

Down with British mad cow nationalism

The Europe of Maastricht means war on workers and minorities

In May the conflict between Britain and its European Union (EU) partners over the ban on exports of British beef was escalated in a frenzy of ugly and dangerous xenophobia. Prime Minister Major declared a policy of non-cooperation and vetoing EU decisions, while large sections of the press whipped up anti-German chauvinism, evoking the myths of the time in World War II when Britain "stood alone". Behind the seemingly ridiculous "Dad's Army" posturing lie the deadly dangerous inter-imperialist rivalries and competition, which ultimately lead towards shooting wars. Weak and riven, and under mounting pressure from business to back down, the Major government has had to beat an ignominious retreat. The whole affair lays bare both the anti-working-class character of the EU

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French workers battle Maastricht-inspired government offensive, December 1995.



Break with bourgeois-nationalist ANC—For a Bolshevik workers party!

South Africa: De Klerk goes, neo-apartheid remains

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 646 (24 May 1996), newspaper of the Spartacist League/US.

The South African "Government of National Unity" abruptly came to an end on 9 May when FW De Klerk resigned as deputy president and his National Party left the cabinet. This ends the formal "power sharing" arrangement, in which the representatives of the former apartheid regime and the former leaders of the black liberation struggle jointly presided over a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa. Now the African National Congress (ANC)—the former petty-bourgeois black nationalist movement which has been transformed into a bourgeois ruling party—will alone administer the country on behalf of the Randlords and the Johannesburg stock exchange.

The "new South Africa" is *neo-apartheid*: although the legal structure of rigid racial segregation and white supremacy has been dismantled, the capitalist economy is still based on brutal exploitation of black labour by the white owners of the



New constitution approved, De Klerk exits "power sharing" government.

country's mines, factories and farms. While the ANC has taken over the government ministries, the core of the state apparatus, the officer corps of the army and the top commanders of the police force, is the same as before.

Make no mistake: whether as part of a "power sharing" coalition or on its own, the ANC—backed up by the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)—is a front for racist capital-

ist rule. In its two years in government, Nelson Mandela's regime has unleashed the cops to shoot down striking workers and sent eviction squads against squatters. As the needs of capital require, it is prepared to launch frontal attacks on the powerful and combative union movement. It is already carrying out a poisonous campaign against immigrants fleeing the ravages of neocolonialism in southern and central Africa.

What is necessary is a fight to split the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance" which chains the proletariat to its class enemies, and to forge a Bolshevik workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution to liberate all the oppressed. The South African black proletariat has enormous power; it must throw off the yoke of the nationalist popular front and fight for power in its own name. Those who labour must rule!

The National Party pulled out of the cabinet one day after the new South African constitution was signed. The 140-page document drafted by the Constitu-

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Our comrade Jean-Luc Gaillard died on 27 April. He was 38 years old. For years he fought Kaposi's sarcoma, a disease linked to the AIDS virus which finally took his life.

The death of this remarkable comrade and friend is a tragic loss. We extend our sympathies to his family and to his companion. Our thoughts are with them as we share in their immense sorrow.

Jean-Luc was a revolutionary cadre, one who was especially loved and respected in the International Communist League and in its French section, the Ligue trotskyste de France. He joined in 1979; for a number of years he was in charge of the circulation department. Several years ago, he was elected to the Central Committee of the LTF.

Jean-Luc made a point of visiting other sections of the ICL, including attending a national conference of the Spartacist League/US in 1994. Despite his frailty and the dreadful suffering that his disease inflicted on him, he participated in the work and internal debates of our international party with all his will, intelligence and experience up until the end.

Condolences from members of another left group in France spoke of his eagerness to listen to them, understand the scope of their differences and to discuss politics in a professional manner.

On 1 May, the comrades of the Ligue trotskyste organised a ceremony in Jean-Luc's memory at the Wall of the Communards in the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris. A memorial was held in Paris in early June and an obituary in the next issue of the LTF's newspaper, *Le Bolchévique*, will review his life and his fight for the liberating ideals of communism.

Jean-Luc Gaillard



1958-1996

There is no finer homage that we can render to Jean-Luc than to carry on with the struggle to which he devoted his life, the construction of the internationalist revolutionary workers party.

The following letter was sent by comrades of the Prometheus Research Library, the archival facility of the Spartacist League/US Central Committee, who had worked closely with Jean-Luc over the years.

PROMETHEUS RESEARCH LIBRARY

29 April 1996

Dear Comrades and Friends of Jean-Luc,

We send our deepest regards to you as you gather together in loving memory of Comrade Jean-Luc. It is fitting that you stand together on May Day in Père Lachaise to honour our comrade.

Comrade Jean-Luc became an associate of the party library in recognition of the fine work he had done over the years to assist the library's archival work, in particular in obtaining new books. It was also apparent to us, during a visit to Paris, that he cared about the library in the office and concerned himself with its upkeep. Such assistance and concern were indicative of Jean-Luc's appreciation of the importance of history to the communist movement. It is not a dry abstraction, but rather a vital tool for us in our goal to change society. He will be sorely missed.

We salute Jean-Luc, who never wavered from the path to building a better world for the proletariat and oppressed of the world. We stand with you comrades in carrying forward the banner of Communism.

Warm Comradely Greetings
From All of Us at the Library

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 645,
10 May 1996.



TROTSKY

Trotsky on protectionism

In his 1925 pamphlet, *Where is Britain Going?*, Leon Trotsky made clear that the policies of economic protectionism aimed at "saving" declining British capitalism, are reactionary, chauvinist and militarist. Protectionism is at the heart of the programme of Little Englander Bennites in the Labour Party and Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party. Far from "saving jobs", import controls lead to trade wars fuelling poisonous

national hatreds. Rather than getting caught up in inter-imperialist rivalries through supporting reactionary protectionist demands, the working class must fight against their own capitalist rulers as part of the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.

One of the pretty clear reactionaries inside the British Labour Party, Dr. Haden Guest, a chauvinist, a militarist and a protectionist in parliament, mercilessly poured scorn on his own party's line on the question of free trade and protectionism: MacDonald's position, in Guest's words, has a purely negative character and does not indicate any way out of the economic impasse. That the days of Free Trade are over really is absolutely obvious: the break-up of Liberalism has also been conditioned by the break-up of Free Trade. But Britain can just as little seek a way out in protectionism. For a young capitalist country just developing, protectionism may be an unavoidable and progressive stage of development. But for the oldest industrial country whose industry was geared to the world market and had an offensive and conquering character the transition to protectionism is historical testimony to the beginning of a process of mortification, and signifies in practice the maintaining of certain branches of industry that are less viable in the given world situation, at the expense of other branches of the same British industry that are better adapted to the conditions of the world and the home market. The programme of senile protectionism of Baldwin's party can be countered not by an equally senile and moribund Free Trade policy but only by the practical programme of a socialist overturn. But in order to tackle this programme it is necessary as a preliminary to purge the party both of the reactionary protectionists like Guest and reactionary free traders like MacDonald.

— Leon Trotsky, *Where is Britain Going?* (1925)



LENIN

Ireland:

Militant Labour panders to reactionary vigilantism

The myth of Mary Robinson's new "pluralist" and "tolerant" Ireland is exposed by the wave of savage attacks against Travellers and others, inspired by the popular front government. Travellers in Ireland are a nomadic people similar to the Roma (Gypsies) throughout Europe. They face daily discrimination in housing, jobs, schooling and pubs, combined with brutal physical attacks. On 26 May, Mary Ellen Maguire's Dublin caravan was burnt to the ground and her children were threatened with guns and knives by four men. In November 1994, there was a horrific assault on Travellers' homes and a pub which served Travellers in Glenamaddy, Co Galway. A month later in Bantry, vigilantes used forklift trucks and iron bars to wreck caravans, leaving two families homeless. And in Dublin local residents have mobilised to block development of new halting sites. *Smash anti-Traveller vigilantism!*

Militant Labour's Joe Higgins ran an election campaign in Dublin in April which directly pandered to reactionary anti-Traveller vigilantism. A Higgins election leaflet announced that "The local community has the right to publicly identify regular offenders and apply community pressure to stop them." Significantly, there are a large number of Travellers in Higgins' constituency and appalling anti-Traveller bigotry. In the context of Ireland, such appeals are thinly disguised code language for inciting lynch-mob hysteria against Travellers. Fianna Fail councillor Paddy Kennealy from Waterford said they should be "run out of" the town and that it was time to get shotguns "at the ready".

Similarly, Militant Labour has fully endorsed the government's anti-drugs campaign, used as an excuse to augment the repressive powers of the police. In

Militant's 1992 Dublin West election campaign, Higgins explicitly called for more cops on the beat to "prevent crime and anti-social behaviour" (*Militant Socialist*, November 1992). Militant Labour's reformist conception that the capitalist state is neutral and the cops are "workers in uniform" is only a short step away from asking workers to act as police auxiliaries, ie vigilantes. Militant Labour has been sympathetic to local "anti-crime" patrols, which often pander to backward social consciousness by channelling an understandable fear and hatred of street crime into attacks on vulnerable minorities. A recent example was the murder of heroin addict and AIDS sufferer Josie Dwyer, who was battered to death by a gang of 15 to 20 vigilantes wielding baseball bats in Dolphin's Barn in inner city Dublin on 14 May.

As we commented in our pamphlet "Militant Labour's touching faith in the capitalist state", when the JCR, Militant Labour's sister organisation in France, proposed "crime-fighting" gangs to augment the government's murderous anti-immigrant "anti-drug" campaign: "The poor and oppressed know all too well the reality of lumpen crime, much of it fuelled by the drug trade. But if the bourgeoisie were really concerned about drug-related 'violence', the logical step would be to immediately repeal all laws criminalising drugs, which would take away the exorbitant profits in the drug trade."

As communists, we fight to build a Trotskyist party — a party that is a genuine "tribune of the people", which mobilises the workers movement in defence of Travellers and all victims of social oppression. Only successful socialist revolution can clear away all the reactionary crap produced by the Irish clericalist state. ■

WORKERS HAMMER



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For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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SLP founding conference

Scargill and his "left" critics

At its formal launch on May Day, Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) renewed its pledge to stand candidates against Tony Blair's "New" Labour in the general election. The impact of the SLP's founding continues to reverberate within the left and workers movement, not least because it threatens to attract an important level of support from trade union branches. This has sparked the fury of Labour-loyal leaders of the Fire Brigades Union and has led T&G officials to threaten disciplinary action against branches that affiliate to the SLP. The SLP's opposition to Labour has also caused commotion within the "far left" milieu, most of which regards support to Labour as an article of faith.

In February we gave critical support to and campaigned for the SLP's Brenda Nixon in the Hemsworth by-election. Nixon stood in opposition to the Labour Party and campaigned for an end to unemployment, repeal of anti-union laws and the rebuilding of the public services. For communists this represented an opportunity to intervene and to demonstrate to the working class the need to forge a revolutionary workers party, committed to overthrowing the capitalist system through workers revolution, and establishing workers republics based on workers coun-



Arthur Scargill launches Socialist Labour Party on May Day, 1996. Sean Smith

cils (soviets). While Nixon's campaign touched on the felt needs of the working class, we noted that the SLP's fatal limitation is that it lacks a programme to break the power of the bourgeoisie. At bottom its programme is "old" Labourism, tacitly accepting the framework of the capitalist system, its exploitation and oppression, racism and war.

To this day Scargill retains enormous authority amongst militant trade unionists and leftists from across the country for his

leadership of the heroic 1984-85 miners strike. The miners union went down to defeat under the blows of the capitalist government, its cops and courts with the active connivance of Neil Kinnock's Labour Party and the TUC bureaucrats, including the "left" trade union misleaders who sabotaged the possibility of strike action alongside the miners. Had the country been shut down, this would have posed the question: "Which class shall rule?" Despite his militancy, Scargill

lacked a revolutionary perspective, and therefore when push came to shove was reduced to making shabby compromises with the Labour traitors. The burning lesson of the miners strike is the need for a revolutionary workers party that can lead the masses in struggle to overturn the capitalist order.

Break with Labourism — "old" and "new"!

The SLP conference received greetings from several international organisations, including the Spanish United Left, and Rifondazione Comunista (RC) which constitutes the crucial prop for the popular front government administering capitalist austerity in Italy. Such parties form part of the "New World Order" realignment of ex-Stalinists, social democrats and in some cases pseudo-Trotskyists in West Europe, Turkey and Latin America. The popular-frontist policy embraced by RC, the equivalent of the old "Lib-Lab" coalition, is antithetical to the fight for the class independence of the proletariat.

The two questions which caused most friction at the conference were racism and immigration, and the question of Northern

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— Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Group — Summer class series

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of the world unite!"

— *The Communist Manifesto*, K. Marx and F Engels (1848)

The Spartacus Youth Group (SYG) of Britain was launched in London in February. As the youth auxiliary of the Spartacist League/Britain the SYG fights to win a new generation to the side of the working class.

The SYG are Trotskyists who fight for a socialist future, for a society where those who labour rule. To get that we need international proletarian revolution, led by a Leninist vanguard party. The Bolshevik Party which led the only successful working class revolution in history is our model. Such a party must be a tribune of all the oppressed: women, minorities, gays and the unemployed, whose struggles must be championed by the organised working class.

The capitalist counterrevolutions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe initiated the imperialist "New World Order", which brought in its wake bloody nationalist wars, a rise in fascism and a generalised attack on the living conditions of the working class the world over. The bosses' drive to increase the rate of exploitation targets minorities, women, immigrants, the elderly and young people. Meanwhile the reformist Labour Party vies with the Tories over who will administer racist capitalist austerity more efficiently and more viciously.

The SL/SYG class series sets out to explain the lessons of class struggle and to hammer home the centrality of the working class, the only class with the social power to put an end to this rotten capitalist system. The class series will provide the political programme you need to put into practice the fight for working class revolution and international socialism.

Popular front strangled the Spanish revolution Thursday 18 July

Readings:

- Article of same name from *Workers Hammer* no 150
- "The lessons of Spain: the last warning", L Trotsky, December 1937

Northern Ireland: British troops out! Not Orange against Green but class against class! Thursday 1 August

Readings:

- "Theses on Ireland" from Dublin SYG pamphlet, *Ireland: Workers to Power!*
- "British troops out of Northern Ireland now!", *Workers Hammer* no 149
- "The socialist revolution and the right of nations to self-determination", Theses 1-5, VI Lenin

For a Bolshevik party in South Africa: programme for black proletarian power Thursday 22 August

Readings:

- "South Africa powder keg", from *Black History and the Class Struggle* no 12



Leon Trotsky: co-leader with Lenin of the October 1917 Russian Revolution. Chatto & Windus

Classes held at 7.30pm, at The City Pride, Farringdon Lane. Nearest tube: Farringdon.
To obtain readings and for more information: ring 0171-485 1396.

Fascist killers of Stephen Lawrence still walk free

There is no justice under capitalism

On 25 April three white youths, Neil Acourt, Gary Dobson and Luke Knight, on trial for the brutal murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence in April 1993, walked free when the judge ruled that the evidence of Stephen's friend Duwayne Brooks was inadmissible. This ruling devastated the Lawrence family's effort to bring their son's killers to justice through an almost unprecedented private—as opposed to state-initiated—prosecution. Duwayne was with Stephen at a bus stop in Eltham, East London, when they were attacked by a gang of white racist thugs. But while he managed to escape and later identify those accused of Stephen's brutal murder, his testimony was thrown out. The Stephen Lawrence case epitomises the racist arrogance of the British capitalist state. *This was racist murder and the courts and cops have worked overtime to shield the killers.*

Make no mistake about it. In capitalist Britain there can be no justice for the working class and the oppressed minorities. The murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 marked a sharp rise in fascist activity, which in the space of a couple of years included the killing of Rolan Adams, Rohit Duggal and Ruhullah Aramesh. These racist murders were centred in southeast London in an area close to Welling, Bexley where the fascist British National Party (BNP) had set up offices. The sinister rise of fascist activity was in turn spawned by the "New World Order" of increased racism, capitalist austerity and anti-working-class attacks.

In response to the rise of murderous fascist terror, tens of thousands of young people and anti-racist fighters mobilised in the streets, determined to halt the fascists in their tracks. In September 1993 a militant action in Brick Lane, East London organised by Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE) and the Anti Nazi League (ANL), left the BNP scum on the

Neville and Doreen Lawrence have fought defiantly to bring their son's racist killers to trial.

pavement in a humiliated heap. A month later over 50,000 people marched in a massive anti-fascist mobilisation in Welling to close down the BNP headquarters. But the Welling march was violently attacked by a phalanx of over 700 cops. Duwayne Brooks was one of the demonstrators arrested that day. This was followed by an hysterical bourgeois media and cop witch hunt leading to the jailing of anti-fascist fighters, some of whom still languish in prison. *We demand immediate freedom for the Welling anti-fascists!* In March 1994 the Partisan Defence Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League, initiated a united-front protest against the witch hunt of Welling anti-fascists. This

was the only public protest organised at the time. Yet much of the left including the SWP and Militant Labour grotesquely boycotted the demonstration. As we said in the aftermath of the Welling demonstration:

"October 16 should have left no doubt in any serious militant's mind about the role of the bosses' cops as protectors of the fascist scum. But it was *only* the Spartacist League who consistently fought against the suicidal calls on the bourgeois state to ban the BNP peddled by the reformist SWP/ANL and Militant/YRE. Our banner on the 16 October march read 'Not wretched appeals to the capitalist state! For trade union/minority mobilisations to smash the fascists!'"

—*Workers Hammer* no 138, November/December 1993

The Lawrence family have worked defiantly and tirelessly against numerous obstacles to bring their son's killers to trial. After the Crown Prosecution Service abandoned proceedings against Acourt and Knight in July 1993, on grounds of "insufficient evidence to secure a conviction", the Lawrence family undertook the private prosecution.

In the days after the murder, the cops ignored dozens of anonymous phone calls which provided the names of the suspects. It took them more than two weeks to make any arrests. Instead, the cops "investigating" the murder sought to humiliate the Lawrence family. As Doreen, Stephen's mother, recalled bitterly, "Officers were talking to Stephen's friends asking if he was involved in any gangs or drug dealing. They appeared shocked that he was a student, wanted to go to university and had ambitions to be an architect. That's what they thought about us and that's why they never did anything during the initial investigation" (*Guardian*, 27 April). *The state wanted to make sure the racist killers of Stephen Lawrence walked free.*

The rabidly racist youths on trial for Stephen's murder were acquitted despite substantial evidence pointing to their guilt. Fibres taken from Stephen's hand matched fibres taken from one of Dobson's jackets, and a ten-inch knife, sus-

pected of being the murder weapon, was found hidden under the bed of Dobson's girlfriend. At the committal hearing in April last year, video footage, shot by a secret police camera in Dobson's flat, showed the three defendants brandishing knives and discussing how they would torture black and Asian people and set them on fire.

By contrast when Richard Everitt, a white youth, was killed in 1994, the Asian community in north London was put under siege. Within days 300 Asian youths were rounded up for interrogation, and two Asian boys were rushed through the courts. In October 1995, one of them, Badrul Miah (who only recently received the right to appeal) was jailed for life, with no evidence, on the grounds of "joint enterprise", ie guilt by association. In the past two decades, similar British injustice sentenced the Guildford 4 and dozens of other framed-up Irish men and women to long terms of imprisonment. Stephen's father powerfully expressed the anger in the black and Asian communities:

"We have given this country so much: we have brought it culture and have enriched it. But in return we have just been abused. We are good for doing the dirty work. Stephen's death has taught me that for black people, there is no justice."

—*Guardian*, 27 April

Racially integrated trade union workforces such as in London Transport and Ford Dagenham, linked up with minority communities and youth, have the power to crush the fascist scum. But mobilising this power is the last thing the trade union and Labour Party misleaders are interested in. In March 1994 the TUC organised a "Unite Against Racism" march through the streets of East London, explicitly designed to garner votes for the Labour Party in the upcoming local council elections. And it is not only the trade union misleaders who preach faith in the pro-capitalist Labour Party leadership. Even now fake leftists like the centrist Workers Power group call on workers to vote for the anti-worker "law and order" Tony Blair. What is required is the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party forged through hard and uncompromising political struggle against the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy.

Stephen Lawrence's case highlights the danger of calling on the bourgeois state to ban the fascists. Yet such appeals are the calling card of the SWP's ANL and Militant Labour's YRE. Genuine Marxists understand that the bourgeois state is not neutral. The British state shares with fascists their hostility to the working class and racial minorities. Laws supposedly enacted by the bourgeois state against the fascists will instead be used to break strikes and suppress minorities and the left. In the past eight years, 70 people, most of them from the minority communities in the inner cities, have died in police custody. This March Ibrahim Sey died after cops sprayed him with CS gas, the seventh black man to die at the hands of the police in six months. None of the cops who carried out these racist killings has been punished. Only through a workers revolution that sweeps away this rotten capitalist system can the victims of racist and fascist terror be truly avenged. ■

Marlin Angles



Edward Sykes

Funeral cortège for Stephen Lawrence, brutally murdered by fascists in April 1993. Capitalist cops and courts continue to shield his killers.

New evidence of cop frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Freedom now for Mumia!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 647, 7 June 1996.

Attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal announced at a press conference in Philadelphia on 22 May that a key witness at Jamal's 1982 trial for the murder of policeman Daniel Faulkner has come forward with powerful new evidence of Mumia's innocence. The witness, Veronica Jones, has submitted a statement revealing that days before she took the stand in 1982, she was threatened and coerced into lying for the prosecution at the trial. Jones was in jail at the time, facing 15 years for felony armed robbery charges, when two Philadelphia detectives came to her and got her to repudiate her original true statement to police that she saw two men flee the scene immediately after the shooting. Mumia could not have been one of these men, because he was sitting, bleeding from a wound inflicted by Faulkner's gun, when police arrived at the scene. Veronica Jones' false testimony at the trial seriously undermined Jamal's defence.

On the basis of this new evidence of police coercion, Jamal's defence team has applied to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to have his case remanded to the Court of Common Pleas to take additional testimony. Last summer, Jamal's petition for a new trial was refused by Judge Albert Sabo — the same "hanging judge" who oversaw Jamal's 1982 frame-up conviction. This February, Mumia's attorneys filed an appeal of this decision before the state Supreme Court. Over three months later, state prosecutors filed a 192-page brief in response to the appeal.

For 14 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has battled against a frame-up conviction for a killing he did not commit. The forces of racist "law and order" targeted Jamal from the time he emerged as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1969, to his later work as an award-winning journalist and courageous spokesman for the oppressed and his subsequent support for the MOVE organisation. The cops and their allies seized on the shooting of Faulkner in December 1981 to railroad Jamal to death row.

Less than four years later, in May 1985, the Philly cops, FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms carried out the horrendous bombing which killed eleven MOVE people, including five children, and burned an entire black neighbourhood to the ground. The MOVE massacre is once again under the spotlight as the trial continues in the civil suits brought by Ramona Africa, the only adult to survive the bombing of the MOVE home, and two others against some of the city officials responsible for this atrocity.

The latest evidence of the cop/prosecution conspiracy that framed up Mumia emerges against a backdrop of a burgeoning police corruption and brutality scandal demonstrating that what was done to Jamal is standard operating procedure for

the Philadelphia Police Department. Cop frame-ups, shakedowns and brutalisation of blacks and Hispanics have been so rampant for decades that in 1979 the US Justice Department was compelled to file suit against the police and city administrations — the first action of this kind by the federal government. Now, a series of investigations over the past year has uncovered a widespread practice of intimidating witnesses and beating, robbing and framing up "suspects". And as the fascist ravings of former LA detective Mark Fuhrman during the OJ Simpson trial last year showed, this is the case throughout the whole capitalist "justice" system. Most notorious in Philadelphia is the 39th police district, where revelations of such practices have already resulted in the reversal of 116 drug convictions and the imprisonment of five cops — and that's only the tip of the iceberg.

The Philly cops have repeatedly displayed their bonapartist appetite to slip even the most nominal restraints on their actions. Last month, Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) führer Richard Costello vituperated against the Police Advisory Commission — a powerless "watchdog" body appointed by the mayor — when it gently slapped eight cops on the wrist with ten-day suspensions. The cops were implicated in the 1994 beating death of Hispanic tow-truck driver Moises DeJesus and had earlier been exonerated by police brass. Echoing Costello's tirade were District Attorney Lynne "Madame Death" Abraham (the arraiging judge in Jamal's 1982 frame-up) and Mayor Ed Rendell (the DA in 1982), who each held news conferences to rail at the commission.

It infuriates the FOP and city officials that even under the threat of execution, Mumia has continued to speak out against racism and repression, including through his syndicated newspaper column and his powerful book of prison writings, *Live from Death Row*, which is now out also in paperback. As shown by the worldwide protests for Mumia last summer, for millions of workers and youth his case has become a rallying cry against the racist American injustice system — and a symbol of what the barbaric death penalty is all about.

Systematic cop coercion

Veronica Jones was a 21-year-old mother of three young children at the time she was threatened by the two detectives. At the 1982 trial, she testified that the prosecution's "star witness", Cynthia White, had been offered a deal by the cops to say that Jamal was the shooter. Like Jones, White was working the street as a prostitute on the night of the shooting. The cops promised to let White "work the area" without police harassment if she would testify that Mumia shot Faulkner. At the trial, White was the only witness to claim that she saw this, while Jones' testimony about the cop coercion was

stopped by Judge Sabo.

In her recent statement, Veronica Jones describes how the cops coerced her:

"Approximately one week before I testified, I was visited in jail by two white plainclothes detectives. I was initially shocked at seeing them since the jailers had told me my lawyer was visiting. The detectives began by speaking, not of the facts of my case, but of the Jamal case. They told me that if I would testify against Jamal and identify Jamal as the shooter, I wouldn't have to worry about my pending felony charges. I repeatedly told the detectives that I didn't see the shooting, but only heard the shots and then saw two men run away. But this didn't satisfy them. The detectives threatened me by reminding me that I faced a long prison sentence — 15 years on gun charges — all the while persisting that I testify to their version of events. Frightened, I told them I wanted my lawyer present. When they finally left I knew that if I did anything to help the Jamal defense I would face years in prison.

"It was only a matter of a few days that I was brought to court.... Both detectives who had threatened me earlier were in plain view, standing in the rear of the courtroom. When asked by Jamal's attorney to confirm what I had first told the police — that I saw two males run from the scene after the firing stopped — I steadfastly denied it for fear that I would be punished for helping the defense."

After changing her testimony, Jones was released on bail and ultimately given probation. Jamal's defence attorneys learned nothing of the jailhouse intimidation of this witness until now. At the 22 May press conference, Mumia's lead counsel, Len Weinglass, noted: "It was the prosecution's theory in the case that only Mumia and his brother were present when Officer Faulkner was shot." This "theory" of the prosecution was a tissue of lies.

Jones' testimony corroborates the assertion made by Jamal and his defence team that the 1982 trial was a political frame-up engineered by the Philly cops in collusion with the DA's office. As Mumia's co-counsel, Rachel Wolkenstein, stated: "The trial court sought to dismiss the evidence of widespread police misconduct as implausible, but recent revelations demonstrate that such misconduct is pervasive in the Philadelphia Police Department. Jamal's trial was riddled with police and prosecutorial misconduct: withholding of evidence and the existence of exonerating witnesses from the defense, along with fabrication of evidence, coercion and intimidation of witnesses."

The new testimony adds even more weight to the accounts of several other witnesses who originally told the police that they had seen a man or men run from the scene. William Singletary testified at Jamal's post-conviction relief (PCRA) hearing last summer that the shooter fled the scene and that Jamal was not the shooter. According to Singletary, police destroyed his statement at the time and forced him to sign a false one. The jury at



Workers Vanguard

Mumia's 1982 "trial" never heard Singletary's testimony.

Another eyewitness, cab driver Robert Chobert, testified last summer that at the original trial, after receiving a promise from the prosecution to help him reinstate his suspended driver's licence, he retracted his statement that he saw the shooter run away. Witness Dessie Hightower testified at the PCRA hearing that cops subjected him to a gruelling five-hour interrogation and a "lie detector" test because he insisted that he had heard shots and then had seen a black male run from the scene. Deborah Kordansky similarly told police at the scene that she saw a man running after hearing shots — the defence could not call her to the stand in 1982 because the cops and prosecution withheld her address.

The police/prosecution collusion in framing up Mumia points to how the capitalist state — the cops, courts, prisons — is not some neutral arbiter but an apparatus for repressing minorities and working people. In this election year, the contending capitalist parties — Clinton's Democrats and Dole/Gingrich's Republicans — are seeking to outdo each other in escalating racist repression, from hiring more cops to building ever more prisons to accelerating and widening the use of the death penalty. Addressing a national FOP gathering recently, Clinton crowed about having put 44,000 more cops on the streets since his 1992 election and screamed for an automatic death sentence for anyone accused of killing a cop. Yet various liberals and reformists have appealed to Clinton's Attorney General, Janet Reno — who conspired with Clinton to kill 86 people in the attack on the Branch Davidians near Waco, Texas in 1993 — to intercede to assure "justice" for Mumia.

Mumia and his lawyers continue to pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom. But as we wrote in the Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (see *WV* no 625, 30 June 1995): "From the time the Partisan Defense Committee took up Jamal's case more than eight years ago, we have emphasized that the fight to save him cannot rely on the capitalist courts but rather must look to the mobilization of the masses, centrally the social power of the labor movement." Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

* * *

For more information about the campaign to free Mumia, contact the Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX, Tel: 0171-485 1396. Contribute to Mumia's legal defence: send/make payable to PDC and write "Jamal legal defence" on the back of the cheque. Letters of solidarity to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg PA 15370-8090, USA. ■

Italy...

(Continued from page 12)

"Privatisation", "liberalisation", "presidentialism" — these were the code words of both the right-wing "Pole of Freedom" and the centre-left Olive Tree alliance. They mean boosting profits by increasing the exploitation of the workers and strengthening the power of the state in order to guarantee that the inevitable resistance will be smashed with an iron fist.

The alliance headed by the PDS will now try to implement this programme. The Ulivo programme, which was distributed throughout Italy as a leaflet, proclaims: "The state must withdraw from the economic sectors in which it is present today. It must give them back to the private banks and the factories.... Competition is valuable." In order to realise this, Ulivo leader Romano Prodi proposes "strengthening the powers of the head of state and the prime minister".

The Olive Tree of Prodi and PDS leader Massimo D'Alema fully adopted as its own the campaign for "morality" demanded by the bourgeoisie and orchestrated by the Vatican. Prodi supported the initiative by the Movement for Life, which not only "condemns" abortion but insists that "Full rights must be recognised for every human from its conception." This is a totally reactionary proposal which, if implemented, would eliminate any possibility of abortion and open the door for the repressive forces of the state to intervene in practically all aspects of the lives of pregnant women under the pretext of "protecting the foetus".

The personal composition of the "left" coalition is unequivocal. There are the recycled ruins of the Christian Democracy,



Carofei/Sintesi



Merlini/Team



La Repubblica

From left: "Olive Tree" leader Romano Prodi, PDS leader Massimo D'Alema and Fausto Bertinotti of Rifondazione Comunista.

buried, it is time for the second republic of 'clean hands'. But the choice between the right and the left is between *bourgeois* alternatives, both of which are enemies of the workers and oppressed.... This *popular front*, a class-collaborationist alliance between the bosses and the reformist workers parties, will not stop the fascists. It preserves the system of racist and capitalist austerity that breeds the vermin in black shirts and demoralises the working class. Furthermore, it chains the proletariat to its class enemies."

This was fully verified over the past two years, and it is fully valid today. The Lega trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), section of the International Communist League, opposed any vote for the popular front and the parties in it, including the RC, in the 21 April elections and insists that what is decisive is not the bourgeois elections or parliamentary blocs but the class struggle. The Ulivo government will be *anti-worker, anti-women, and anti-immigrant*. A powerful response by the workers is necessary to defeat the all-sided attack that the bourgeoisie is waging against them. If the working class does not intervene to prevent this government from implementing its programme of social regression, the popular front in power, demoralising the workers and throwing the petty bourgeoisie and backward sections of the proletariat further into the arms of fascist and populist demagogues, will open the way for an aggressive comeback of sinister right-wing forces. But for the workers to be able to win, it is necessary to wage a political fight against the PDS, the RC and the trade union bureaucracy, and to forge a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. The LTd'I is fighting to build a Bolshevik party that fights for proletarian power and does not take part in bourgeois governments which administer this rotting capitalist society.

The popular front is anti-working-class...

The attacks on the welfare state, and more generally on the living conditions of the working class and the oppressed throughout Europe, have their origins in the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The "New World Disorder" has brought on nationalist wars, racist pogroms against immigrant workers, Roma (Gypsies) and Jews, and the immiseration of the proletariat. Drunk with glee over the "elimination of the communist threat" and under the pressure of increased inter-imperialist competition, the European bourgeoisies are trying to boost profits by cutting social expenditures and other concessions made to the workers which they no longer consider necessary.

In Italy, the official unemployment rate has reached 12 per cent. More than six million people live under the poverty line, and the rate of exploitation has increased by 6 per cent in the last three years. Work-

ing conditions have become so bad that four deaths a day are listed as job "accidents". Outgoing prime minister Lamberto Dini has been trying to eliminate all existing safety standards in the workplace, and if this succeeds the number of deaths at work will increase. Living conditions are following a scissors pattern: the poor get steadily poorer and the rich get richer. There is a widening gap between North and South, men and women, whites and ethnic minorities.

This process of driving down workers' living conditions began with the first attacks in 1983 by Socialist prime minister Bettino Craxi against the *scala mobile* (cost-of-living escalator), but it sharply accelerated after the eruption of the "Bribe City" ("*tangentopoli*") corruption scandal. The Ciampi (1993-94) and Dini (1995-96) governments, which were supported by the PDS, played a significant role in this. RC contributed by supporting the "progressive" coalition and by twice saving the Dini government. The past two years have offered a clear example of what a popular front is and what it means.

When the rightist media mogul Berlusconi was elected head of the government in 1994, he did not hesitate to launch a frontal assault on the system of retirement pensions. The workers movement reacted immediately to this attack with what were possibly the most imposing demonstrations since the "hot autumn" of 1969. The PDS and RC rode the tiger, using the workers' legitimate anger and struggles as an instrument of mass pressure in order to push for a popular-front government. Under the pressure of millions of workers in the streets, Mr "One hundred general strikes will not stop me" Berlusconi was forced to resign.

After getting rid of their nemesis, the PDS put together a government (supported by RC at every crucial moment) that was headed by the same Lamberto Dini, former governor of the Bank of Italy, who was the author of the Berlusconi government's pension-gutting decree. A few months after taking office in April 1995, Dini succeeded in passing the same pension cuts that Berlusconi had been unable to carry out. The support of the PDS, RC and the trade union bureaucrats made the difference. They used what remained of their authority to minimise the reaction by the workers. Thus, the popular front demonstrated for the nth time its true nature, a class-collaborationist coalition which subordinates the working class to the bourgeoisie.

And anti-immigrant...

The Dini government, with the support of the PDS, issued a decree on immigration that was much more racist than the previous legislation. Anyone in Italy without documents can now be thrown in

prison, as well as being subject to deportation as before. Contrary to all juridical principles, an immigrant who "demonstrates a standard of living that is too high" is presumed to be guilty. Immigrant workers will be tolerated at the state's discretion, and only on the condition that they are superexploited by the local bourgeoisie. Otherwise: get out or go to jail. The groundwork for this situation has been laid for years by the campaign against immigrant "drug pushers", which the PDS and RC vigorously pursued in Genova in September 1993 and by the racist persecution of immigrants, who are described as "rapists". This was also one of the arguments which speeded up passage of the law "against sexual violence".

Even the so-called "amnesty" for "illegal" immigrants has been shown to be a gruesome manoeuvre by Dini & Co. Of 250,000 people who have applied to have their situation "regularised", no more than 100,000 are expected to succeed — by the most optimistic projections — since employers are generally unwilling to pay the contributions required by the INPS (national retirement system) and because most of the requests have been tied up in the bureaucracy. The net result is that the police have been able to register 150,000 "illegals" in their records.

Contrary to the PDS and RC who actively participate in or echo the anti-immigrant campaign, we Trotskyists demand that whoever manages to arrive in Italy has the right to stay. We are for the unionisation of immigrant workers and full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

The fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) has been dressed up as the National Alliance (AN), but the core is still fascist and the *squadre* (terror squads) have not disappeared. They continue their attacks against immigrants, RC and PDS offices, other leftists, and the more vulnerable sections of the working class. It is the duty of the entire workers movement to repulse the fascists by mobilising the workers and other intended victims of the racist terrorists, including through integrated defence militias. This requires a fight against the racist, class-collaborationist politics of the reformist leadership.

...and anti-women

For the bourgeoisie, the strengthening of the family is an indispensable part of the attack on the living standards of the working class. The family will shoulder the weight of the social services that the state no longer wants to pay for. The "household" must be "morally mobilised" in order to justify the oppression of women, who are first to be fired and who have a much harder time getting a job. Additionally, every "deviation" from the model of the family ordained by the Vatican is persecuted.

SPARTACO

Newspaper of the
Lega Trotskista d'Italia

ex-Republican Party corpses, prominent bosses. Prodi, a longtime Christian Democrat, was chosen to lead Ulivo in order to please the Vatican. D'Alema even got the support of Fiat magnate Agnelli and the blessing of Clinton, who intervened in the Italian election campaign by explicitly declaring that the American government did not fear a PDS government in Italy today. The daily *Corriere della Sera* (18 April) reports on the large number of Catholic Action members who were candidates for the Olive Tree. Consistent with this, D'Alema has proposed that the PDS get rid of the hammer and sickle symbol for good.

This anti-worker government will be supported by Rifondazione Comunista, which has promised to vote confidence in it and will support it at all critical moments. RC has a crucial role to play now since Ulivo will need its support on key votes in parliament — on pensions, social security, education, abortion, immigration, etc. RC will try to act as a spigot, turning class struggle on and off for their own parliamentary advantage. But this regime is going to be so hard against the working class that they are going to need RC not so much for their votes in parliament but to pose as a pressure group ostensibly outside the government in order to divert the workers' anger. Meanwhile, those who stand to lose most immediately from this unholy alliance are women, youth and immigrants. They will be the scapegoats for all the gains taken back from the workers. As we wrote before the 1994 elections:

"Now that the 'republic of the corrupt' is

The Ulivo popular front is perfectly conscious of this need and fully carries it out. Prodi's support for the campaign of the anti-abortion Movement for Life promoting the "rights of the foetus" was heavily covered by the left press. Ulivo has already declared that it will revise Law 194, which partially legalises abortion in Italy. In reality, due to the so-called "conscientious objectors clause" of Law 194 (another PCI concession to the Vatican on the altar of class collaboration), it has become practically impossible to have an abortion in the South, and extremely difficult in the rest of Italy. The news media continue to be full of cases of illegal abortions, performed by doctors in private apartments without the most minimal hygienic conditions and at exorbitant prices. Now the popular front wants to cut back even the token legislation that exists on paper.

Under the supervision of the Dini government, the Movement for Life organised a conference last February in Rome on the "psychological consequences of abortion", while outside cops and paramilitary *carabinieri* beat up abortion rights demonstrators. The Vatican is in the front line of this moralistic anti-abortion campaign, and RC leader Fausto Bertinotti has pitched in. *Corriere della Sera* (20 April) reports: "The head of the neo-communist party closed his electoral campaign by appealing to Pope John Paul II: 'We didn't go looking for the votes of the Catholics.... It is enough for us to listen to Pope Wojtyla condemn the excesses of capitalism and warn against the laws of the market.'"

After decades of negotiations aimed at reaching an impossible compromise, the law "against sexual violence" was born under the aegis of the Dini government and with the support of the "progressives". The new law above all serves to intensify the intervention of the state in the private lives of individuals and in family affairs. Under the new law, whenever someone presses charges for "sexual abuse" of a minor, the judge is obliged to take action. Particularly under attack are parents, relatives and anyone who has contact with minors, such as teachers. It is now also obligatory for the accused to take a test for AIDS and other diseases that are sexually transmissible, in violation of the right to privacy that formerly existed.

This law was the result of the common work of 67 deputies from the fascist National Alliance to Berlusconi's Forza Italia, from the Catholics of the Christian Democratic Centre to the PDS — a true mini-popular front whose official spokesmen were Anna Finocchiaro of the PDS and the fascist Alessandra Mussolini. When the fascists demonstrated against the immigrants of the San Salvario area in Torino last November under the slogan "Cleanliness and Order", representatives of the PDS participated.

It is becoming increasingly common for

judges to take children away from parents who are "guilty" only of being poor — victims of the capitalist system that pushes ever larger sections of the population to the margins of society. In early March, the press reported the case of a mother who was arrested because she developed a photograph of her nude son.

We are resolutely opposed to the intervention of the state in the sexual life of consenting individuals. We are opposed to the attempts of the Vatican to establish norms of "moral correctness" for the family, which the state then forcibly implements. Down with reactionary "age of consent" laws! State and church out of the bedroom!

The family is the focal point of women's oppression. We Trotskyists fight to destroy capitalism and for a genuine workers government, the indispensable precondition for women's liberation. We fight against the popular front that sacrifices women's rights to the defence of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and against all forms of discrimination against women. For free abortion on demand, including for minors and immigrants! For the complete separation of church and state and the expropriation of the wealth of the Vatican!

Rifondazione Comunista tails the popular front

Rifondazione Comunista declared a "no-contest pact" with the Ulivo coalition for the 21 April elections. RC leader Bertinotti "explained" this vulgar class betrayal by arguing that under the new electoral system, without the pact "RC would risk losing its parliamentary representation". Thus, RC waged an all-out campaign for Ulivo, including calling on workers to vote for the bosses who are firing them. Maura Cossutta asked workers at the Superga factory to vote for De Benedetti, the owner of that factory, who has threatened 300 firings.

Bertinotti has already guaranteed that RC will vote for the motion of confidence in the government, explaining that "after the formation of the Prodi government it will have to earn the votes of Rifondazione on particular questions". In reality, what Bertinotti is saying is that he will limit himself to an eventual, polite — and in any case parliamentary — opposition to an Ulivo government, and only when it doesn't need RC votes. Whenever the issue is important and the votes (or abstentions) of RC are decisive, Bertinotti and the RC will know how to be "responsible" and save the popular front — naturally, in order to "defeat the right". This has systematically been the case in the past year, from RC's abstention on the austerity bill in late 1994, the last act of the Berlusconi government, up to its abstention on the vote of no confidence for Dini presented by the "Pole of Freedom".

It should be noted that on the latter occasion, the so-called "left" of RC, led by osten-



Angry workers battle police in Torino, September 1992, as protests erupt against capitalist austerity measures.

sible Trotskyists Franco Grisolia and Marco Ferrando, who edit the journal *Proposta*, were in the forefront of the fight to save the Dini government. They opposed the RC majority, which initially was prepared to bring down the cabinet. During the recent elections, as in 1994, the *Proposta* group played a valuable role for the RC leadership by doing everything possible — using "leftist" arguments and misrepresenting Lenin — to convince the most reluctant elements that it is necessary to support the popular front. *Proposta* (January 1995) even appealed for a vote for the Vatican's Popular Party (PPI) "in particular situations where it is necessary to defeat a fascist or reactionary candidate".

The party of Bertinotti and Cossutta is currently participating in many local governments with the virulent racists of the Northern League. At a demonstration against the racist decree in Torino last 19 November, RC distributed a statement which grotesquely echoed the racist right: "It is therefore necessary for the appropriate authorities to effectively repress criminality of every type, applying Italian laws with the most modern investigative techniques against drug pushers and the prostitution racket."

The policy of capitulation to the popular front practised by RC and its "left" tails has not been easily digested by the ranks of the party. It is notable that almost every day *Il Manifesto* published articles, interviews and letters of RC members who intended to abstain in the elections. We are not the only ones on the left calling to abstain on 21 April, but we are the only ones to openly say that *any* popular-front government will be anti-worker, anti-woman and anti-immigrant, and that it is urgently necessary to fight against these policies.

While there is widespread disgust for this popular front among RC members, this does not mean conscious opposition to class-collaborationist politics. Rather, it reflects the fact that this popular front is extremely rightist and revolting. It is this widespread dissatisfaction, which does not break with class collaboration, that the group around the newspaper *Voce Operaia* (VO) seeks to intersect with its recent opposition to a vote for Ulivo and RC. In the 1994 elections, VO openly supported RC and the popular-front "Pole of the Progressives", and in June 1993 they even called for an "anti-capitalist" vote for three candidates of the camouflaged Christian Democrats of La Rete.

In the autumn of 1995, VO wrote a leaflet entitled "No Truce" in which it says, "Throw out the Berlusconi government and put the left in the government!" This is a clear appeal for a bourgeois parliamentary government of PDS, RC and others. When a sceptical reader ob-

jected to this popular-frontist slogan in a letter to the paper, VO defended itself by writing, "The slogan 'the left in the government' means 'the workers movement in the government', to 'defend the workers' interests and the demands of the movement in struggle'." VO continued, "We said to the workers: let's force them to take power!" VO has the same line as the sellout bureaucrats of PDS and RC — namely, that workers mobilisations should be used as a means to exert pressure for a parliamentary bourgeois "leftist" government. But a PDS/RC government would be racist, anti-woman, anti-worker and imperialist.

Break with the popular front! Build a Leninist-Trotskyist party!

The "New World Disorder" has led to more poverty, exploitation, oppression and war for the vast majority of the world's people. At the same time, the working class has shown its determination to resist — from the impressive struggles of the Italian workers in the autumn of 1994 to the massive strikes in France last December. Many leftists see working-class combativity as the solution to the problems of the workers, but as we wrote in *Spartaco* no 45 (February 1995):

"No level of combativity or any organisational form in itself can guarantee victory. The essential element is the political break with the popular front and the construction of a genuinely Bolshevik vanguard party that leads the workers struggles beyond economic militancy in the direction of a struggle for workers power."

There will inevitably be struggles of the workers and oppressed against the continual attacks of the bourgeoisie. The key question is who will lead these struggles.

While the PDS and RC, orphans of defunct Stalinism, increasingly openly embrace the bourgeoisie, their "left" tails like *Proposta* and *Voce Operaia* act as waterboys for the popular front. Instead, it is necessary and urgent to struggle for authentic communism.

Both RC and the PDS are the continuators of the old PCI and its betrayals. They represent an *obstacle* on this road. Lenin defined these parties as "bourgeois-workers" parties in order to emphasise the contradiction between their working-class base and bourgeois programme. They are not reformable and no level of pressure from the base or "tactical manoeuvres" can make them become revolutionary parties. It is necessary to build a Leninist party that intransigently opposes class collaboration and fights to split the base of these parties from the leadership, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. The Lega trotskista and the International Communist League are fighting to build this Leninist party. ■



Milano, August 1993 — Trotskyists demand charges be dropped against North African victims of police beating, call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families

Europe...

(Continued from page 1)

and the murderous divisiveness of national protectionism.

The very real questions about BSE, "mad cow disease", in cattle and the dangers it poses to public health have been all but buried under a mountain of the proverbial bull by-product. As we stated in the last issue of *Workers Hammer* (April/May): "The government's role in the BSE scandal amounts to sheer criminal neglect of public health, in the interest of naked capitalist greed." According to *Panorama*, abattoir inspectors have been silenced by the Official Secrets Act. New reports have highlighted how, after sheep and cattle offal was banned for use as feed domestically in 1988 because of fears about BSE, exports of such potentially contaminated feed trebled in 1989, mainly to France and other European countries.

British proposals for a "framework" agreement to settle the dispute included a provision to allow beef exports elsewhere as long as they are not re-exported to Europe, a scarcely veiled proposal to have the impoverished masses of poor Third World countries eat what they can't sell at home and in Europe. From a capitalist ruling class which grew rich out of the African slave trade and fought wars to sell opium in China, this should come as no surprise. The resistance of the other EU governments to lifting the ban stems not just from their fears for the profitability of their own agricultural sectors, but because broad layers of people rightly suspect everything the British government and agribusiness say and produce.

John Major may hope that this "beef war" can be his "Falklands factor" and restore his electoral prospects. The Tories are deeply divided over the question of Europe. In order to sustain his one vote majority in parliament, Major has increasingly adapted to the growing and increasingly rabid "Euro-sceptic" right of his party, elements of whom want nothing less than complete withdrawal from the European Community. Divisions over Europe also threaten to become a factor within the Labour Party. The visceral anti-German chauvinism promoted by the "Euro-sceptics" and Tory press feeds off the fact that the EU is not some "supranational" merging but is a German-dominated imperialist trade bloc. The *Daily Telegraph* (30 April) lamented that "When the German Chancellor calls on the British Prime Minister these days, one senses at once who is in charge." While this outburst of jingoism and nostalgic xenophobia does not particularly appear to have translated into electoral support for the Tories and most people still blame the government for the crisis, it does go to the heart of British imperialist chauvinism with widespread support registered for Major's

policy of non-cooperation.

At the same time the government is under pressure from pro-EU elements. Today 57 per cent of British exports go to Europe, and Germany is the main trading partner. The president of the CBI, Sir Bryan Nicholson, has complained about "churlish xenophobia" and the damage done to British business. Inward investment by companies from Japan, Taiwan and South Korea to Wales, for example, is predicated on Britain remaining in Europe as well as relatively low wage costs (not only in respect of most of the EU but also compared to levels in "Tigers" like South Korea). Others fear that "It will end with Britain a small country on the periphery, excluded from the European superpower, no longer rating membership of the Group of Seven and permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council,

roids that it is "unpatriotic". Speaking before German industrialists, Blair stated that Labour in power "will be fierce in controlling public spending" while promising that it will "not reverse the main elements of 1980s trade union legislation" (*Morning Star*, 19 June). Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, has been feted by business interests in Europe for his commitment to making public spending cuts. Among other Labour notables, Peter Mandelson lauds income inequalities, Jack Straw advocates curfews for children and Chris Smith promises a crackdown on "fraudulent" benefit claimants.

EU: imperialist trade bloc

Opposition to the European Community and the Maastricht Treaty comes from quite disparate and opposed interests,

this country. In December last year French public service and transport unions fended off a government attempt to destroy hard-earned pension and other rights. In Germany drastic cuts to social welfare spending have provoked angry demonstrations and warning strikes. Workers here have a big stake in furthering solidarity with strikers in Germany and France, as capitalist competition will drive bosses here to keep pace with any wage cuts implemented abroad. British unions like Unison, the GMB and the T&G are renewing objections to the criteria for a single European currency — what's necessary is a political fight against the trade union misleaders who sabotage class struggle.

The bourgeoisies aim to break the unions in order to drive down the living standards of the entire working class.



Workers Hammer

Hillingdon: picket of militant Asian women hospital ancillary workers sacked for refusing to accept a 20 per cent pay cut. Their eight-month long battle has had to confront racist company intimidation and provocation. Criminally the Unison leadership has sabotaged their struggle, refusing to mobilise members to honour the picket line. What's needed is militant mass picket lines that no one dares cross! Smash the bosses' anti-union laws!

about as important on the world stage as Switzerland" (former EU ambassador to Washington, Sir Roy Denman, quoted in the *Financial Times*, 12 June).

The deep divisions reflect a capitalism in relative decline, bereft of a vast colonial empire and its "special relationship" with American imperialism sharply diminished since the destruction of the Soviet Union. In the City, the epitome of parasitic capitalism, British firms are bought out not only by the Americans but also by German and other European companies. The British ruling class is internally divided over whether to remain a junior partner of the United States or become one for the German imperialists.

Tony Blair's "new" Labour Party presents itself as a respectable pro-European alternative to the Tories, while striving to avoid any suggestion from the Tory tab-

ranging across the political spectrum. Revolutionary working-class internationalists oppose the EU, albeit for very different reasons from either Tory "Euro-sceptics" or Labourite protectionist reformists. Marxists understand that the development of a world market under capitalism has laid the material basis for socialism. The world market and economy, fettered and constrained by the private ownership of the means of production and the national state, has the material and technological prerequisites for economic planning and the eradication of poverty, exploitation and oppression. This requires the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the international extension of the revolution across the globe.

The EU is a capitalist trade bloc, and a vehicle for capitalist collaboration against the European working class. Originally established as an economic adjunct of NATO as US imperialism sought to strengthen West Europe against the Soviet Union and French imperialism sought checks on German imperialism, the EU has more lately been a German-dominated trade bloc seeking to compete with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Japanese sphere of domination in Asia. In the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, the "New World Order" has meant a renewed assertion of inter-imperialist rivalries, posing the threat of a third world war.

The Maastricht Treaty and its convergence criteria towards a single European currency mean a *ruthless offensive* against the European working class, on the order of Thatcher's union-busting campaign in

These attacks will hit youth, minorities and women especially hard. In the compulsive battles of the working class in its own self-defence the link must be made to the fight against all forms of special oppression. In a leaflet issued last December to the striking French workers, our comrades of the Ligue trotskyste de France wrote:

"But what is necessary for the workers to move on to victory is that Marxism live, in the form of an internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which fights for the proletarian conquest of power — a party of revolutionary action, not of parliamentary sell-outs and trade-union bureaucrats. Such a party will be infused with Lenin's understanding that it must serve as a tribune of the people, opposing all manifestations of oppression against all sectors of the population, drawing in behind the power of the working class the youth, the besieged North African and black African workers and their children, who are dismissed as 'immigrants' even when they are born in France and are French citizens, the women whose right to abortion is increasingly at risk."

Kautskyite revisionism

The right-centrist Workers Power group's position of abstention on the Maastricht treaty and "neutrality" on the EU is in reality a thin cover for their craven capitulation to Tony Blair's Labour Party. By upholding the notion that Germany, France and Italy could create a "supra national state", they regurgitate the revisionist Kautsky who opposed to Lenin's Marxist understanding that imperialist war is an inevitable product of capitalism the theory of "ultra-imperialism". WP argued that the Maastricht

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Ireland...

(Continued from page 12)

drawal of the British Army from Northern Ireland!

From the standpoint of proletarian revolutionaries the Manchester bombing, like the massive London bombing which signalled the end of the ceasefire, was a criminal act. Far from striking a blow against British imperialism, such atrocities indiscriminately target civilians, who happen to live or work or go shopping in the area. Marxists oppose the tactic of individual terrorism because it is contrary to the necessary task of mobilising the proletariat to overthrow the imperialist oppressors, reflecting instead the petty-bourgeois nationalist objective of leading "their" people, while all other people are perceived as the enemy. When the IRA strikes a blow against the forces of British imperialism, the RUC or Loyalist fascistic killers, we defend the perpetrators of such acts against state retribution. But we take a very different attitude to indiscriminate terror, which from a proletarian perspective are criminal acts that only intensify hatred between workers—Catholic and Protestant, English and Irish.

When Major announced his "election" ploy Sinn Féin were outraged that, having bent over backwards to enter "talks" with the imperialists and the Unionists, they were being rewarded with a slap in the mouth. The bourgeois press in London and Dublin, and the popular front government in the south—especially its Labour Party and Democratic Left components—lionised the fascistic Loyalist paramilitaries. Representatives of the PUP such as Billy Hutchinson, a convicted murderer of Catholics, and David Ervine are extolled as nature's noblemen, while the IRA are portrayed as murderers and terrorists. Sinn Féin decided to run candidates in the election, and got over 15 per cent of the vote, their highest poll ever. The Catholic population deeply distrust

Gerry Adams (right) and US Imperialist chief, Bill Clinton. Imperialist "peace" deal is a dangerous fraud.



Major but, like the Protestant community, they dread a return to the communalist killing that preceded the IRA and Loyalist ceasefires. The polarisation is reflected in the high proportion of Catholic votes for Sinn Féin relative to the SDLP, and of Protestant votes for Paisley's DUP relative to the Ulster Unionist party.

Against a background of anti-Irish hysteria, Blair's "new Labour" party has systematically played the Orange card. Labour MP Kate Hoey welcomed the election of David Trimble and his "determination to go on the offensive". Trimble was elected leader of the Unionist Party for his leading role last July in the Loyalist siege of Drumcree, a Catholic enclave in Portadown, and during the 1970s was a member of the fascistic "Vanguard" group, Protestant paramilitaries. We say: Smash the UVF/UDA death squads! For an end to communalism, a proletarian axis must prevail. There is a vital necessity for integrated workers militias—incorporating both Protestants and Catholics, under a communist leadership—to com-

bat British Army and RUC rampage as well as sectarian terror, both Orange and Green.

Major called the elections to mollify David Trimble's Unionist MPs in Westminster, whose votes he desperately needs. At Trimble's behest, Major rejected the Mitchell Commission's proposal that "talks" should proceed, and scheduled elections. There is renewed speculation that the British and Ulster Unionists' insistence on "decommissioning" as a precondition for allowing Sinn Féin into the talks is fomenting a split in the Republican movement. US and British imperialism have tactical differences over how best to disarm the IRA. The US seek to exploit the differences between the "ballot box" wing of Gerry Adams and the hardline Republicans.

The nationalist strategy inevitably seeks to pressurise imperialism; whether through the "armalite" or the "ballot box", the nationalists pursue a strategy of despair, which *cannot* transcend the framework of capitalism. Workers Power ap-

peals to "every working class nationalist who supports Sinn Fein" to pressure the leadership in order to "build a working class anti-imperialist movement in which the tables are turned and in which the peace process is turned into negotiations on the terms of Britain's surrender" (*Workers Power*, June 1996). The article "Stormont revisited" omits even a token reference to the need for socialism, workers revolution or a revolutionary party.

Groups like Workers Power, who champion the nationalist call for "self determination of the Irish people as a whole" are endorsing a capitalist solution, which includes the real possibility of communalist war. We are opposed to the forcible unification of Ireland. In the situation of interpenetrated peoples, such as in Ireland, or the Balkans, or the Middle East, self-determination for one group can only be achieved through the defeat of the other. The Catholic minority is currently oppressed within the sectarian statelet, but self-determination for the Irish Catholic nation would be at the expense of the distinct Protestant community, who would become an oppressed minority within a united Ireland, an outcome they would undoubtedly resist. In Northern Ireland, within the framework of imperialism, it is possible to envisage a "Bosnian solution", where the Protestants, given their proportional weight in the population, would get the bulk of the area around Belfast, the Catholics the area around Derry, accomplished through bloody "ethnic cleansing".

There can be no just solution to national oppression in Ireland short of the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of working class rule on both sides of the Irish Sea. This proletarian perspective requires an internationalist struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism and the establishment of a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. This requires the leadership of Leninist vanguard parties, rooted in the working class of all the peoples on both sides of the Irish Sea. ■

Treaty could benefit the working class: "the terms of the Maastricht treaty can also be a basis for extending rights and gains from states where the working class never won these gains, or where it has lost them" and even that "to some extent European workers will be better armed to fight back on a continental scale after the implementation of the terms of Maastricht" (LRCI Resolution, *Workers Power* no 156, June 1992).

Incapable of conceiving of an independent working-class strategy, and ceding opposition to the EU to the reactionary right, WP argues that to reject Maastricht would mean lining up "with a Le Pen or a Thatcher" and "to poison internationalism". In fact the Maastricht agreement necessarily means the intensification of capitalist austerity for working people. And it created new permanent structures for Fortress Europe anti-immigrant policies. All this serves as the breeding ground for fascism and nationalism, the very forces WP claims to oppose. Moreover WP's claims to proletarian internationalism are belied by their capitulation to imperialism in the bloody Balkans war. WP appealed to Western imperialism to arm the reactionary Bosnian Muslim government and they pointedly refused to call for the military defence of the Bosnian Serbs when they were attacked by NATO forces.

The Socialist Labour Party, led by Arthur Scargill, opposes the European Union, but from the perspective of nationalist protectionism. The SLP's economic programme has its antecedents in the old

Communist Party of Great Britain's "British Road to Socialism", the Bennite Alternative Economic Strategy of the 1980s and little-England Labourite protectionism. Despite disclaimers against "narrow nationalism" the SLP poses as a defender of British "sovereignty".

Scargill's programme was sadly illustrated when the outpouring of working-class anger over the closures of mines in 1992 was derailed into a class-collaborationist campaign to buy British coal, alongside arch-racists like Winston Churchill junior. And a corollary to these divisive policies is the SLP's stance on immigration controls. The SLP does not call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families. Moreover the SLP constitution prohibits membership to asylum seekers and recent immigrants by restricting membership to those who have "resided in Wales, Scotland, England or Ireland for more than one year".

Against John Bull chauvinism, against national protectionism and import controls and against the bosses' European Community we take our stance:

"Only unity on a socialist basis, accomplished by proletarian revolution and the expropriation of the giant monopolies, can institute rational world-wide economic development without exploitation. A socialist united states of Europe can only be created on the basis of the most vigorous struggle against the capitalist Common Market and all it stands for. And only under united control by the workers themselves can the productive capacity of Europe be put at the service of the entire world's working peoples."
— *Workers Vanguard*, January 1973. ■

The two faces of Workers Power

The April issue of *Workers Power* (WP) contains an article headlined "Militant on Ireland, Left cover for Loyalism", which aptly characterises Militant's positions. Yet *the very same issue of Workers Power* printed a letter to Militant signed by Keith Harvey for WP's international (LRCI) which concludes: "Why does not Militant Labour open up the regroupment process in Britain by entering into discussions with Workers Power?"

For decades Militant have refused to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland. As WP noted, Militant have embraced Billy Hutchinson, a representative of the Loyalist death squads. We have vehemently denounced Militant and other groups for their hideous sponsorship of this fascistic scum, noting that the UVF which Hutchinson represents have perpetrated some of the most savage atrocities against Catholics in Northern Ireland. One year ago our comrades of the Dublin Spartacist Group protested outside a Militant meeting in Dublin where Hutchinson was a speaker. When

the Alliance for Workers Liberty hosted Unionist MP Ken Maginnis at their London dayschool last summer we issued a protest statement (see "Socialists have nothing to debate with Ken 'B special' Maginnis", *WH* no 146, July/August 1995).

Militant's recent involvement with fascistic Loyalists ought to turn the stomach of any decent socialist. WP has historically had political differences with Militant on Ireland, albeit from the perspective of vicarious support to Green nationalism, including support for indiscriminate IRA bombings. WP's quest for unity with Militant, a group that has an opposing line on the question of Northern Ireland, makes its claim to always seek "regroupment" on the basis of "programmatic agreement" totally cynical. However there is common ground between these two groups—this can be found in their Labour-loyalism. This is the altar on which WP proposes fusing with Militant, and to which their differences on Ireland are entirely subordinate.

South Africa...

(Continued from page 1)

tional Assembly enshrines a regime of bourgeois parliamentarism and formal political equality, as opposed to the elaborate apartheid code of "separateness", with its infamous pass laws, bantustans and the Group Areas Act. However, a host of "sunset clauses" entrenches white domination in the state apparatus until 1999. And despite elaborate prohibitions of discrimination on the grounds of "race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion", etc, the whole constitutional structure is to enforce the rule of the white capitalist masters whose fabulous wealth is extracted from the sweat and toil of black labour.

De Klerk's Nats voted for the new charter in the interests of "stability", but in last-minute bitter wrangling they demanded greater protections of "property rights", a supposed "right" of the bosses to lock out workers, and government funding of segregated ("Afrikaans only") schools. The 1.6 million-member COSATU carried out a one-day general strike on 30 April, demanding the lockout clause be removed from the constitution. While the *New York Times* (1 May) declared, "General Strike Fails in South Africa", the stayaway closed down the motor industry in Port Elizabeth, stopped the trains in Johannesburg and shut construction sites. The weakest support for the strike was in mining, reflecting the large number of miners recruited from Mozambique and Lesotho who have few rights and hence little interest in striking over constitutional issues. The 30 April strike was successful in getting the lockout clause dumped from the constitution, but the Labor Relations Act, passed last year, already legalises that weapon of the bourgeoisie.

The question of "property rights" was one of the most contentious issues. The *Johannesburg Mail and Guardian* (3 May) reports "speculation that Cosatu and the ANC agreed on a trade-off, according to which the ANC would publicly support the [30 April] strike as long as Cosatu did not challenge it on... the property clause and other unresolved constitutional clauses." Originally, the ANC wanted to sidestep this question, but big business interests demanded limits on the government's ability to nationalise property. So as the National Party, Democratic Party and ultraright Freedom Front dug in their heels, a proviso was inserted that "no one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application".

"Gravy train" for ANC leaders, austerity for the workers

While the township poor are growing increasingly disillusioned over the Mandela government's failure to keep its promises, the ANC leaders fully intend to line their own pockets while they're filling the bankers' coffers. In ANC jargon, this



South Africa's main union federation, COSATU, staged one-day national strike April 30, demanding dropping of constitutional clause giving bosses "right" to lock out workers.

is called "black capitalist empowerment". In the townships and the factories they call it "climbing aboard the gravy train". And to the growing anger of the black masses, for the leaders of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, entering the government has been their ticket to the "Blue Train" to individual enrichment.

As the ANC concentrates governmental power around Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, a "respectable moderate", other possible contenders for successor to Mandela are being crassly bought off. Pallo Jordan, a reputed ANC left-winger recently ousted from the cabinet, has now been brought back to head the ministry of tourism, where he will broker resort construction and airline megadeals in this boom industry. Reconstruction and Development Programme minister Jay Naidoo, the former COSATU chief, had his ministry abolished, but was recompensed with the telecommunications ministry, where he will preside over the privatisation of Telkom and awarding cellular phone franchises. And last week ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa announced his retirement from parliament to go into private business.

The personal odyssey of Cyril Ramaphosa from Johannesburg human-rights lawyer to mine union leader to government power broker to black capitalist tells a lot about the "new South Africa". From the beginning, Ramaphosa was the protégé of Anglo American mining magnate Harry Oppenheimer, who engineered Ramaphosa's installation as head of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Ramaphosa will now head "New Africa Investments Limited" (NAIL), which owns *The Sowetan*, South Africa's biggest circulation black newspaper, and is set to pick up another industrial and media group being offered for sale by Anglo American. The *Financial Times* (16 April) quotes Ramaphosa saying, "The beauty of this is that the unions are coming together with black business to play an important role." For black miners living in fenced-in hostels, separated from their families, daily subjected to strip searches by company police, there is no "beauty" in this arrangement. Hundreds of thousands of anti-apartheid fighters did not face the jails, the guns and "hippo" armoured cars of the racist bosses to put a few ANC tops on the "gravy train".

With the "honeymoon" of the Government of National Unity over, the representatives of South African and international capital are targeting the workers movement, as they have done everywhere from the US to Western Europe and Latin America. The Randlords are clamouring for a massive cut in the cost of South African labour, which means a full-scale assault on the powerful and

combative union movement. During the anti-apartheid struggle, the black unions came to centre stage, and their militant fight did much to bring about the replacement of direct white-supremacist rule by the ANC regime. It also won some of the higher wages among "Third World" countries. At the same time, the huge apartheid wage gap between whites and blacks—six to one in manufacturing and even greater in mining—remains.

Now, in the name of the "national interest", and following the dictates of the world capitalist market, the bourgeoisie is gearing up to take a *sjambok* to South African labour, which is bound and gagged politically



Neo-apartheid South Africa: police fire rubber bullets at squatters in black township near Johannesburg.

by the ANC/COSATU/SACP alliance that directly subordinates labour to the capitalist state, centrally through the SACP-dominated union bureaucracy. The key task is to break the working class from this nationalist popular front and build a Bolshevik workers party.

For a revolutionary workers party! For a black-centred workers government!

As we wrote last month in "South Africa: Cracks in the Neo-Apartheid Order" (*WV* no 643, 12 April):

"While the ANC may occasionally clash with South Africa's business leaders, this former petty-bourgeois nationalist political movement has become a neocolonial bourgeois party. The Mandela regime—whether or not in coalition with De Klerk's National Party—cannot significantly improve the conditions of the black African, coloured and Indian toilers, much less meet their needs and heightened aspirations."

When Mandela agreed to "power sharing" with De Klerk, a host of reformist leftists called for votes to the ANC and

"demanded" that this (now bourgeois) nationalist party break with De Klerk and govern in its own name. A prime example is the Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO), allied in Britain with social democrat Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party. In the run-up to last November's local elections, the SWO called to "Vote ANC to Boot De Klerk" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 October 1995). A split-off from the SWO, the International Socialist Movement (ISM) has the same line. The ISM headlined last year, "Dump De Klerk" (*Revolutionary Socialist Worker*, July 1995). Well, now De Klerk is out, but this will not aid the struggle of the black proletariat one whit!

Now the SWO writes, "Constitution: Far Too Many Compromises!" complaining, "The ANC has given too much to the capitalist minority" (*Socialist Worker*, April 1996). But the ANC is today a capitalist party administering a capitalist state: for Mandela, Mbeki & Co the capitalist constitution is no "compromise" but the codification of the class rule they represent.

The struggle against popular-frontism must go hand in hand with forging a revolutionary workers party fighting for the cause of all the exploited and the oppressed, from the homeless in the squatter camps, to triply oppressed black women workers, to "illegal" immigrants fleeing the devastation of a continent racked by neocolonial wars. South Africa exemplifies the burning urgency of Trotsky's programme of *permanent revolution*—in the imperialist epoch, even the most basic struggles for national liberation, democratic rights, land, education, housing,

social and economic modernisation can only be won through proletarian revolution, and a determined fight by communist internationalists to take that battle to the imperialist centres. As we wrote last month:

"What is needed is a *Bolshevik workers party* capable of leading the workers movement in a socialist revolution in South Africa and extending the revolution internationally, which alone offers a progressive solution to all of the national and democratic tasks. Given the country's massive and stark inequalities, so long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. The fight for a black-centered workers government would necessarily transcend the potentially fratricidal conflicts between different ethnic groups, holding out the prospect of decent jobs, education and housing for all working people—black, coloured, Indian and white—on the basis of socialist planning. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of southern Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the neo-apartheid state." ■

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SLP...

(Continued from page 3)

Ireland. SLP leader Pat Sikorski announced that he was for "broadly supporting the peace process". This set off a polarisation between enthusiasts for petty-bourgeois Green nationalism and outright chauvinists. The SLP came out for the immediate withdrawal of the British Army, but this stance was contradicted by its failure to oppose the imperialist "peace" fraud, which is premised on maintaining the troops in Northern Ireland. This capitulation to imperialism is of a piece with the SLP's espousal of "Little England" protectionism. Such economic nationalism dangerously plays into the hands of anti-immigrant hysteria (see front page article this issue).

The SLP conference was assured by Scargill that its leadership would adopt a policy for the abolition of the monarchy. However, there was no such consensus on the issue of the separation of church and state. When the speaker for the SLP's education document announced support for church schools it caused one former Labour Party member to correctly declare that "religious education is a contradiction in terms". As one conference attendee observed, "Scargill may want to return to the Clause Four of 1918 but some of his supporters haven't even reached 1789 [the French Revolution] yet!" In opposition to the Labourite left we have always fought for the abolition of the monarchy, the established churches and the House of Lords.

Fake lefts in and around the SLP

With regard to the fake left we noted last issue that: "Far from providing a revolutionary alternative to the SLP's reformist programme, they have stood to the right of the Scargill leadership on key issues of the class struggle" ("Look who's joining the SLP...", *WH* no 150, April/May 1996).

Quoting the above statement, the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) accused us of "polemical terrorism" in a letter by Andrew Sheridan (*Weekly Worker*, 9 May). He complains that "What this actually means, if you read on, is that some left groups actually had the audacity to criticise Scargill's tactics and strategy during the miners' Great Strike." What really gores Sheridan's ox is that we nailed the *Leninist* (forerunner of the CPGB) for denouncing Scargill's refusal to bow to the hysterical calls of Thatcher, Kinnoch and the scab Union of Democratic Miners to hold a ballot of NUM members, after the strike had already

taken hold. Class conscious miners recognised this for what it was — an attempt to knife their strike. Sheridan whines that the "spirit of rapprochement has failed to penetrate *Workers Hammer*". We plead guilty. Like Lenin we believe in hard polemics and we have no intention of renouncing political criticism of fake leftists, in the style of the "family of the left" chumminess characteristic of British social democracy.

For some time now, the right centrist Workers Power group (WP) have agonised over how to reconcile their commitment to getting the vile Tony Blair elected with their desire to join the fake-Trotskyist swamp "opposition" within the SLP. This has led them to twist and turn in every direction. Hence an article which appeared in the May issue of *Workers Power* headlined "Why we still say: Vote Labour" was re-issued for the SLP conference with the headline changed to "How to break the masses from Labour" with the same line of vote Blair.

In the Hemsworth by-election WP called for a vote against SLP candidate Brenda Nixon in favour of Blair's candidate John Trickett. Now they plead to be admitted to the SLP as an organisation, where they promise that "Under such changed circumstances we would vote for what would then be our party's candidates — but at the same time we would advocate a critical vote for Labour in all constituencies where our party was not standing" (published in *Weekly Worker*, 16 May). Labour-loyalty reigns supreme for WP.

WP offers criticisms of the SLP's draft programme urging it to "fight to establish a democratic, anti-bureaucratic rank and file movement", refuse to "give any support to the capitalist army", to "reject all calls for import controls" and "fight for an integrated Socialist United States of Europe". While many of these points do constitute valid criticisms of the SLP, they amount to sheer hypocrisy coming from Workers Power.

WP talks about the need for "a political fight against both the Blairites and the backers of 'Old Labour' in the leadership of the unions". But in last year's T&G elections they supported Morris against his Blairite opponent, Jack Dromey. We pointed out that there was no choice between Morris' "old"-style treachery and Dromey's "new" Labour betrayal. The lessons of working class struggle from the 1926 General Strike to the heroic 1984-85 miners strike, prove that in the heat of battle the "lefts" will capitulate before the right thereby sabotaging the struggle. They are an obstacle to working class victory.

For his part Scargill offers solidarity to

the Liverpool dockers struggle and proclaims his opposition to the anti-union laws. But just as in the miners strike where Scargill refused to criticise "left" union bureaucrats in the rail and dock unions, today he does not utter a word of criticism of "left" T&G leader Bill Morris, who has refused to even give the dockers strike official union recognition. The Liverpool dockers' desperate struggle for their union and livelihoods urgently needs to draw the support of key sections of the

ventions in Bosnia". Yet running on the same slate was one Stuart Crosthwaite who describes himself as a supporter of "Workers Aid to Bosnia" (which supported imperialist intervention on the side of the Bosnian Muslims). When Workers Power earlier refused to oppose NATO's bombing of the Bosnian Serbs, the IBT issued a leaflet declaring, "This scandalous capitulation is a watershed for Workers Power." But evidently not scandalous enough to restrain

How to break the masses from Labour

workers power

It is crucial that those who want a revolution...
 Revolutionary support Labour...
 Labour's failure to...
 The IBT's failure to...
 A section of the current membership...
 T is crucial that those who want a...
 revolutionary SLP address head on...
 what to do about Blair's New Labour...
 A section of the current membership...
 wants to solve its conscience, creating a...
 joint replica of "old Labour" and...
 turning its back on a party which still has...
 millions of working class supporters and...
 against the worst of Blair's cronies at the...
 polls. Scargill declared his intention of...
 standing as many SLP candidates as...
 possible against Labour. This too will...
 in with the mood of a layer of militants...
 who want to punish Blair for his...
 betrayals. Both these tactics are self...
 defeating...
 So too is the line that workers cannot...
 masses of workers, either nationally or...
 locally express illusions in a reformist or...
 centrist workers' party. At present there...
 is no evidence that the SLP expresses...
 such mass support. It has one-quarter of...
 the membership of the Socialist Work...
 ers Party, and gained a far smaller share...
 of the Labour vote than, say, Militant...

Why we still say: Vote Labour

Workers Power conveniently changes headline for SLP conference.

working class in joint class struggle and militant mass picket lines to close all the docks down tight, as part of the struggle to rebuild the dockers union.

WP announces its opposition to the capitalist army and argues against an SLP policy document's reformist call to cut defence spending by two-thirds. Revolutionary Marxists do indeed say: "Not a penny, not a man for the bourgeois army!" But WP refuses to stand in opposition to the anti-working-class and racist Europe of Maastricht. And when it came to the bloody communalist war in ex-Yugoslavia, WP egged on imperialist intervention. They echoed Thatcher and the US Republican Party in their calls for lifting the (phony) "arms embargo" and refused to stand for the defence of the Bosnian Serbs when they were being bombarded by NATO imperialists.

"Socialist" scabs

In the previous issue of *WH* we detailed how the so-called International "Bolshevik" Tendency (IBT) had announced that it no longer exists in Britain as its supporters had joined the SLP. The IBT was founded by embittered ex-members of our international organisation who quit individually in the beginning of the Reagan years. They have always been venomous in their attacks on us. But against Labourite reformism, the IBT have not much in the way of teeth. Their defence of crossing picket lines (in the New York maintenance workers strike earlier this year) shows their total contempt for elementary trade union principles, let alone Leninism (see "Socialist" scabs squirm", *WH* no 150, April/May 1996). The IBT is also notorious for sneering at any question of special oppression — from the Catholics in Northern Ireland, to the Maoris of New Zealand, to their capitulation to Anglo-chauvinism exhibited in their opposition to independence for Quebec.

At the SLP conference the election statement of former IBTer Barbara Duke claimed "opposition to imperialist inter-

the IBT from embracing bloc partners with similar pro-imperialist politics!

The slate also included Lee Rock, who espoused the "theory" of state capitalism which served as an excuse to support the imperialist drive to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union; and Matthew Jones, an ardent supporter of clerical-nationalist and counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność. Then there is Chris Ford who is infamous for his proposal (sharply denounced by SL representatives at the time) to publish patently fascist Ukrainian nationalist material in *Revolutionary History*. The material that Ford wanted to print emanated from the "Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party", publicity agents for the "Ukrainian Insurgent Army" (UPA). Set up in 1940 in Soviet-occupied western Ukraine in collaboration with the Wehrmacht, explicitly to fight the Red Army, the UPA butchered Jews, Poles and anti-fascist Soviet partisans (see "ICL withdraws from *Revolutionary History* editorial board", *WH* no 122, April 1991).

While often sounding to the left of his pseudo-Trotskyist critics, Scargill's SLP stands in the mould of Labourite parliamentarism, harking back to Clause IV and the programme of the Labour Party in the days of Clement Atlee. At the SLP conference Scargill asserted that it is pointless talking to Liverpool dockers about 1917, implying that British workers must not try to learn from the Bolshevik Party who led the October Revolution.

With the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, aided by Stalinist treachery, and the attendant imperialist triumphalism over the "death of communism", the idea that international proletarian revolution is the key to the liberation of mankind appears rather esoteric to most. But as Leon Trotsky pointed out:

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions, the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current."

—"Stalinism and Bolshevism" (1936)

What is necessary is a new October Revolution, which was the greatest victory for the working class in history. And for that what is indispensable is a revolutionary internationalist party modelled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which must break the grip of Labourism, "old" as well as "new", on the working class. ■

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British troops out of Northern Ireland now!

Imperialist “peace” deal election fraud

The May “elections” in Northern Ireland, called by Major to placate the Unionists in Westminster, were designed to determine who would be permitted to participate in the reactionary imperialist “peace” deal, and who would be excluded. The elections also contained an implicit threat of a return to Stormont rule, with its inbuilt Unionist majority and systematic discrimination against Catholics. For any working class organisation to participate in these sham elections is totally unprincipled, amounting to abject capitulation to imperialism and Unionism. Scandalously Militant Labour, who have become notorious publicity agents for the Loyalist paramilitaries, ran candidates, and their pro-Labour electoral partners now occupy two seats at the imperialist “negotiating” table.

The imperialist “deal”, championed by Tories and Labour alike, is premised on

the IRA renouncing the “armed struggle”. For their part Sinn Féin banks on US imperialism and the southern Irish government to ensure they get a “seat” at the negotiating table. What is being negotiated is the brutal subjugation of the oppressed Catholics — the bottom line is that the blood-soaked British Army will remain in place.

Since the end of their ceasefire the IRA have reverted back to bombing British cities; most recently a crowded Manchester shopping centre was bombed, injuring 200 people. The bourgeois press echoed Labour and Tory politicians denouncing IRA “terrorism”, blaming the IRA for sabotaging the “peace process”, while supporting the main terrorist force — the British Army, behind whom stand the RUC and the Loyalist death squads. We demand immediate, unconditional with-

continued on page 9



August 1995: RUC protects Loyalist Apprentice Boys' provocative parade through heavily-Catholic Derry.

Clinton, Pope bless popular front election victory

Left face of capitalist austerity in Italy

The 21 April Italian parliamentary elections were won by a coalition dominated by the social-democratic Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), one of the successors to the Communist Party (PCI). This marks the end of 50 years of exclusion of the “left” from national

Forge a Trotskyist party!

government, a Cold War prohibition engineered by Washington and the Vatican, and sustained by an elaborate system of organised corruption. The centre-left Olive Tree (Ulivo) alliance defeated the right-wing “Pole of Freedom” coalition, winning control of the Senate and a strong plurality in the Chamber of Deputies. In addition, the reformist Rifondazione Comunista, another remnant of the PCI, while not formally part of the Ulivo coalition, ran in tandem with it and won enough seats to secure a centre-left parliamentary majority. We print below an



“Olive Tree” centre-left alliance celebrates election victory.

adapted version of an article published by our comrades of the Lega trotskista d'Italia (Spartaco no 48, May 1996).

MILANO — With the victory of the Olive

Tree alliance in the 21 April elections, the heirs of the Italian Communist Party are participating in an Italian government for the first time since 1947. Financial markets around the world celebrated the elec-

tion results, for good reason. The day after the Ulivo victory, the Italian lira rose against all other currencies and the stock market gained almost 5 per cent. The *Financial Times*, as well as many other papers of the world of high finance, expressed their satisfaction at the prospects opened up by the electoral results.

The world capitalist markets are jubilant because they are confident that the Party of the Democratic Left (PDS), with its organic links to the combative Italian trade unions, can shove austerity measures down the workers' throats. The massive strike wave last year showed that the right-wing government of then prime minister Silvio Berlusconi was in no position to impose cuts in the workers' standard of living. But the capitalist bosses, West European bankers and Washington hope that the workers will take it from the PDS, with the Rifondazione Comunista “loyal opposition” sugarcating the bitter pill the workers are supposed to swallow.

What is shaping up is a betrayal of the class interests of the workers by their reformist leaders, camouflaged by the flying of red flags, recalling what happened at the end of the (World War II anti-fascist) *Resistenza*, when the PCI persuaded its base, which had power in its grasp in many parts of the country, to turn in their arms. That led to the consolidation of bourgeois rule, the ejection of the PCI from the government, and the anti-working-class repression of the 1950s.

The new government is coming to power on the basis of its promises to attack the living standards of the population. The working people and the oppressed were the designated victims of both electoral coalitions' programmes.

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