outlawing of the PDS began in the spring with a law putting the party's money under the control of trustees of the Fourth Reich, this subject interested *Arbeitermacht* so little that it merited no mention in its August "action programme". It gets one line in the "Call for the formation of a Trotskyist Platform" and the shameful and suicidal capitulation of the PDS leadership before this expropriation not a word. By contrast, the SpAD called immediately for united-front defence of the PDS and said that refusal to open the books to the bourgeois state was a question of principle.

Over 1000 anti-fascists came out on 2 November to protest Nazi/skinhead attacks in Halle, in former DDR. Banner says: "For workers resistance against the Fourth Reich! Vote Spartakist!"



On 19 October the cops raided PDS headquarters after its treasurer had attempted to prevent party money from falling into the hands of the bourgeois state. In a leaflet *Arbeitermacht* called for the defence of the PDS—with its own special brand of "united front": the SPD should "distance" itself from Pätzold, the SPD's top cop in Berlin who launched the raid. While revolutionaries point out the danger posed to the entire workers movement by this razzia (pillaging incursion), and seek to win the trade unions to united-front defence of the PDS, *Arbeitermacht* covers up the fact that the entire SPD leadership has been the driving force in the expropriation of the PDS and its call on the SPD is thus pure cynicism.

In the next week, the Gysi/Brie leadership threw PDS treasurers Pohl and Langnischke to the bourgeois wolves, and invited the police back into PDS headquarters for another razzia. The November *Arbeitermacht* passed off this criminal capitulation as "the party leadership... sacrificing comrades as scapegoats for their own mistakes". As for Gysi, they write, "We criticise Gysi for letting the myrmidons of the state freely enter party headquarters".

Arbeitermacht was more interested in the "undemocratic structures which made the actions of Pohl and Langnischke possible". They call for control of PDS

money by "democratically-elected representatives of the workers from the factories". If the "whole class" decides to send SPD or CDU representatives to snoop in the PDS books that's just fine by *Arbeitermacht!* The LRCI believes the adjective "workers" transforms an imperialist slogan into a revolutionary one—"workers sanctions", "workers ballot", etc. Why don't they raise the call "For a workers witchhunt against the PDS"?

As the PDS leadership piles capitulation on capitulation in a vain attempt to appease the bourgeoisie, *Arbeitermacht* knocks on the door to join in on this crawling "renewal", taking as their model toothless "oppositionists" like the "Communist Platform", which has yet to seriously oppose a single one of the Gysi leadership's betrayals. In *Arbeitermacht's* leaflet written after the 19 October raid, they say, "Despite all the affirmations of conformity to the Constitution by the party executive, despite all the reformist hymns to the blessings of the 'social market economy', despite all the bowing to German unity, the PDS, by its existence alone, is still a threat to the smooth functioning of social-partnership democracy a la Bonn."

"By its existence alone"!? Trotsky wrote that "the historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership". The *misleadership* of

the PDS has repeatedly stabbed the fight to organise workers resistance against the Fourth Reich in the back. But that is what the LRCI finds so appealing! To the LRCI, such betrayals demonstrate that the PDS has "broken with Stalinism". For the LRCI, which considers the overthrow of capitalism in the wake of the smashing of Hitler's Third Reich by the Soviet Red Army to be "counterrevolutionary" (not to mention a "reactionary denial of the right of self-determination"), that's the decisive question.

Trotsky made the point that the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists were equal betrayers of the proletariat. There was only the difference that the Stalinists rested on the gains of October, proletarian state power. The LRCI proves that Stalinophobia is in essence opposition, not to Stalinism, but to the dictatorship of the proletariat as such. When the PDS is no longer in power, and the DDR destroyed, then it becomes supportable for the LRCI.

They deserve Gysi, but rank and file militants in the PDS who have had enough of his belly-crawling, who want to fight against the Fourth Reich, for a communist future should look to the genuine Trotskyist programme of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■

Gulf...

(Continued from page 1)

here? Morale goes down" (*New York Times*, 10 November).

In the confrontation between Iraq and the bloody US and British imperialist war criminals, the international working class has a side: for the defence of Iraq and the defeat of the United States and its allies. Iraqi despot Saddam Hussein is indeed a bloody butcher of tens of thousands of Iraqi Communists, militant workers and Kurds. He was also until very recently an ally of the US imperialists for years and a prime candidate for regional "policeman of the Gulf". Thus, the CIA helped Hussein's Ba'athist Party murder an estimated 5000 members of the powerful Iraqi Communist Party in 1963. Britain, as the recent "superguns" revelations attest, did its bit to arm the Iraqi regime as well. Hussein must be brought down by the Iraqi working masses and oppressed, not the rapacious imperialists who are seeking the devastation and subjugation of the Arab peoples. *Break the blockade!*

Triumphantly proclaiming the "death of communism", the US rulers see the world as a "free market" for their unbridled aggression and exploitation. But, with the exception of Thatcher, Bush's "allies" are none too enthusiastic about plunging into a war in the Middle East to fulfil the ambitions of the

deranged rulers of the declining American empire, who are seeking to reassert themselves as the global policemen and bully their imperialist rivals through control over world oil supplies. And Washington's most important Arab ally, Egyptian leader Hosni Mubarak, is calling for more time for the sanctions to work and has stated his troops will not go into Iraq (only Kuwait).

Bush's announcement that he was doubling US forces in the Gulf came on the heels of Secretary of State Baker's global tour to harden up the US' shaky anti-Iraq "coalition" partners. France and the Soviet Union were floating calls for a "peaceful" solution. Baghdad was becoming, in the words of the *Independent* (24 October), "an international convention centre for opposition politicians", as everyone from former Tory prime minister Edward Heath to former Social Democratic West German chancellor Willy Brandt flew to Iraq to negotiate the release of hostages. (Not to be outdone, "left" Labour MPs Tony Benn, Bernie Grant and even Ron Brown have got into the act.)

So at a Moscow press conference, US Secretary Baker and his aides could barely contain themselves when Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze said the use of force "could not be ruled out". The Kremlin bureaucrats have endorsed the most massive imperialist military mobilisation since the Vietnam War which will put close to half a million US troops only 700 miles from the borders of the Soviet Union! Gorbachev might be

the imperialists' most-favoured Russian leader since Tsar Nicholas II, but the Kremlin's policy of trying to "appease" imperialism has only tightened the military noose encircling the Soviet degenerated workers state.

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!

The US is out to achieve global control of oil supplies. ("You can be sure we wouldn't have a platoon on the Kuwaiti frontier if the resource in the region was guano", quipped one Democratic analyst.) But even if the US imperialists win the war, they won't achieve their aim. There is oil in too many places on the face of the earth outside the US and the Middle East. Moreover if the imperialists take Iraq, after murdering hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and killing tens of thousands of American and allied soldiers, they could reap a whirlwind of hostility, from the Middle East to the belly of the imperialist beast. In Riyadh, senior US staff officials figure that they will be shipping home a thousand corpses a day as soon as war breaks out. And even before a shot has been fired, polls show a level of anti-war opposition in the US that wasn't reached until several years into the Vietnam War.

In Britain, which has more troops in Saudi Arabia than any other Western ally of the US, Thatcher's sabre-rattling has been loyally supported by the Labour Party leadership. The "lefts" such as Tony Benn are perfectly willing to support war as long as it is carried out

under the United Nations flag and much of the fake-socialist left trails behind Benn's social chauvinism. At the recent conference of the "Campaign Against War in the Gulf" (CAWG) it was left to the Spartacist League to put forward a Leninist perspective for mobilising along class lines for the defeat of the imperialist powers in the Gulf and the military defence of Iraq ("Break with Labourism to Defeat Imperialism!" see page 9).

With Thatcher in deep trouble, she has already tried to play the Gulf card as "war leader". However, this is unlikely to wash, particularly as every contender—rival Tories (including Heseltine, the ex-Minister of Defence) and Neil Kinnock alike—would prosecute the war with equal zeal. This fact has not in the least dissuaded virtually the entire fake left from calling ever more loudly for a Labour government. (A call akin to demanding the Social Democrats Noske and Scheidemann to be elected to lead German imperialism during World War I.) What is necessary is a political struggle to break the working class from the pro-imperialist Labour traitors, right and "left". Political strike actions and mass militant mobilisations against the war will run straight up against the opposition of the Labour/TUC misleaders. Integrally linked to the perspective of class struggle to defeat imperialism from within is the forging of an authentic Leninist party dedicated to lead the struggle for socialist revolution. Break the blockade of Iraq! No to UN sanctions! British, US, French troops out of the Gulf! ■

Spartacist Group of Poland founded

We are proud to print below a statement of working agreement between the International Communist League and our comrades of the newly founded Spartakusowska Grupa Polski. The militants of the SGP come to the ICL, having arrived at revolutionary Trotskyism after several years of efforts to rediscover the programme of authentic communism. Its cadre include some who were politicised by the events of 1980-81 in Poland but were repulsed by the reactionary clericalism of Solidarność. They were among the founders of the Ruch Młodej Lewicy (RML—Young Left Movement), initially a somewhat heterogeneous grouping which sought to function as a left wing within the youth organisation of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR—the ruling Stalinist party). Seeking the road to proletarian internationalism, our new Polish comrades came into conflict with the Stalinist nationalist perversion of Marxism and with the deeply nationalist pro-Solidarność left. They were excluded from a May Day demonstration in 1988 for carrying banners hailing Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, revolutionary leaders of the Russian, Polish and German workers. Increasingly attracted to Trotskyism, they were instrumental in seeing that key works by Trotsky like *The Revolution Betrayed* were translated into the Polish language.

Thus, by the time they first came into contact with ICL literature this summer, the comrades who now constitute the SGP had through their own experiences and struggles arrived at a similar political thrust on several key questions. But it was necessary to draw a sharp political line against the pro-Solidarność outfits like the Mandelites and Morenoites who masquerade as Trotskyists. As the Polish comrades noted in a letter to our German section: "In the Trotskyist movement in Poland, we often meet with activists

who have a 'Solidarność' pedigree, or in any case put all their hopes in 'Solidarność.' Until now it is difficult for them to shed these illusions. Either they don't know or they deliberately suppress the reality of our true tradition (for 'tactical' reasons). It is increasingly more difficult for us to have a common language with them."

For the ICL, this agreement represents a welcome result of our ongoing propagandistic intervention into the events in Poland from without. It is also a modest vindication of our insistence on reviving the historic revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Soviet proletariat.

The beginnings of political revolution in East Germany (DDR) a year ago allowed us for the first time to reach out to Polish workers with Trotskyist propaganda in their native language. A statement of "Internationalist Greetings to Our Polish Comrades" (December 1989) by our comrades in Germany, produced through the assistance of a Polish-speaking sympathiser in London, was widely distributed among the thousands of Polish workers in the DDR. Subsequently, a "Letter to Polish Workers" (May 1990) by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany was distributed in Poland itself, to the combative rail workers in Szczecin as

well as the Warsaw congress of the OPZZ trade-union federation. This letter, counterposing the Trotskyist perspective of proletarian internationalism to escalating Greater German chauvinism and the nationalism of Solidarność, came into the hands of the RML.

Nine years ago our call to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" stood out sharply as a concretisation of the Trotskyist insistence that the USSR and the deformed workers states be defended against capitalist restoration. Sundry opportunists sneered that such a principled stance would find no support within the Polish workers movement. The revolutionary regroupment in Poland is therefore particularly satisfying. The adherence of Polish comrades to the ICL, along with fusions of new forces in Canada and Mexico, bears witness to the power of the Leninist programme to regroup subjective communists internationally. Forward to the reforging of the Fourth International!



Workers Vanguard



Bulletin [Australia]

New York, September 1981: Spartacists opposed power grab by reactionary Solidarność, company union for the CIA and capitalist bankers. Solidarność leader Lech Walesa (right) flaunts money from Western backers.

Agreement for common work

Between Young Left Movement of Poland and ICL

1. From October 1917 on, capitalism has sought to crush the world historic achievements of the Russian Revolution. The restoration of capitalism would mean massive immiserisation and unemployment of the working people, bringing back all the backwardness and chauvinism of the past, and preparations for a new inter-imperialist war. We Trotskyists stand for *unconditional* military defence of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.
2. In Poland the primary agency for counterrevolution has been Solidarność, aided

and abetted by imperialism, the Vatican and social democracy. By the time of its first congress in 1981, Solidarność had consolidated behind a programme of social counterrevolution: support to anti-communist "free trade unions", restoration of capitalism through bourgeois parliamentarism, and liquidation of the planned economy. Had Solidarność been

victorious, it would as well have threatened the existence of the other deformed workers states, placing in the hands of the imperialists the main supply and communication routes between the Soviet Union and the DDR, then the front line state confronting NATO. At that time the international Spartacist tendency (iSt, now the ICL) demanded "Stop Solidarność

Counterrevolution" and supported Jaruzelski's preventive military coup, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy. The RML [Young Left Movement] agrees with this position. These events were an acid test for all would-be revolutionaries; it is necessary to swim against the stream when the Marxist programme stands counterposed to the existing consciousness of the overwhelming bulk of the working class.

3. We reject the claims of fake-leftists that counterrevolutionary Solidarność was leading a "proletarian political revolution" in 1981. A genuine proletarian political revolution is premised on the *defence* of the collectivised property relations. As opposed to workers "self-management", which in reality means the introduction of capitalist property relations through the pitting of workers in different enterprises against each other, we stand for a planned, socialised economy (including the collectivisation of agriculture) free of Stalinist bureaucratic parasitism, arbitrariness and national autarky. The basic direction of the economy and society must be decided through workers democracy, that is, rule by workers councils.

4. True to the programme of the early Communist International, Trotskyism stands for world socialist revolution. In contrast, Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" is a nationalist, anti-social-

Panorama

Columbia University Press

Książka Wiedze

no credit



Poland's revolutionary Communist tradition: Rosa Luxemburg and the "Three W's"—Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki and Wera Kostrzewa of the early Polish Communist Party.

Letter from Polish comrades

The following letter was addressed to the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

Wrocław
29 July 1990

To Comrade Spartacists,

As young people, who during their studies have arrived—thanks to their own efforts and searchings—to Trotskyism, that forgotten tradition and modern revolutionary current of the workers movement, we read with interest your publications. As far as we know, you are the only current which commemorates the anniversary of the deaths of Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht. It so happens that we too have remembered this anniversary in Poland.

So for your interest, on the 1st of May 1988, we were thrown off an official demonstration in Warsaw for having banners, one of which was about "Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht." On the 70th anniversary of the death of R. Luxemburg and K. Liebknecht we have issued a leaflet on the streets of Wrocław in dedication to their memory. We have organized a series of meetings with slides from the German and



Young Left Movement in Poland, Spartakist Workers Party in Germany have fought to revive internationalist tradition of the "Three L's": Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. For revolutionary unity of German, Polish and Soviet workers!

Polish press, in which we have documented this forgotten tradition. Thanks to you our access to this tradition became wider.

In the Trotskyist movement in Poland, we often meet with activists who have a "Solidarność" pedigree, or in any case put all their hopes in "Solidarność". Until now it is difficult for them to shed these illusions. Either they don't know or they deliberately sup-

press the reality of our true tradition (for "tactical" reasons). It is increasingly more difficult for us to have a common language with them.

We are hearing proposals to suppress your position, which they consider as "discrediting the Trotskyist movement" (!). Discussion is cut short at the very moment that it should have started.

The threat to the workers states by

German imperialism against which you are warning is in Poland used to fuel nationalistic hysteria. Our aim is to oppose it with an internationalist stand calling for a common defense of the gains of workers revolution on this and the other side of the Oder. We express full support to your struggle.

With internationalist greetings,
AJ, RK



Spartakist

Warsaw monument to 1943 Ghetto uprising, erected by Jewish survivors in 1946.

ist lie aimed at conciliating imperialism. The Gorbachev bureaucracy's appeasement of imperialism and its undermining of the collectivised economy, unleashing bloody national and ethnic conflicts, threatens the very existence of the homeland of October. The Polish Stalinists, who mortgaged the economy to the Western bankers and drove the working class into the arms of the CIA and Vatican, are self-evidently politically bankrupt. Those who have paved the way for capitalist restoration cannot lead the struggles to beat it back.

5. Posed pointblank is the need to build an authentic Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland, part of a reformed Fourth International. But we reject the idea of a "family of Trotskyism"; genuine Trotskyism has nothing in common with such pro-Solidarność purveyors of anti-Sovietism as the followers of Nahuel Moreno and the United Secretariat [USec] of Ernest Mandel, who in 1983 hailed the Solidarność leadership as the "best socialists in the world". The RML, a group known for honouring the communist leaders Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, came to recognise that Trotskyism represented the continuation of the revolutionary traditions of the "3 L's". The RML first came into contact with the programme of the ICL while it was engaged in discussions with the Morenoites. Particularly decisive in winning it to the programme of the ICL were (a) agreement over the character of Solidarność

and (b) the RML's support to the "Trotskyist Platform" published by the Trotskyist Faction of the Mexican POS, which subsequently fused with the Grupo Esparquista de México.

6. A Trotskyist party must be a tribune of the people, championing all victims of oppression. The drive to restore capitalism revives and intensifies all the "old crap" of the pre-war social order, from reactionary clericalism to Pilsudskiite nationalism and anti-Semitism. As Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1905: "The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people." The Catholic hierarchy, conciliated by the Stalinists, has long exercised decisive influence over Solidarność. Clerical reaction particularly targets women. Smash the attacks on abortion rights! For free abortion on demand! For free 24-hour childcare facilities! For the strict separation of church and state! Down with the conservative Stalinist dogma that glorifies the institution of the family, the main social institution oppressing women. Only the achievement of a genuine socialist society, based on material abundance and egalitarianism, can truly liberate women.

7. We honour the 600,000 soldiers of the Red Army who died liberating Poland from the Nazis. But today the forces of capitalist restoration have fuelled the growth of virulent anti-Semitism, from skinhead Nazis in Germany to the KPN

[Confederation for an Independent Poland] vermin here to the Great Russian chauvinists of Pamyat. For workers united fronts to smash the fascists! Workers in Poland: smash chauvinist attacks on Jewish people, Ukrainians, Gypsies, homosexuals! Honour the heroic fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943! Defend leftists and former members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] against anti-communist witchhunts! For class struggle against attempts to dismantle social gains of the collectivised economy: for factory occupations and strikes against privatisations and plant shutdowns!

8. In East Germany what began as a political revolution turned into a capitalist counterrevolution. This defeat for the workers movement has whetted the appetites of the Fourth Reich of German

imperialism for a renewed "Drang nach Osten" [drive to the East]. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany [SpAD] uniquely fought against capitalist reunification and fight today against anti-Polish and anti-immigrant chauvinism, as an essential part of the struggle for socialist revolution. Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskiite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward—For the revolutionary unity of Russian, Polish and German workers! For a socialist united states of Europe!

9. Reformists and centrists, forsaking the principle of defence of the deformed workers states against counterrevolution,

continued on page 11

Top: Polish railway workers in Szczecin strike in May against Solidarność regime's capitalist "shock treatment".
Bottom: women peddling vegetables to survive.



Le Bolchévik



Spartakist

Labour, Tories...

(Continued from page 1)

needed to administrate the decaying capitalist society. Unlike the Labourite fake lefts, many of whom are dizzy with delight over the prospect of a general election and Labour victory, we say the truth. For the working masses the choice between the boot of the Tories or the knife of the Labour Party is no choice at all! We need a revolutionary party committed to the only solution to the crisis of imperialist war, racism and economic immiseration: proletarian revolution.

Tory power struggle

For many dissident Tory MPs, naked self-interest was motive enough to back the internal revolt. Crushing by-election defeats in Eastbourne, Bradford and Bootle, as well as umpteen public opinion polls make abundantly clear that Thatcher is an electoral liability. The Thatcherites, of course, did not take Heseltine's challenge lying down. The ever scurrilous *Sun* ran a front page headline characterising Heseltine's three chief lieutenants as "The Bungler, the Adulterer and the Joker". A few die-hard right-wingers threatened a split, while Thatcher's campaign team attacked Heseltine for being unreliable and disloyal.

But Heseltine is not the only one whose loyalty is in question. Heseltine's challenge was triggered by Howe's public indictment of Thatcher's rule and after the "sheep bit back", Thatcher has found it increasingly difficult to control even the sycophants in her ministerial team. Education minister Kenneth Clarke publicly asserted the need to review the poll tax, while Douglas Hurd at first could not bring himself to give an unequivocal statement that he wouldn't run in a second ballot. And when Thatcher suggested holding a referendum on a common European currency, her "close ally", transport minister Cecil Parkinson, immediately contradicted her.

Not surprisingly, Thatcher & Co sought to whip up a "Falklands factor". "Thatcher plays the Gulf card: 'War leader' warns off Heseltine", headlined the *Guardian* (8 November). But it largely came to nought. Kinnock has screamed louder

than the Tories for war in the Gulf. Former defence minister Heseltine, no slouch himself when it comes to beating the imperialist war drums, has close ties with the officer corps. Heseltine oversaw the proliferation of NATO nuclear weapons at the height of the anti-Soviet war drive, and he was Thatcher's point man in pushing the unsuccessful prosecution of Clive Ponting for leaking material about the *Belgrano* butchery. Richard Cheney, US defence secretary, vouched for him: "I happen to be a fan of Maggie Thatcher's.... But Mr Heseltine's policies towards the Gulf have basically been the same" (*The Times*, 19 November).

Numerous European politicians are deeply savouring Thatcher's unhappy plight. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* headed its comment "Maggie, Maggie—bye bye". Indeed the only governments that seem sorry to see Thatcher go, outside of the American, are the South African apartheidists and the Gorbachev-Yeltsin sell-out gang!

Heseltine & Kinnock—birds of a feather

When Thatcher quipped that Heseltine had the same politics as Labour, she wasn't far off. But she was dead wrong to label either of them "socialist", crypto- or otherwise. Last March, when anti-poll tax protest was at its height, we noted:

"The poll tax is likely to be ephemeral, with the strong probability that its chief architect and advocate will shortly go down the tubes. While there are large numbers of people who despise both Kinnock and his henchmen for enforcing this onerous tax, on a national level public opinion polls show the Labour Party has a huge lead over the Tories. But that could rapidly change if the Conservatives dump Thatcher before the general election.... In fact, there wouldn't be much difference between a Tory government headed by Heseltine, and a Kinnock Labour government."

Both Kinnock and Heseltine promise to modernise the country's infrastructure through a "partnership" between industry and government, importing German or Japanese-style capitalism with their higher living standards to boot. This is pure poppycock. Under capitalism the bosses only invest where they can make a profit, and Britain's clapped-out productive base is too weakened to offer much of that. In reality, the few cosmetic changes on offer will be paid for by sweating it out of the hides of the working class.

Thus, Heseltine's crusade to improve education is coupled with tirades against the National Union of Teachers. And he is a proponent of US-style "workfare", where the unemployed are expected to work for their meagre dole money. Billing himself as a self-made tycoon, after graduating from Oxford Heseltine parlayed an initial inheritance into much more by buying up seedy rooming houses and hotels and selling them at a large profit. One story has it that the young entrepreneur was caught mixing margarine into the guests' breakfast butter. Heseltine's "more efficient" capitalism will be financed by attacks on the unions and poor.

Within the spectrum of pro-capitalist politics, closer European economic integration is resisted by diverse elements, ranging from the Thatchers and Nicholas Ridley's who yearn after the past glory of the British Empire (and the special American relationship), to the "little

England" left Labourites who want to retreat to the inglorious days of the post-war period. With the near-demise of the Warsaw Pact and the strengthening of German imperialism through the *Anschluss* of the former DDR, Washington no longer sees Britain as quite so crucial a factor in its military-diplomatic calculations. This has helped push the balance of opinion in London's ruling circles towards closer involvement in the EC's utopian unification project.

Closer European economic union, favoured by both Kinnock and Heseltine, will be used to attack the living standards of the working class, while erecting a "fortress Europe" against dark-skinned immigrants (and those from Eastern Europe). Far from leading to a levelling upwards of living standards, as the labour bureaucrats claim, it will mean the opposite. Thus, one of the central purposes of the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) is to prohibit devaluations of currency and instead to force uncompetitive industries to close down or lay off workers. In anticipation of this, the TUC recently offered to negotiate lower wages in exchange for meaningless promises of job security. Although contemptuously dismissed by the Thatcher government, in reality this was an attempt to reinstitute state wage controls, like the hated "social contract", under the guise of making British capitalism "more competitive". While rejecting the NATO-linked EC, Marxists combat all manifestations of national chauvinism and fight for a Socialist United States of Europe, which can only be realised through proletarian revolution.

Labour enforces Tory tax

Above all, what triggered massive revolt against the government, from the Tory shires of southern England to the working class and plebeian poor of the large cities, was the gratuitously cruel poll tax. Again last month hundreds of protesters were beaten up and dozens arrested by rioting cops who attacked a picket of Brixton Prison, where four anti-poll tax activists are serving sentences. We demand freedom now for all anti-poll tax protesters! Drop all the charges!

While resistance to paying the tax remains strong, organised protests have been greatly scaled down since March, when 200,000 marched through London and rioting cops were repelled by angry demonstrators. Seized by panic, the legalistic Militant Tendency leadership of the anti-poll tax federation initially offered to finger protesters to the cops. (They along with Tony Benn were booed down at the Brixton rally.) From the beginning the Kinnocks, trade union bureaucrats and the local Labour councillors who are enforcing the tax have sought to stifle class struggle and channel outrage into Labourite electoral parliamentarianism.

While publicly gloating at the Tory party divisions, the Labour Party tops are quite anxious over the possibility of a Tory shake-up. It's hardly a secret that Kinnock et al have been fervently praying that Thatcher comes out on top. (Labour MP Chris Mullin put it straight: "Many opposition members are rooting for her".) And for good reason: as the polls demonstrate, Labour would lose considerable support to the Tories if Thatcher were dumped. This fact alone gives the lie to the fatuous assertion of the fake left that Labour today is fundamentally seen as a "class alternative" to the Tories. Kinnock & Co have packaged themselves as a bourgeois "lesser evil" to Thatcher. Pointing to the impact of a Heseltine victory, columnist Peter Kellner noted that "Starting from opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, Labour and Conservative will have arrived at a similar destination" (*Independent*, 16 November).

"Ramsay MacKinnock" showed his

true colours during the miners strike when he supported Thatcher's scab ballot, while denouncing the NUM for defending its picket lines against strikebreakers. Had hard class struggle toppled the Thatcher government during the strike it would have created a pre-revolutionary situation, posing point blank the question of *which class shall rule*. So, Kinnock, Willis and the Labour "lefts" worked overtime to knife the miners. Since then, whether it's been laying a wreath at the grave of racist killer cops like PC Blacklock, denouncing poll tax resisters or chiming in with the imperialist war chorus, Kinnock has amply demonstrated that he is an enemy of working people and the oppressed.

Break with Labourism—build a Bolshevik party!

Fake left groups such as the SWP or Workers Power fill their press with militant-sounding anti-Thatcher rhetoric. But anti-Thatcherism does not equate to anti-capitalism. And now with Heseltine on the scene, the SWP is saying "Take Advantage of Tory Splits—Get them All out" (*Socialist Worker*, 17 November). Workers Power advises: "Tory woes are good news for the workers. Celebrations, though, are not yet in order. Eastbourne was showed (sic) the depth of feeling there is against the Tories, but if a swing to the Liberals on that scale were repeated in an election it would damage Labour's victory chances." The Labour entrists of *Militant* and *Socialist Organiser* drone away with identical "Kick them all out!" headlines and demands for a general election. The bottom line for all these groups is "vote Labour" despite the fact that the Labour Party is little different from common-or-garden variety Toryism!

It is starkly clear that to wage a class fight against unemployment, union-busting, wage-slashing and warmongering a political break must be made from the Labour traitors, right and "left". The TUC leaders and trade union bureaucrats must be ousted and replaced by a revolutionary leadership in order to unleash the social power of the organised working class. It will take a workers revolution and a couple of five-year plans to ensure a decent life for all on these isles. Our task is to forge a revolutionary party through splitting the working-class base from the pro-capitalist Labour leadership and regrouping those forces outside and to the left of the Labour Party under the banner of authentic communism.

It would be too bad if Margaret Thatcher were only kicked out of No 10 and given some honorarium. She deserves a far harder fate than that. We bet that some of the sacked miners, homeless youth, impoverished pensioners, families of the Argentine sailors of the *Belgrano* and victims of racist cop rampage—to name but a few—could come up with something appropriate. Real justice will come with proletarian revolution, which will sweep into the dustbin of history the bourgeoisie along with the parasitic labour fakers. ■

Correction

In the last issue of *Workers Hammer* (no 117, October 1990) we printed an introduction to tributes from comrades in the ICL to the memorial meeting for Louis Sinclair, the world's foremost bibliographer of Trotsky. We mistakenly referred to his "two-volume bibliography of Trotsky's writings in the English language". In fact, the bibliography lists reprints and translations of Trotsky's published works in many languages, cross referencing each listing back to the first published text.



Matt Ford

Spartacist League/Britain

Glasgow PO Box 150
Glasgow G3 6DX
041-332 0788

London PO Box 1041
London NW5 3EU
071-485 1396

Dublin Spartacist Youth Group

PO Box 2944
Dublin 1

Break with Labourism to defeat imperialism!

If you listen to how they bill themselves, there are any number of groups on the British left that claim to be "anti-imperialist". Hence, the proliferation of an assortment of "campaign groups", "ad hoc committees", etc who claim to stand to the left of Tony Benn, whose grotesque support for imperialist UN sanctions against Iraq is a bit hard to swallow. But not wanting to be "sectarian", ie, to draw a sharp political line against the chauvinist Labour lefts, such lash-ups as the Campaign Against War in the Gulf (CAWG) and the Ad Hoc Hands Off the Middle East Committee from the beginning refused to include in their "united-front" slogans the call for the military defence of Iraq and defeat of imperialism.

Now our ostensible "anti-imperialists" are quietly making their peace with Benn. A case in point is the Socialist Workers Party, which claims to oppose the UN intervention and even stand for "victory to Iraq". But at the 15 September Benn/CND-called demonstration in London, the SWP contingent pointedly carried no signs against sanctions. Apparently such grovelling has "paid off": the SWP is now listed as a "participant" in Benn's Committee to Stop War in the Gulf, which refuses to even call for US and British troops out of the Gulf. *Socialist Worker* (17 November) carried a completely uncritical call for the 24 November Benn/CND demonstration.

Then there is CAWG, whose main constituent elements are Socialist Organiser, the Mandelites of Socialist Outlook, and Workers Power. Earlier denied affiliation to Benn's committee because of their "troops out" position, CAWG has not stopped trying. Thus, they have now produced a statement where they "congratulate the 37 Labour MPs who voted against the government's Gulf war policy" ie, endorsing Benn's "war under UN auspices" line!

At a 3 November conference in London called by CAWG, the Socialist Organiser/Socialist Outlook leadership refused to allow any political resolutions to be voted on, lest any left-sounding statement be passed that might throw a wrench in their efforts to reach rapprochement with Benn. One Workers Power resolution indeed included the demand: "No sanctions—break the blockade!" But elsewhere in its October issue



London, 10 October: Spartacist contingent on demonstration called by Ad Hoc Hands Off the Middle East Committee highlights defence of Iraq against imperialist attack.

Workers Power substitutes a different slogan: "No sanctions—no blockade", implying an appeal to the imperialists, rather than mobilising the workers movement to defeat imperialism. And at the conference itself Workers Power supporters, in a sterling rendition of their mastery of "tactics", barely got beyond some timid suggestions for building the campaign. The prominent WP banner contained no reference to the imperialist blockade whatsoever! In point of fact, all of this is window dressing for WP anyway, since they are perfectly willing to subordinate their "anti-imperialism" to "unity" with Tony Benn: "If we lose the arguments decisively for a broad anti-imperialist campaign in the workers' organisations, then we will work within a pacifist Stop the War movement..." (*Workers Power*, October 1990).

The Spartacist League intervention at the conference underscored the sharp dividing line between proletarian internationalism and Labourite social democracy. You cannot struggle against imperialism without breaking with the agents of imperialism within the workers movement, the Kinnocks and Benns alike. And indeed, as the SL speaker at the plenary session noted, the likes of Socialist Organiser, Socialist Outlook and

Workers Power will all be campaigning for warmonger Neil Kinnock, whose position on the Gulf is identical to that of Margaret Thatcher. The speaker concluded by pointing to the intransigent struggle of Lenin against chauvinist social democracy, which enabled the Bolsheviks to build the only successful anti-war movement in the world, the October Revolution.

We reprint below the leaflet distributed by the SL to the CAWG conference:

Spartacist League motion for the CAWG conference

3 November 1990

This conference is for the defeat of British and the other imperialist powers in the Gulf, and stands for the military defence of Iraq. The fight against war cannot take place apart from the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The responsibility of working-class socialists in the current Gulf war crisis is to fight for:

- British, US, French troops out of the Gulf!

- Defeat imperialism: break the blockade of Iraq! For military defence of Iraq against the imperialist forces!
- No to UN sanctions, pretext for and first step towards imperialist war!
- The trade unions to take political strike action against the war: boycott troop transports, materiel and communications to the Gulf: not one penny, not one man for the imperialist military!
- Defence of the USSR against imperialism and counterrevolution: were there a genuinely communist government in the Soviet Union it would lift the arms embargo of Iraq and give whatever military aid is required to repulse the Bush/Thatcher offensive!
- No support, however "critical" to the Labour Party, whether it be the right social-chauvinists or the "left" social pacifists! It is impossible to fight the war hand-in-hand with the Tony Benn/CND camp, left wing of the war party, who will "only" countenance war under the leadership of the United Nations, den of imperialist thieves and organiser of counterrevolution.
- Down with the sheikhs, the colonels, the kings and the Zionist butchers! For workers revolution throughout the Middle East: the workers and peasants must settle their own accounts with Saddam Hussein!

Just as in the case of the Vietnam War, the fight against war is incompatible with assistance to, alliance with or support for the Labour Party leaders, who in all varieties stand for capitalism and against revolution. Break with Labourism: fight for a revolutionary workers party.

The Campaign Against War in the Gulf hitherto, by its refusal to take the side militarily of Iraq against imperialism and its attempts to participate in Benn's committee has proved itself to be a tail of the chauvinist Labour Party. The November 24 demonstration called by Benn/CND & Co under the pseudo-pacifist slogan "No to War in the Gulf", far from being an obstacle to Thatcher's war drive, is an attempt to line up the working people behind their real position of pro-imperialist sanctions and imperialist aggression under UN auspices. ■

Fascism...

(Continued from page 3)

decades an appeal judge and Master of the Rolls).

As we noted in *Workers Hammer* no 103 ("Britain harbours Hitler's war criminals", December 1988/January 1989): many East European Nazis are known to have found a safe haven in Britain in the aftermath of World War II. One of these is Antanas Gecas (Gecevicus), personally responsible for the murder and torture of thousands of Jews and anti-fascist partisans following Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. Gecas was a member of the Lithuanian auxiliary police battalion serving alongside the SS in the systematic extermination of East European Jewry. The Soviet Justice Department suspects Gecas was involved in the execution of 15,000 in Lithuania. For his services to

Hitler's Third Reich, Gecas was awarded the Iron Cross. Another is Paul Reinhardt, director of the Latvian "Labour Department" responsible for running the Nazi slave labour schemes. Over 280,000 Jews were deported to Germany by Reinhardt's administration. For years this "captive nations" war criminal has been at the head of the exile Latvian community in Britain.

The British authorities have good reason to protect their Nazis. Any attempt to bring the SS scum to trial would risk lifting the lid on the squalid history of Britain's own post-war "rat line", revealing how the British intelligence services combed the "displaced persons" refugee camps in Europe, seeking to enlist certified Nazi war criminals as "freedom fighters" in the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet war crusade. And it was the Labour government of Attlee/Bevin which provided a

haven for these mass murderers, a policy shared by the US imperialists whose own "rat line" rescued thousands of Nazi war criminals. We say: extradite all the Nazi war criminals to the scene of their crimes to be tried by their surviving victims!

At Nuremberg the losing side in the imperialist carnage of World War II was put on trial by the victors. But those who fire-bombed Dresden have no place passing judgment on mass murder. The British, American and French imperialists were guilty of heinous crimes against humanity—from Churchill's murder by starvation of something like a million Bengalis during the war to Truman's atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

One professor Norman Stone of Oxford University, writing in the *Sunday Times* (27 May), perfectly expressed the atmosphere behind the continued protection of Britain's Nazis. He regards these war criminals as victims of evidence

which is "mainly Soviet, coming from people who are skilled in forging evidence". Stone waves off anti-Semitism as "harmless—a matter of sniggering at the preponderance of Jews in showbiz..." and dismisses the desecration of the Jewish cemetery in Carpentras to be the result of a fad which "caught on in 1988, it seems, because an English rock group called Trash inspired people to steal skulls and bones".

This is nothing but an "academic" cover for fascist terror, not far removed from the sort of filth and deadly lies one gets from a David Irving and those who would deny the grisly reality of the Holocaust. Historically, it is highly likely that from medieval England the anti-Semitic "blood libel", the murderous myth of Jewish ritual slaughter of Christians, first arose. England is the earliest recorded place where this sort of "blood libel" can

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nothing.

The manner of Brian Lenihan's undoing also demonstrates the discontent of certain bourgeois circles with the "old order". In the middle of the election campaign a highly contrived "constitutional scandal" was created by Fine Gael and the *Irish Times* over the very old news that in 1982 Haughey, Lenihan & Co tried to pressure then-President Hillery to let them form a government without an election. They proved Lenihan to be a liar and Haughey to have the ethics of a cornered ferret. These are two facts that no-one found in the least surprising. The PDs demanded Lenihan go as the price of their support for a vote of confidence in the government, and the Taoiseach [Prime Minister] Haughey obliged by sacking him. The brouhaha over "phone calls to the Park", with the PDs delivering the coup de grace to Lenihan's electoral hopes, shows that a good part of the Irish bourgeoisie, while lacking viable governmental alternatives to Charlie Haughey right now, certainly want Robinson's modernising popular front politics in order to turn a fresher face towards the "Europe of the 1990s" and to top up the reservoir of reformist illusions for the depression Ireland of the 1990s.

But the working class and women don't need a glossy image: they need a social revolution which will expropriate the bourgeoisie, destroy the stranglehold of the Catholic church on social policy and education, and provide the possibility of a just resolution of the national question in Northern Ireland. From this standpoint Mary Robinson's anti-Haughey coalition is an illusion-filled trap. Furthermore it is nothing new, recycling a traditional politics as old as Fianna Fail's—coalitionism between the not-very-reformist workers parties and the Fine Gael conservatives.

No vote to the Robinson popular front!

Leave aside the fact that the presidency is essentially a figurehead position. Marxists sometimes give critical electoral support to a workers movement candidate standing independently of the bourgeois parties, as a tactic to win the proletarian base away from pro-capitalist leaderships and to the communist vanguard. But Robinson was the candidate of a class-collaborationist popular front alliance. It would have been unprincipled to advocate a vote for her. Moreover her popular-frontist programme is the programme of Irish Labourism.

The Labour Party leadership's support for Haughey's Programme of National Recovery (PNR)—a Social Contract-style austerity pact which has delivered lower wages and higher profits over the last three years) has been a critical prop for the FF/PD government. By tying the unions, which organise a major proportion of the labour force, into permanent class-collaborationist betrayal, Labour and the Workers Party have served their capitalist masters well. The enthusiastic students who laboured night and day to turn out the Robinson vote have, whatever their subjective intentions, helped bolster the flagging support for these pro-capitalist parties and strengthened their hand for the future austerity policies that the Irish rulers will demand as world recession squeezes the vulnerable Southern economy. In the closing days of the election campaign FF leaders launched a ludicrous anti-red smear, falsely accusing De Rossa's Stalinoid/social-democratic/former-Republican Workers Party of being "Marxist-Leninist Communist" (a little rich given that Haughey happily used De Rossa's support to remain in power, in 1982). Mary Robinson's response was to announce: "I am not a

socialist". She spoke the truth, not just about herself but about her reformist backers.

On the social questions which played such a role in Mary Robinson's win, her supporters have also been warned, if they are prepared to read the signs so clearly displayed in the course of the campaign. Robinson says she is for the wider availability of contraception. In an early interview with music paper *Hot Press* she concurred with the suggestion that if she became president she would open an illegal stall selling condoms in Virgin Megastore. The *moment* Lenihan attacked this reply Robinson pulled back like a startled cat, denying she would ever do anything "illegal". A Lenihan cohort went on to accuse her of planning to run an abortion referral clinic in Aras an Uachtaráin (the presidential palace in Phoenix Park). The justified derision with which this accusation was greeted spoke volumes: why would anyone think that a politician who over and over underlined her opposition to abortion (and whose Labour Party campaign minders insisted never even mention the fact she was the lawyer of the USI student leaders and the Well Woman Centre) do such a thing?

Accommodating the Unionist Ascendancy in the North

A noteworthy aspect of Robinson's own politics is her desire to "modify" Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution, which declare the whole of the island to be the territory of the Republic and claim the right of jurisdiction over that territory. She resigned from the Labour Party in 1985 over the Anglo-Irish Agreement. As a member from 1973-80 of the Executive Committee of the infamous Trilateral Commission (a Cold War cabal which other alumni include David Owen, Henry Kissinger and George Bush) Robinson not surprisingly had no criticism of the Agreement's twin goals of drawing Ireland closer to NATO and strengthening British/Irish collaboration in repression of the Republicans. Her objection was that the Agreement was too great a "culture-shock" for Unionists in Northern Ireland. Robinson's stance typifies a wing of the Southern bourgeoisie which seeks an accommodation with the Ascendancy politicians of the North at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority, in pursuit of the chimera of a "peaceful" bourgeois co-existence North and South. Notably Robinson's election was favourably received by Northern Orange politicians. The Rev Ian Paisley's deputy Peter Robinson called her "not the sort of individual one would slight by passing in the street" (*Irish Times*, 9 November). Coming from that Unionist bigot this is praise indeed! Not a peep of opposition to the extradition of Dessie Ellis was heard from the new president before or after her election; indeed Sinn Fein report that "she has written in favour of extradition".

If the figurehead presidency has changed hands in past weeks, another appointment has been made, this time to a real seat of power. Dr Cahal Daly has been elevated to the archbishopric of Armagh and Primacy of All-Ireland, thereby taking over as Ireland's top Catholic cleric. Described by the old splutterer Rees-Mogg as "the saintly bishop", Daly is a hard-line reactionary. One hundred per cent anti-IRA, one of his acolytes in the North, Father Denis Faul, welcomed his appointment with the following chilling words: "he will tackle the sort of liberated Catholicism which has got loose in Ireland in the last 20 years. Abortion and contraception are now called family planning, and are considered to be helping the family and preventing hunger and destitution in the world" (*Irish Times*, 7 November).

No amount of enlightened Robinsonism in the Park will dent the real power of the Church in Irish social life; a

power rooted not principally in the religious ideas in peoples' heads, but in the possession or control of virtually all schools and hospitals, not to mention great amounts of real estate. *For the separation of church and state! For universally available, free, secular education at all levels! For a state-owned and run national health service, providing free, quality health care to all, capable of providing contraception and abortion free on demand!* These vital measures cannot be realised this side of the overthrow of backward Irish capitalism.

Fake left on the Robinson bandwagon

Much of the Irish left has joined the Robinson bandwagon, confirming that they are obstacles to the building of a genuine revolutionary workers party in Ireland. In the October issue of the *Irish Socialist Worker* Eamonn McCann penned a scathing attack on Robinson which would leave any intelligent reader wondering "why should I vote for her?" However, as the pressure and hype of the campaign mounted the Socialist Workers Movement, true to type, happily cast its ballots for the popular front, while the British SWP whinge gently that "the result...was not a clear cut victory for socialists". Naturally the Labourites of Militant were in the same camp, although significantly the Republicans of Sinn Fein were more equivocal.

The centrists of the Irish Workers Group, evidently afflicted by agonies of indecision, failed to come out with a position for or against Robinson until *two days* before the election. Having thereby avoided any conflict with the Labourite camp until it was basically all over, the IWG, doubtless cognisant of the position of the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group on its left flank, popped out a leaflet headed "Don't vote! Organise!" Dismissing the election as an irrelevance, they call on voters to "abstain", without any mention of the popular-frontist character of the Robinson campaign or of the corridor coalition represented by Labour's support for the PNR. The IWG writes that:

"Had she decided to use the election to really mobilise workers, women, students, the oppressed, in a campaign around even one major issue of importance today, there might have been a case for supporting her as a labour movement candidate of struggle against the Irish ruling class. That would probably have meant *not* getting elected to this parasitic sinecure in the Park, but it might have yielded real gains for the struggles of working class women and men in the long run."

Talk about fostering illusions in parliamentary reformism! Not that surprising, however, when we remember that the IWG habitually gives electoral support to the coalition-crazy Labour Party in the South and calls for votes to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of Sinn Fein in the North. And of course Workers Power in Britain are prepared to sign as many blank cheques as Judas Kinnock's election campaigns demand.

The IWG's statement on the elections was moreover tailored to the social-democratic sensibilities and parochialism of the pro-Robinson milieu. Thus they advocate campaigns against extradition of Republicans and over women's rights, but these foremost experts on the "anti-imperialist united front" omit any mention of Northern Ireland, not even the elementary call for British troops out. And once again the IWG drops the call for free abortion on demand.

British troops out of Northern Ireland now!

It is necessary to oppose all pro-imperialist schemes for Northern Ireland and to raise the demand for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of the British Army in both Britain and Ireland.

At the same time we are opposed to the nationalist irredentist view that the Protestants in the North should be forced into a unified Ireland. Our call for an Irish workers republic in a federation of workers republics in the British Isles deliberately leaves open the question of where the distinct Protestant community will fall in the context of the proletarian dictatorship that can alone resolve the conflict of the interpenetrated Irish Catholic nation and the Northern Irish Protestant people. And beside that, the question of the Irish revolution is enmeshed with those in England, Scotland and Wales, not least because of the role that workers of Irish descent play in the workers movement throughout these isles.

When the votes were counted at the Royal Dublin Society hall on Dublin's southside, the *Irish Times* observed that "A lot of faces in the crowd went back to the radical Sixties," celebrating that "at last there was something to smile about" after all the years of disappointment. If the absence of a real Trotskyist organisation during the seventies and eighties helped those radicalised 20 years ago to end up humming "Here's to you Mrs Robinson", the task of the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group is to ensure that youth looking towards revolutionary socialism today end up as Bolshevik fighters singing the *Internationale*. Commentator Fintan O'Toole expressed a widespread reaction to Robinson's victory when he urged the formation of a new social-democratic reformist party, "a merger of the two old left-wing parties" and a "home" for all those who share "their basic values" (*Irish Times*, 8 November). The politics of social democracy will never liberate Ireland from the scourges of unemployment and emigration, never eradicate the abject poverty of the country and the city slums, never lift the pall of clerical obscurantism which shades above all the lives of women.

Yes, the sclerotic and atrophied divisions of the Partition and Civil War period must be transcended. The venal and weak Irish bourgeoisie might only dream of being more like their Italian class brothers, urbane and prosperous Europeans in nice parts of Dublin, while the rest of the country suffers in priest-ridden poverty and oppression, like southern Italy. The growth of the Irish working class in recent decades strengthens the possibility of revolutionary class struggle. This can come, not by the workers red flag being dipped before the tricolour, as Labour has done since its earliest years, nor by dipping it before the stars on blue of the EC bosses' club, but by the fight for the interests of the proletariat separate from all its class enemies and false friends. Forward to an Irish Trotskyist party, section of a reformed Fourth International. ■

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Poland...

(Continued from page 7)

assist in infecting the working masses with the poison of national chauvinism. Thus, such organisations as USec, the Morenoites and Workers Power backed both the Polish nationalists of Solidarność, while in Germany tailing after such groups as the PDS, SPD and/or the United Left, which supported revanchist capitalist reunification. Adapting to conflicting appetites of different national bourgeoisies, the fake-Trotskyists are an obstacle to the construction of an international vanguard party.

10. Polish Trotskyists must seek to reclaim the best traditions of the Polish workers movement, forged in the struggle against national chauvinism. This is exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jewish communist and leader of the revolutionary German proletariat. Reviling Luxemburg for her internationalism, Stalin never trusted and finally liquidated

the Polish CP, which was the first to come to the defence of comrade Trotsky by asserting in 1923 that "the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism".

11. While today Walesa and Jaruzelski obscenely whip up Polish nationalism by celebrating the defeat of the Red Army outside Warsaw in 1920, we reaffirm the policy of the early Polish CP, which not only rose to the defence of the Russian Revolution but recognised that the Polish proletariat was a bridge to extend westwards the revolution to the borders of Germany, with its powerful proletariat. The subsequent defeat of the German revolution of 1923 was a major impetus for the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy with its false ideology of "socialism in one country".

12. The RML agrees with the iSt position on Afghanistan, hailing the Red Army intervention, which posed the extension of the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples and particularly to

the oppressed women of Afghanistan. Gorbachev's withdrawal was a sellout, greatly encouraging the imperialists in their drive to overthrow the Soviet workers state. We reject the anti-Soviet demand raised by fake-leftists to withdraw the Warsaw Pact troops from East Europe—Soviet troops have constituted the first line of defence of the workers states against NATO imperialism. Out of the ranks of Soviet soldiers and officers will come many fighters for Trotskyism.

13. The comrades of the RML constitute themselves as the Spartakowska Grupa Polski (SGP). The SGP and the ICL look forward to an early fusion, where the SGP will become part of a democratic-centralist International. In the interim, in matters of mutual concern regarding Poland, both parties to this agreement will consult.

14. The SGP needs to develop a systematic public face, recruiting cadre and intervening in various struggles and movements with ICL propaganda. A Leninist-Trotskyist party in Poland will be built

from above through splits and fusions of ostensibly revolutionary organisations. Cadre can be won from among left Stalinists, as well as ostensible Trotskyists.

15. The ICL will assist the comrades in Poland in developing a systematic educational programme to better acquaint them with the specific positions of ICL sections on various problems and events in the world. Fuller political integration will be enhanced by travel and mutual exchanges of visits with other ICL sections. In particular, it is envisaged that comrades from Poland participate in the SpAD's election campaign, as well as helping to translate election materials and fundamental ICL documents into the Polish language. The establishment of an ICL group in Poland represents a real step in our capacity to bring the programme of Trotskyism to the East European and Soviet proletariats.

20 October 1990

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Jamal...

(Continued from page 2)

corpus challenge to the legality of their state conviction and sentence. Dozens of innocent people who were wrongly sentenced to death and later had their convictions overturned would have died under these rules. Proposals to guarantee minimally qualified counsel (three years of experience in felony criminal cases) in capital cases were rejected. Adopting the segregationist "states' rights" principle, the House left such standards to the individual states—such as Mississippi and Arkansas where attorney's fees can be limited to \$1000 no matter how long or involved the trial may be.

And a macabre front-page article in the *New York Times* (13 October) decries the shortage of "experienced executioners". "Hangmen are a dying breed", sighs the Delaware deputy attorney general, a serious problem now that 2400 people are on death row and 23 states are "preparing to join the 15 that have executed prisoners since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976".

Featured is a picture of Fred Leuchter, the ghoulish "authority" on Nazi gas ovens who claims the Holocaust never happened. Leuchter was hired by the state of Illinois to design the death machine used in the milestone execution of Charles Walker last month (see "State Hires Nazi Executioner—Illinois Starts Up Assembly Line of Death", *Workers Vanguard* no 510, 21 September).

Jamal's case is what the racist death penalty is all about. On death row because of his political views and associations, Jamal's case has won widespread support as the case for all opponents of the death penalty to rally around. Thirty thousand people around the world have signed petitions and written to Pennsylvania governor Casey demanding Jamal not be executed. Among them are Pennsylvania state representative David Richardson, Congressman Ronald Dellums, actor Ed Asner, Rev Joseph Lowery and Operation PUSH. Trade unions representing millions have taken a stand with Jamal and against the state's racist "legal" lynching. This summer an international campaign of demonstrations and rallies initiated by the Partisan Defense

Committee brought together trade unionists, socialists, civil rights activists, students and death penalty abolitionists in ten cities around the world to demand that Jamal not die.

Among racist killer cops across this country, Philadelphia's are in a league by themselves—from raids on Black Panther Party headquarters to the barbaric 13 May 1985 bombing of MOVE. Backed up by the courts' racists in black robes, they are committed to putting Jamal on a conveyor belt to the electric chair. When over 200 people rallied for Jamal at the Church of the Advocate in his Philadelphia hometown on 14 July, Fraternal Order of Police president Richard Costello slanderously branded Jamal's supporters a "misfit terrorist group" and suggested they be jointly executed with him on an "electric couch".

From his tiny death row cell Jamal continues to speak out in columns printed in papers across the country. In the *Philadelphia Tribune*, Jamal responded to Costello's remarks by exposing the nature of Philly's racist cops, who are dedicated to silencing his voice forever:

"Who has instilled terror in whom?"

People felt chills of remembrance that this threat came from the very people who planned and executed the murderous Mother's Day Massacre of Osage Avenue, when men, women and babies were incinerated in their home; the same people who slew African-Americans while handcuffed; the same state force that shot young Stacey Whitted of West Philly to death with utter impunity; the same group that liquidated Winston C.X. Hood, Cornell Warren, Jose Reyes, William Green, on city streets, with utter impunity; the same body that shot 700 people between 1971-1981, killing over 300 of the mostly Black, Puerto Rican and poor white youths, with total, utter impunity."

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die! We need to organise massive protests, take his case to the Supreme Court of the masses. The working people are the social force with the power to save this courageous man and stop this deadly killing machine. To join the international campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London, WC1N 3XX. Phone: 071-485 1396.

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Fascism...

(Continued from page 9)

be traced. By 1255 when Christendom had invented its own martyr—Little St Hugh of Lincoln—the blood libel had spread throughout Europe to be used as a pretext for pogroms ever since. In York, in 1190, the entire Jewish population was exterminated in a pogrom. The largest massacre of Jewish people in England took place under the reign of Edward I who hanged 300, thereafter expelling Jews from English soil in 1290. The bourgeois revolutionary Oliver Cromwell welcomed Jews back in 1656, and the obstacles barring them from many trades and professions were gradually abolished.

In the epoch of imperialism and capitalist decay anti-Semitism was revived and fuelled. In fact, a precursor of Britain's racist immigration laws can be located in the 1905 Aliens Act which was explicitly directed towards limiting the immigration of Eastern European and Russian Jews fleeing from pogroms and the aftermath of the failed Russian Revolution. After the victorious October Revolution of 1917, harsher legislation was enacted which blended together anti-Semitism and hatred of Bolshevism.

It should be ABC for anti-fascist mili-

tants that it is suicidal to place any faith or demand justice from the British bourgeoisie. We completely oppose the call on the bourgeois state to "ban" fascist outfits, a call made for example by the *Searchlight* journal. Such laws would be, and have been, used to attack the left. As for the Labour Party, not only did it preside over the Nazi "rat line" to Britain post-World War II, but implemented some of the most viciously racist immigration laws from virginity tests against Asian women to Camden Council's Powellite attempts to repatriate homeless Irish people in London. Throughout many Labour-controlled areas in London and Yorkshire, racist anti-Gypsy/Traveller bans are to this day in effect in pubs while both are routinely harassed by the cops.

Those minority organisations who eschew calling on the state to fight the fascists often put forward the perspective of community self-defence. While besieged communities certainly have a right to defend themselves, such a limited perspective leaves the victims undefended by the only force that can stop the fascists in their tracks: the social power of the working class. It is necessary to mobilise the organised workers movement and all of the oppressed to smash the fascists on the streets. We look to the tradition of Cable Street, where thousands of Jewish workers, socialists and other trade union-

ists stopped the Mosley black-shirts' provocation in its tracks.

Following the desecration of the Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park in the DDR in 1989, our comrades in the Spartacist Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands initiated a protest, supported by the then-SED, of 250,000. In the United States, the Spartacist League-initiated labour/black mobilisations have stopped provo-

cations by the native fascists of the Ku Klux Klan, their Nazi and skinhead cohorts, from Washington, DC to Philadelphia. The fascists and their lumpen skinhead stormtroopers are the "final solution" decaying capitalism keeps in reserve. It is the task of the working class and its communist vanguard to smash them on the road to overthrowing their capitalist masters. ■

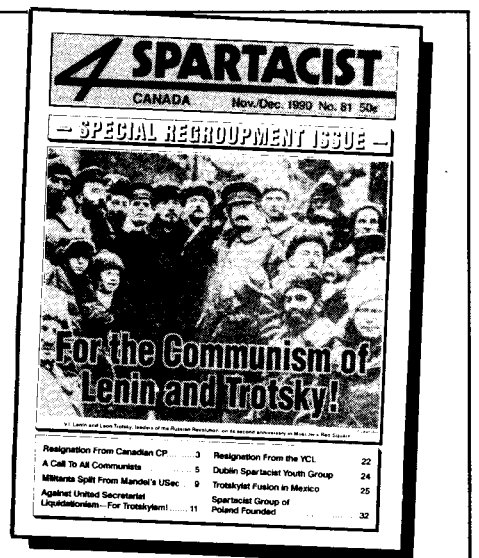
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Irish presidential elections

Robinson's popular front: trap for workers and women

On 7 November Mary Robinson was voted in as the first woman President of the Irish Republic. In a campaign masterminded by the reformist Labour Party, Robinson—a liberal constitutional lawyer with a strong civil libertarian and “modernising” reputation—made it clear that she is “not a socialist”, and declared “I’m against abortion”. Yet her win over discredited Fianna Fail candidate Brian Lenihan has been hailed by a vast spectrum of commentators both in Ireland and in Britain as a famous victory for progress—including by many self-styled socialists and “revolutionaries”. William Rees-Mogg, former editor of the London *Times* and perpetual grand old bore of English letters, greeted the news of her election under the headline “The gates open to an enlightened Ireland”. *Socialist Worker* (17 November) drooled “Irish elections—a blow against establishment”.

In Ireland itself the Robinson campaign pulled together a veritable “rain-bow coalition” in opposition to the governing capitalist party Fianna Fail (FF). Directly backed by the Labour Party and the equally reformist Workers Party, as well as the ecologists of the Green Party,



Steve Morgan

Mary Robinson drew the official support of bourgeois Fine Gael in a second preference vote transfer pact. The right-wing Progressive Democrats (PDs—the coalition partners of Fianna Fail in the government) were also rooting for Robinson: as a spokesman put it “Her agenda of change, realism and common sense is the PD agenda” (*Irish Times*, 16 November).

Mary Robinson's electoral triumph is indeed a symptom of the disgruntlement



Ray McManus

Popular front candidate Mary Robinson (left) defeated Brian Lenihan and Charles Haughey's Fianna Fail old guard.

of wide sections of Irish society with the ossified conservatism symbolised by the notoriously corrupt Fianna Fail. Robinson's candidacy struck strong chords among women, who suffer most from the stultification and social backwardness of the bourgeois-clerical state. Attempts by Lenihan and his supporters to drape themselves in the mantle of “national Christian Irish views” and blatant anti-women outbursts fell flat. It is a measure

of repressive Irish society that the election of a woman who stands for the simple rights of divorce and contraception, and who has defended in court the right of student leaders to distribute information about abortion is viewed as a watershed, a “breaking of the mould”. But by the standards of what is objectively needed by working people and the oppressed, Mary Robinson's election will change
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Haughey does Thatcher's dirty work Free Dessie Ellis!

DUBLIN—Dessie Ellis, a Republican prisoner, was extradited to Britain on 14 November. The Irish Supreme Court ruled against his appeal of the High Court decision to extradite him on conspiracy and explosives charges. Dessie Ellis had been on hunger strike since 10 October in an effort to stop the extradition (he ended the hunger strike after arrival in Britain). On 10 November a demonstration of well over 5000 people protested on his behalf in Dublin. Meanwhile the bourgeois press strove to bury the case; Irish “left” TDs were equally quiet.

Dessie Ellis will now be tried by the British judicial system, infamous for its racist frame ups of the Guildford Four, Birmingham Six, Maguire Seven, Winchester Three and many others. Ellis must be defended against British injustice and its handmaidens in Ireland. The Dublin Spartacist Youth Group (DSYG) and Spartacist League/Britain demand his freedom now!

The criminal hypocrisy of the Fianna Fail party in this case is manifest. By an overwhelming majority they passed a motion against extradition at their last

Ard Fheis (conference), but they have been the bulwark behind Ellis' extradition. And Haughey's government—which has always happily implemented the Anglo-Irish Accord negotiated by an earlier Fine Gael/Labour Party administration—doesn't need the pressure of their Progressive Democrat coalition partners (the most pro-extradition party in the Dail) to prosecute a continued campaign of repression of Republicans hand-in-hand with the British imperialists. The travesty of Irish “justice” is coupled with state censorship of members of Sinn Fein under the notorious Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act. This meant, for instance, that the chair of the Gateaux strike committee during their recent 14-week strike was unable to be interviewed or quoted in the press because he is a Sinn Fein member!

Ellis is charged with possession of explosives with intent to endanger life between 1981 and 1983. According to the account of his case from the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee in Dublin (printed in *Socialist Organiser*, 9 November): “In fact it is physically impos-

sible for Dessie Ellis to have had control of explosives in Britain, or to have conspired to cause explosions in Britain, because he was in custody, or otherwise under garda surveillance throughout the entire period covered by the extradition warrants.” He was arrested in May 1981 on domestic charges in Ireland and received bail some months later. In February 1982, Dessie Ellis left for the United States. A month later he was re-arrested and deported back to Ireland in March 1983, where he was tried and sentenced to eight years in Portlaoise Prison. It was only at the time of his release date in April 1989 that extradition warrants were issued; the British judiciary consciously decided only to seek extradition at this late date in order to deny Ellis the chance to have a solicitor make a careful investigation in his defence.

Dessie Ellis is the first person to be tried under the 1987 Extradition Act, which allows the demand for extradition without requiring a *prima facie* case being made in court to justify the extradition warrant; ie, “extradition on demand” for the British state supported



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Dessie Ellis

whole-heartedly by the Irish bourgeoisie. The utterly venal Irish rulers also refused for years to offer any support to the Guildford Four, and the Fianna Fail government, backed by the wretched reformists of the Irish Labour Party, continues to hand Republican suspects over to the British police.

The case of the Guildford Four—finally released nearly 15 years after their frame-up convictions for the criminal sectarian 1974 Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings—exemplifies what the British courts have in store for Dessie Ellis. His extradition is a sentence to incarceration in Britain's prison hell-holes. Down with extradition! Free Dessie Ellis!