



## 'Throw 'em into the nearest pit shaft' Thatcher's grisly gang

Margaret Thatcher is a liar and a brute. So what else is new? What's new is now even most Tories want to be rid of her. With the dramatic resignations of Defence Secretary Michael (Tarzan) Heseltine and his adversary Leon ('Kill the miners') Brittan from Trade and Industry, the government has very much an aura of crisis about it. The wrangling over whether the ailing Westland helicopter firm would be taken over by a European consortium, as Heseltine argued, or by the American Sikorsky conglomerate is hardly the stuff of major governmental crisis, much less so in a cabinet and party committed to lockstep march behind Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. No doubt Thatcher did cancel cabinet meetings and doctor minutes. But as Clive Ponting, the senior civil servant persecuted by Thatcher and Heseltine for leaking their lies about the *Belgrano* affair, observed contemptuously, this 'is the stuff of everyday life in Whitehall and has gone on under every government' (*New Statesman*, 17 January).

Now they claim parliament will get out the truth. They've got a select committee: That-

cher selects the committee, selects who will testify, and selects what they'll say. But then parliament has always been an institution based on lies and deceit, a 'democratic' facade for the bosses' class rule. Just remember the Labour governments' secret deals to develop the British nuclear arsenal, or their covert sanctions-busting to aid the racist regime in Rhodesia. And as for Thatcher herself, this is the woman who despatched several hundred young Argentines to a watery grave in an unmitigated war crime, who imposed a year-long martial-law occupation on the coalfields, who tried to incite a racist bloodbath in the inner cities, and who *deliberately* immiserates vast sections of the population with her monetarist mumbo-jumbo.

So why do Fleet Street and a significant part of the Tory establishment pick this moment to point a finger of guilt for a lie and a leak? Just as Watergate at bottom was not really about Richard Nixon bugging his Democratic Party opponents, but about an American capitalist government profoundly shaken by its losing war in Vietnam, so Thatcher's

is about more than cabinet 'collective responsibility'. Particularly since it became clear the miners strike wasn't going all her way, large sections of the ruling class have seen in the Iron Lady more a liability than an asset and are shopping around for an alternative. Neil Kinnock could be one such, particularly in coalition with the Alliance. But the bosses aren't happy that for all Kinnock's efforts, the Labour Party seems incapable of purging the likes of Arthur Scargill and the sentiments for class struggle at the base that he symbolises. So Heseltine made his move to the backbenches, no doubt with encouragement from some influential Tory elements.

The economic disaster, the destruction of basic industry and infrastructure promise only steeper national decline when the oil money runs out. Why do they need an Industry minister anyway, when his only job is shutting factories and asset-stripping? And the bosses are even more worried by the social overheads of Thatcherism: massive, festering discontent throughout the population threatening future

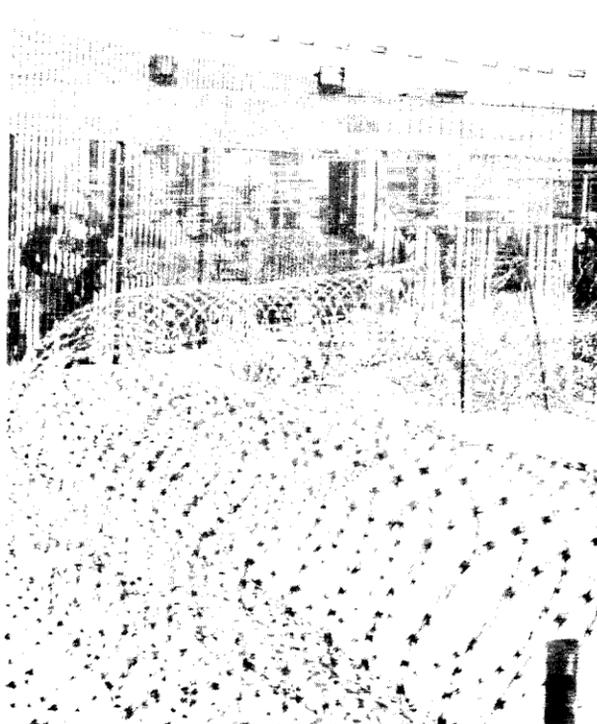
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# Blockade Wapping - Screw TUC 'guidelines'! Bury the union-busters!

First it was Warrington, now Wapping, where the battle lines are drawn in the Fleet Street bosses' war to smash the print unions. First it was that small-time cowboy Eddie Shah, now it's international press tycoon Rupert Murdoch. Murdoch's union-busting at Wapping presages a full-scale assault by the employers against the historically powerful Fleet Street unions. If the print bosses aren't stopped this time, it will be open season against all printworkers. Some 2000 jobs are already under the blade at the *Express*, and the 'liberal' *Guardian* has now issued a Murdoch-style ultimatum to its workers. *Murdoch must be crushed -- Victory to the News International strike!*

From the barbed wire fortifications outside his Wapping plant to his vicious, peremptory and premeditated sacking of over 5000 NGA and SOGAT members, Murdoch has made it plainly clear he's interested in only one thing: breaking the unions. For all the attempts by the NGA and SOGAT leaderships to conciliate and compromise, the unions' backs are up against the wall -- and strikers know it. Murdoch's TNT scab lorry drivers have been allegedly beaten up and knifed and had bricks thrown through their windows. *Scabbing is dangerous to your health -- and every would-be scab should know it!*

The vote in favour of strike action carried by more than five-to-one. Immediately after the strike began SOGAT members put a stop to Murdoch's Manchester edition of *News of the World*, in defiance of injunctions against 'secondary action'. Off-Fleet Street general trades printers have likewise blacked the *Times* supplements, again defying injunctions. On Saturday evening, 1 February, printers mounted a 1000-strong display of force outside Wapping -- despite their own leadership's injunctions against violating the TUC's wretched six-picket guideline. One week later, more than 5000 trade unionists converged on Wapping, kicked off by a militant march to the plant by some 1000 wives and women supporters of the strike. Masses of



Murdoch's scab fortress, Molesworth-on-Thames? Print bosses want to bury Fleet Street unions; class struggle can bury Murdoch.

cops piled into the demonstrators in scenes reminiscent of Warrington, arresting almost two dozen. Drop the charges against all arrested strikers and strike supporters!

What's needed to win this crucial strike is a strategy to galvanise the membership's willingness to fight, not the craftist, legalist 'respectable' approach advocated by the leadership. As injunction after injunction rains down on the NGA and SOGAT, it is clear that anything a union does to defend itself these days is 'illegal'. But Thatcher's got problems of her own. This government is politically fragile and can be



beaten -- the union-busting offensive can be smashed. To hell with their court injunctions! Picket lines of six won't stop anything but little old ladies in wheelchairs. Massed ranks of trade unionists should be converging on Murdoch's Wapping and Glasgow scab plants every day -- nothing goes in, nothing comes out! Mobilise workers from the rest of Fleet Street onto the picket lines! Miners: bring the spirit of Saltley Gates and Orgreave to Wapping! SOGAT and TGWU drivers ought to park their lorries outside the front gates. Blockade the

*continued on page 9*

# WRP splits again

The Banda/Slaughter-led Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) has just undergone another deep split. The split was heralded by the appearance of counterposed issues of *Workers Press* and *Young Socialist* on the weekend of 8-9 February. Thus was our observation of last month confirmed that 'the organisation appears to be caught up in a vague and murky split dynamic' centred on the party and youth leaderships, with the youth (and a workerist Yorkshire grouping) firmly linked to American Workers League (WL) national secretary David North. The 7 February *Workers Press* headlines, 'Exposed! Plot to split WRP', while the next day's *Young Socialist* blares, 'Political gulf between YS and WRP leadership unbridgable -- YS National Committee takes differences to ICFI'. Though a minority in Britain the Northites currently control what exists of the German, Sri Lankan and Peruvian sections and a chunk of the factionally-divided Australian group, as well as the American WL, leaving the Banda/Slaughter wing with little outside the WRP except their Australian co-thinkers.

Less than four months since the spectacular implosion of Gerry Healy's once-monolithic WRP/International Committee (IC), there would now appear to be (at least) four distinct decomposition products. Within the Healy/Redgrave WRP, a 'dwindling cult minus the cult figure' as we called it, it is rumoured that Healy has been bounced off the Central Com-

mittee. While the editor of Healy's garbage daily *News Line*, Alex Mitchell, is reportedly still backing the big boss (and the big money?), Healy's erstwhile chief lieutenant Sheila Torrance is said to have denounced her former *padrone* as 'insane'.

Out of all the components adhering to the early International Committee and its fight to refound the Fourth International in struggle against Pabloite revisionism, there is only one today which retains its programmatic integrity and is based on international democratic centralism, the international Spartacist tendency. The once-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party moved from centrism to reformism more than twenty years ago. Lambert's OCI/PCI in France has moved so far in the direction of 'CIA socialism' that its trade union functionaries in Force Ouvriere are actually on the receiving end of CIA handouts. Healy, and those who went with him, are finished. For his part, David North, hand-picked and trained by Healy in provocateur-mongering, has eagerly grasped the mantle of continuing the vile 'tradition' of Healyism sans Healy. And the Banda/Slaughter wing, which is at least intent on shedding the lunacies of Healyism, appears in the main to be moving to the right and towards reconciliation with the Labour Party -- though it remains politically heterogeneous.

According to the Banda/Slaughter *Workers Press*, the factional split by the pro-North wing was initiated within weeks of Healy's departure. The split was consummated outside the WRP's eighth national congress in London on 8 February. Some fifty supporters of the YS-centred minority, led by Dave and Julie Hyland and Dolly Short, were barred from the congress after refusing to sign a statement accepting its decisions and repudiating a split. Chanting 'Scab, scab' and spitting at their opponents, the Northites threw up a gauntlet outside the entrance while screaming, 'In a week you'll be in the Labour Party.... You've given up on the Fourth International.... We stand with Gelfand and "Security and the Fourth International".' Indeed the most visible political difference in the split is the minority's continuing embrace of the Healyite multi-year slander campaign against the reformist American SWP.

## Healy out, North in?

The 7 February *Workers Press* charges: 'One of North's main aims in splitting the WRP is to uphold the investigation, "Security and the Fourth International", which he carried out on instructions from Healy, together with Alex Mitchell.' A Central Committee resolution, 'Degeneration of the I.C.', in the same issue denounces the 'Security' campaign as 'a substitute for a real struggle against revisionism'. *Young Socialist* retorts that the majority statements 'amounted to a declaration of split with the International Committee of the Fourth International and continued and deepened the nationalist degeneration of our party under Healy' (emphasis in original).

Only those who long for a new Healy could accept North's bizarre posture that he, and Healy's pliant tool of a fake-International he now controls, remained somehow pristine and aloof from the corrupt and criminal deals with Middle Eastern reactionary regimes, participating in their murder of leftists, and thus continues to be the 'Fourth International'. The Banda/Slaughter wing, in contrast, assert in their 'Degeneration of the I.C.' resolution 'That the IC, under the leadership of Healy, and the WRP, has undergone a political, theoretical, moral and organisational degeneration.' But, they add, 'That the IC is neither "the world party", nor even the "nucleus" of the world party.... Neither can sections be subordinated to an international discipline determined by the IC.' Trotsky's International Communist League in the late 1920s-early '30s was not a world party, but it was subordinated to international discipline -- because it was founded on a *revolutionary programme*. Likewise with the international Spartacist tendency. Qualitatively, it is a common Marxist programme that determines the need and possibility for international democratic-centralist discipline.

Any correct points that are made in this resolution are not new. As anyone who reads our press will know, the Spartacist tendency

has scrupulously documented the degeneration of Healy's Potemkin Village IC for some twenty years in our defence of the Trotskyist programme. But what are Banda/Slaughter after? Two of the eight pages of the split issue of *Workers Press* are devoted to an article by CC member Dave Good which makes an implicit unity overture to scab Alan Thornett's tiny circle in Oxford. Though bureaucratically framed up and expelled by the Healy machine in 1974, Thornett's in fact was a disloyal opposition, run by one Robin Blick on behalf of Lambert in France. Thornett embarked on a rightist trajectory which, following two decisive splits from his organisation to the Spartacist tendency, ended up in the lap of Kinnock's Labour Party, via scabbing on the 1979 engineering strike. Thornett and Healy deserved each other -- for them it was simply a question of who had more thugs waiting in the back alley. For all of Thornett's current hoo-ha about his 'principled' stand against Healy, this small-time opportunist refused our offer of cooperation and financial support when his then-partner Sean Matgamna was taken to court by Vanessa Redgrave in 1981. That this scabby, Labourite wretch is treated sympathetically in the pages of *Workers Press* says much about the current trajectory of Banda/Slaughter.

## Errors or betrayals?

Yet another four pages of the paper, fully half the issue, is taken up by a rambling discourse on the history of the Fourth International by Mike Banda, still titled 'general secretary' though he has not been seen in public for months. Banda's document is convoluted, confused, telescoped and wrong. Our article 'Genesis of Pabloism', written thirteen years ago, answers Banda's points -- from the theoretical disorientation of the postwar Fourth International to the origins of Pabloism to the flawed character of the anti-Pabloite struggle. Though we are sceptical about how sincere Banda/Slaughter & Co are about their current proposal for public discussion on the assessment of the history of the Fourth International, we would offer that any legitimate attempt to draw a balance sheet must take into account our assessment in 'Genesis of Pabloism'. For his part, Banda offers a one-sided 'all devils, no angels' account of the history of the FI in which betrayals and mistakes are treated as identical. Unfortunately this is probably not even a case of Healyite lying, but worse: Banda likely thinks and believes his rubbish to be the truth.

At its centre is a vituperative denunciation of American Trotskyist James P Cannon -- Trotsky's central collaborator and disciple in the fight for the Fourth International -- as a revisionist always and ever. Cannon was co-leader with Trotsky of the decisive 1939-40 fight in the SWP against the Soviet-defeatist Burnham-Shachtman faction, in which Trotsky described Cannon's *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, a manual of Leninist party-building, as in itself a worthy outcome of the struggle. (Even Healy, in a third person reply to Banda in the 8 February *News Line*, takes up Cannon more sympathetically, for his own self-serving reasons.)

This is Banda's version of 'the god that failed'. Healy was no good, so that means Cannon was no good, all the fights were no good and finally it will come down to, Trotsky himself was no good. Thus Banda's conclusion:

*continued on page 11*

## Quote of the month



On the South African revolution

Trotsky and Lenin

During the 1930s Leon Trotsky insisted that his South African followers recognise the unbreakable bond between proletarian revolution and black social and national emancipation, that is, the permanent revolution.

Under these conditions, the South African republic will emerge first of all as a 'black' republic; this does not exclude, of course, either full equality for the whites or brotherly relations between the two races -- depending mainly on the conduct of the whites. But it is entirely obvious that the predominant majority of the population, liberated from slavish dependence, will put a certain imprint on the state.

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

We have not the slightest reason to close our eyes to this side of the question or to diminish its significance. On the contrary, the proletarian party should in words and in deeds openly and boldly take the solution of the national (racial) problem in its hands.

Nevertheless, the proletarian party can and must solve the national problem by its own methods.

The historical weapon of national liberation can be only the class struggle.

-- Leon Trotsky, 'On the South African Theses' (1935)

## WORKERS HAMMER

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# Lech Walesa and the miners revisited

# Solidarnosc loves Thatcher

Polish Spencerite Lech Walesa's open identification with Thatcher and the scabs during the miners strike drove home to thousands of British miners and militants the counterrevolutionary character of Polish Solidarnosc. Many already knew enough to despise Solidarnosc following Fleet Street's massive red-baiting attack on Arthur Scargill at the 1983 Blackpool TUC. Thanks to Gerry Healy's *News Line*, Scargill's correct charge that Solidarnosc was anti-socialist set the stage for a vicious onslaught against the NUM and its leader by pro-CIA right-wing bureaucrats like the EETPU's Frank Chapple.

Right after its September 1981 national congress where it consolidated around a programme of open counterrevolution, we nailed Solidarnosc as a 'Polish company union for CIA and bankers'. We knew this was a scab, anti-union outfit. So it came as no surprise when the *Sunday Mirror* (29 July 1984) published an interview with Walesa in which he denounced the NUM for 'violence' and hailed Thatcher as 'a wise and brave woman'. Where we publicised this scab statement, Solidarnosc' fake-revolutionary supporters kept silent, until they were flushed out. They either pretended to ignore it, or claimed incredibly that Walesa did not speak for Solidarnosc, or started waving around vague, obscure pro-miner statements they claimed came from other Solidarnosc leaders.

A case in point was Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* whose attempts to prettify Solidarnosc have made for an hilarious sequence of evasions, 'errors' and just plain bullshit. When they finally commented on the *Mirror* interview more than ten weeks late, it was to claim the statement was 'not reliable' or 'trustworthy' or, at worst, a 'misunderstanding' on Walesa's part (*Socialist Organiser*, 11 October 1984). Nearly a year later, the 19 September 1985 *Socialist Organiser* ran a piece defending one Tadeusz Jednyak, whom it identified as a Solidarnosc national committee member and organiser among the Silesian miners. According to *Socialist Organiser*, Jednyak was imprisoned by the Polish Government for, among other things, solidarising with the British miners; the article went on to denounce the NUM leadership for refusing to defend him. Well, they got into hot water over that one. In actual fact, Jednyak, like Walesa, had condemned the miners strike. So on 9 January of this year *Socialist Organiser* printed a retraction, and along with it a statement from another Solidarnosc-connected outfit in Silesia (the TKKG, apparently at odds with the Solidarnosc leadership).

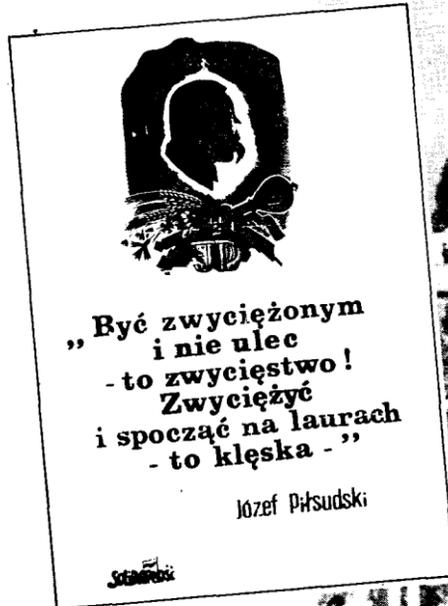
The TKKG statement corroborates our point: the national leadership of Solidarnosc, as well as the regional leadership in the mining area of Silesia, stood with Thatcher against the miners. (Furthermore, it establishes that Walesa's statements in the *Mirror* are well-known and accepted as good coin in Poland.) The authors of this statement, it must be kept in mind, can hardly be accused of 'Stalinist' biases. For that reason this testimony (if authentic) as to the role of Solidarnosc in the miners strike is particularly interesting. It reads in part:

'We are accused of whimsical independence, and reproached for not wanting to align ourselves with TKK (national leadership of Solidarnosc) and with the RKW (the clandestine regional leadership).

'But it is difficult to align ourselves when the president of Solidarnosc, Lech Walesa, condemns the British miners, in an interview which has become famous with the "Sunday Mirror" paper published in London, and when he demands that they calm down because they are ruining the economy of their country. Given that it is not surprising that the RKW has condemned the TKKG for its support for the struggle of the British miners....

'They write that we are attacking the Conservative government of Mrs Thatcher, which apparently according to them Solidarnosc should defend....'

And that's not all. *Socialist Organiser* reprints documents of a so-called Workers Opposition (a bloc of four tendencies including the TKKG). This they dub a 'left-wing current'



Solidarnosc 'heroes': fascist Polish dictator Pilsudski, anti-Communist pope John Paul II.

showing that 'revolutionary Marxism is not dead in the Eastern bloc'. These documents in fact appeared earlier in issues of *International Viewpoint*, journal of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec). Curiously Matgamna reprints not only the documents, but even lifts his introduction holus bolus from the Mandelite press without acknowledgement. Maybe there's a reason for that, too. More recently they have also been published, and praised, by Tony Cliff's openly anti-Soviet outfit (*Socialist Worker Review*, February 1986). That this disparate menagerie can join together in this attempt to give Solidarnosc a much-needed 'left' facelift says much about the nominal 'Trotskyism' of *Socialist Organiser* et al, and about the character of this supposedly 'revolutionary Marxist' opposition.

Anyone who wades through the source material will find that Solidarnosc is rife with anti-Russian feelings, anti-Communism and 'backwards hostility to the left'. Thus in an article that originally appeared in *Inprekor* (the Polish Mandelite organ), we read:

'Along with these negative aspects, we also have to note the present tendency to look for hope in Ronald Reagan's imperialist policy, because it is anti-Soviet and anti-Communist, to look for hope in the Pershings, because they are aimed against the USSR, and more generally to look to "the West"....

'In contrast to the overwhelming dynamic in the revolutionary period of 1980-81, "ideas" of reprivatizing the means of production and restoring capital are surfacing here and there....

'To a certain extent, the leadership of Solidarnosc has contributed to the development of these phenomena....' (*International Viewpoint*, 29 July 1985)

None of this will be surprising for anyone who has followed the Spartacist press and its careful documentation of Walesa/Solidarnosc' subordination to the International Monetary Fund, the CIA and the Vatican, and the significant influence within it of anti-Semitic lovers of fascist 1920s Polish dictator Josef Pilsudski. 'Ideas' of restoring capitalism did not mysteriously surface 'here and there' but were at the core of Solidarnosc' national congress resolution in September 1981. And Walesa expressed his hope in Reagan long before that, when he hailed Reagan's election in 1980 as 'a very good sign for the world and for Poland'.

Yet the supposedly 'left-wing' Workers Opposition endorses every fundamental decision taken by Solidarnosc as it consolidated around a programme of counterrevolution. They support 'political pluralism', allowing openly bourgeois parties to participate in elections. Such elections would dissolve the workers state into the atomised, most reactionary sections of the population (the clerical-influenced peasantry) and be the political

cutting edge of capitalist restorationism. They uphold the counterrevolutionary power bid of December 1981. The Workers Opposition claims to oppose both 'capitalist' and 'bureaucratic exploitation'. But it should be self-evident that particularly in the polarised context of Polish society, 'third campism' is completely impossible. For all its distaste for the cruder varieties of Polish nationalism, the Workers Opposition's explicit refusal to defend the Soviet Union against capitalist reaction puts it on the left wing of counterrevolution.

Not that Solidarnosc' fake-Trotskyist supporters give a damn. Even as they rushed to scab Walesa's defence a year ago, *Socialist Organiser* (11 October 1984) affirmed its willingness to side with counterrevolution openly:

'Suppose that movement were, in reaction to Stalinism, to advocate restoring capitalism -- though Solidarnosc did nothing of the sort -- even that could not lead working class socialists to side with a Jaruzelski standing for nationalisation and "socialism" against "counter-revolution".'

When the Jaruzelski government shipped scab coal to Britain during the strike, the myriad of fake leftists here were quickly put in a bind; it was obvious that Solidarnosc was doing nothing to back the miners. They came up with all kinds of excuses, claiming Solidarnosc was inactive due to 'government repression' and asserting that 'underground action' was being organised. Well, we never saw any action organised on behalf of the miners, but 'government repression' certainly didn't stop Solidarnosc from organising underground strikes for such anti-working class causes as getting crucifixes into Poland's state schools. With its nationalist, anti-Communist influence, Solidarnosc in fact aided Jaruzelski's scabbing.

The infatuation with Solidarnosc has worn thin, but there has not been any reconciliation between the Polish masses and the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy. The Trotskyist alternative of proletarian political revolution offers the only road forward. Such a perspective begins with the necessity of defending and expanding the socialised property inherited from the October Revolution. A genuine proletarian-internationalist programme would include demands for separation of church and state and collectivisation of agriculture; for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on defence of collectivised property. Not bourgeois parliamentarism but soviet democracy! We are for genuine international socialist economic planning -- a socialist United States of Europe -- and for defence of the USSR against imperialism. Without a revolutionary unity of Polish and Soviet workers there can be no steps towards a rebirth of Leninism in Eastern Europe and the USSR. ■

# 1961 SLL pamphlet:

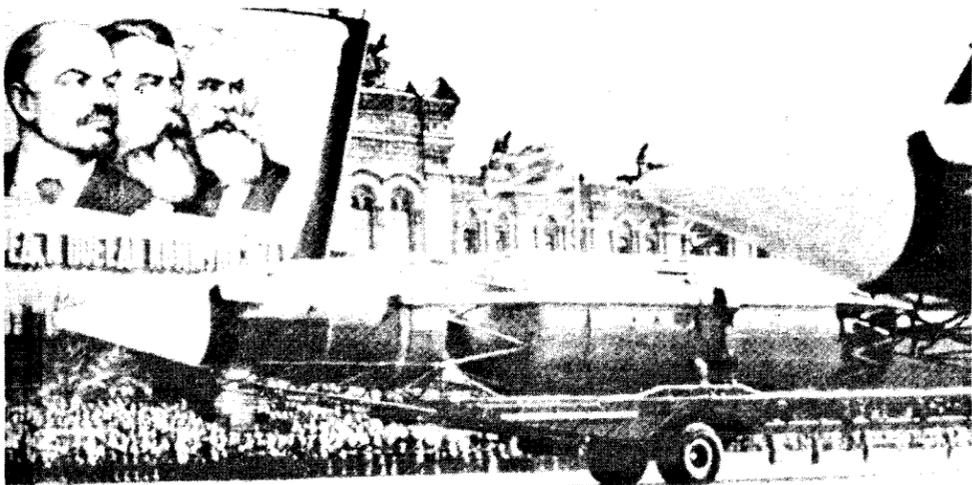
# 'Soviet Union must defend itself'

We reprint below extracts from a 1961 Socialist Labour League (SLL) pamphlet, 'Action Now Against the Bomb!', issued when the SLL was intervening in the early Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and had supporters organised as a faction within the Labour Party's Young Socialists (YS). Centred on defence of the Soviet Union and opposition to 'little England' pacifist nationalism, the line presented in these extracts stands in sharp contrast to the subsequently evolved anti-Sovietism of the SLL/Workers Revolutionary Party, reflected in its opposition to the Red Army in Afghanistan and its support for counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc.

The mushrooming support for CND, largely led by Labour 'lefts', was reflected at the 1960 Scarborough Labour Party conference, when a motion for unilateral nuclear disarmament was passed over the heads of the pro-NATO Gaitskell leadership. Founded a year before, the SLL rapidly became widely known as the hard Soviet-defencists within the anti-bomb movement. Within the YS, which after Scarborough had become the main focus for the movement, the SLL was challenged by supporters of Pablo's International Secretariat, led by Ted Grant, and Tony Cliff's Soviet-defeatist group, which at the time were jointly organised around the paper *Young Guard*. The Cliffites provided political ammunition to the right-wing witchhunt of SLL supporters for their defence of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.

In the 1962 Cuban missile crisis -- a decisive test -- *Young Guard* raised the 'third camp' call, 'All hands off Cuba'. In contrast the SLL's *Newsletter* (27 October 1962) headlined, 'Say no to Yankee war -- Hands off Cuba! Defend the USSR!'. This was a principled revolutionary stand, despite the SLL's failure to recognise Castro's Cuba as a deformed workers state and not capitalist. Also the slogan for 'unilateral nuclear disarmament', though clearly linked by the SLL to the struggle to overthrow capitalism, is open to utopian pacifist illusions that the ruling class can be disarmed while capitalism is maintained, and thus not one that we would use. But the solidly Soviet-defencist stand in this statement deserves serious attention from all leftists, and particularly from WRP supporters reconsidering their own recent political positions, in this period of escalating anti-Soviet nuclear war preparations.

'Let Britain Lead' is a meaningless slogan if it means reliance on the British Government. We campaign for the *British working class* to give a lead to the workers of other countries by fighting against its own capitalist government. Our opposition to German troops or American bases here is not a patriotic defence of the 'British nation', but an



The 'workers bomb': Soviet military parade in Moscow.

opposition to the military alliances of our own government. We regard the working class of Germany and America as our allies, and we oppose anti-Germanism and anti-Americanism. *This is our first priority because we do not see the campaign as being just against British bombs and bases -- which might become redundant, anyway -- but as against the war preparations of imperialism as a whole....*

The idea that Britain could somehow take on an international role similar to that sup-

posedly pursued by countries like India and Ghana ignores the differences in history, political ties, and economic development between under-developed former colonial countries and advanced imperialist powers!

Ghana and India do not possess the bomb for the simple and obvious reason that they do not have the means and the finances to make their own deterrent or even to import it. This, however, does not prevent Mr. Nehru's government from spending a sizeable proportion of its income on conventional weapons and from whipping up war hysteria against the Chinese republic. Nor did it prevent Mr. Nkrumah from intervening in the Congo and helping to disarm the Congolese government.

We must conclude from this that 'neutrality' has become the last refuge of every hypocrite in Asia and Africa. In principle Marxists do not refrain from supporting the right of colonial peoples in their struggle for independence to manufacture nuclear weapons to defend themselves against imperialism. This does not mean that Marxists advocate nuclear war or think that it is a desirable way of solving world problems. We do think, however, that it is dishonest and cynical to deny the colonial peoples access to modern weapons at a time when imperialism has invented and is threatening to use the most horrendous weapons of destruction known to humanity. Moreover to do so would be to legitimize a situation which was established and is maintained by world imperialism.

For Britain to renounce the nuclear alliance would represent a major breakthrough against world imperialism and would upset the whole 'balance of power' framework in which 'positive neutrality' is supposed to operate. As such it could be done only as a stage in a social revolution in Britain itself.

Even the 'positive neutralists' do not expect their policy to be carried out by the Tories or by Gaitskell. Only a Socialist Britain could renounce the existing NATO alliance. In the first place, this would involve a clash of interests with all those industries connected with armaments, and would raise the question of the nationalization of all basic industries. This is a struggle for real power, not just parliamentary seats. It would involve freedom for the colonial peoples and assistance to revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world.

Such a devastating blow at world imperialism as the wrenching out of its military orbit of one of the major imperialist powers could not take place in any other framework than this -- and it would go along with, and supplement corresponding upsurges in both colonial and capitalist countries, as well as in the Soviet Union itself.

This process could be termed 'positive',

certainly, but hardly 'neutralist'. To conceive of such a change occurring in Britain, but other things remaining unmoved until our moral pressure got to work, is an utterly unrealistic view of the forces in the world today....

The United Nations is a pliant tool of world imperialism. This is not an assertion: it is a fact which no self-respecting unilateralist would care to deny.

It was instrumental in murdering Lumumba,

it has brought about famine and pestilence, it has acquiesced to the vivisection of the Congo and above all, it has enabled Belgian imperialism to consolidate its position in Katanga.

This is the sordid record. If the UN cannot even recover the remains of Patrice Lumumba's martyred corpse from the Congo bush how can it conceivably preserve the peace over the whole world?

We do not think that the UN can be reformed, either by changing the location of its headquarters or by enlarging its secretariat or any other organizational gimmick. As the



Despite incorrect analysis of Cuban revolution, SLL in 1962 stood for forthright defence of Cuba, USSR.

Russian proverb says: 'You can only straighten a hunchback in his grave.' Like the League of Nations the UNO is a thieves' kitchen and like the League it serves as a smokescreen to conceal the designs of world imperialism. Unilateralism, we maintain, cannot be reconciled with the naive and utterly hopeless belief in the impartiality of the United Nations.

The Communist Party does not regard the working class in this revolutionary way, but relies instead on Mr. Khrushchev's diplomacy and the economic growth of the USSR -- as if the capitalists will one day see the superiority of Socialism and give up. Because of this Party members are to be condemned to months of slogging round the streets collecting petitions which no one ever reads and which everyone forgets two minutes after they've signed. This fruitless drudgery -- remember the Stockholm Peace Appeal? -- is a move away from the class implications of Unilateralism and comes precisely when this is an issue in the Labour Movement as never before.

We warn all unilateralists against the pernicious propaganda of the Stalinists and their fellow travellers against the 'German Menace'. There is no fundamental difference between German militarism and British militarism today. We are no less opposed to German militarism than we are to the British variety. They are both instruments for the perpetuation of capitalism -- and they are both aimed against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We should not allow the memories of Fascism to blind us to the fact that the first victim of Hitler's terror was the German working class. They are our allies in the struggle against militarism and war. If we single out the German nation as being in some special way the 'main enemy' then we shall only succeed in confusing the German and British workers and allow Adenauer and his agents in the German labour movement to carry through their war plans with greater thoroughness and speed. Our main enemy is in our own country.

The Socialist Labour League has always insisted on the Unilateralist movement turning in a political direction because we consider that the decisive forces are class forces. This is true on an international scale. On the one hand is world capitalism, whose development of the forces of production leads to more and more frightful weapons of mass destruction, and which faces colonial revolution in country after country. On the other hand is the Soviet Union whose tremendous economic

continued on page 11

# Sceptics who spit on the Fourth International Workers Power and Pabloism

The political ferment in and around the Banda/Slaughter-led Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) has brought to the fore many critical political and historical questions of the Trotskyist movement. As we noted in our article last month, 'The WRP and the Russian question', the centrist Workers Power (WP) group has focussed its interventions into the discussions of the WRP on denouncing the supposed 'myth' that the International Committee (IC) of the early 1950s embodied a struggle against Pabloite revisionism. For WP this argument is in large measure designed to justify a scarcely veiled position in favour of a 'Fifth International' based on anti-Trotskyist Stalinophobia.

But the current state of disarray among purportedly Trotskyist tendencies internationally makes this question very much a living and urgent issue. Unlike soothsayers and charlatans, Marxists, scientific materialists, stand on the shoulders of their revolutionary predecessors (though not uncritically, and with benefit of hindsight). We wrote in our major analysis of the split in the postwar Fourth International, 'Genesis of Pabloism':

'Key to the task of reconstructing the Fourth International through a process of splits and fusions is an understanding of the characteristics and causes of Pabloist revisionism and the flawed response of the anti-Pabloists who fought, too little and too late, on national terrain while in practice abandoning the world movement.' (Spartacist no 21, Fall 1972)

## Anti-Pabloism and anti-Sovietism

Out of the destruction of the Fourth International (FI) in the period 1951-53, there issued two competing wings, the International Committee led by James P Cannon's then-Trotskyist US Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the International Secretariat (IS) of Michel Pablo. The former was committed to a defence of Trotskyist orthodoxy, the latter to an anti-Trotskyist perspective of liquidationism. The central premise of WP's confusionist, self-serving, ignorant and dishonest pamphlet, 'The death agony of the Fourth International and the tasks of Trotskyists today', is that these two tendencies were qualitatively identical, 'that neither side were able to offer a revolutionary perspective and programme for the class struggle' (p3). Thus, they argue, it is necessary to start afresh:

'After the FI's programmatic collapse, and the failure of an Opposition to materialise, the FI was left without a programme and had never contained a mass vanguard within it.... That is why we say that after 1951, whatever the tactics that may have been employed, authentic Trotskyists had to elaborate a new programme and thus build the International anew.' (p36)



Stalinophobic WP spits on Fourth International, hails counter-revolutionary Polish Solidarnosc.

WP points to numerous flaws and criticisms of the anti-Pabloist opposition (many of them cribbed from our materials without acknowledgement) in order to argue that there was no true opposition. It criticises the belated and nationally isolated character of the struggle by the SWP and the French PCI majority against Pablo, as well as the Healy group's deep entry into the Bevan wing of the Labour Party. This is all true. But serious Marxists differentiate between errors and betrayals, between inadequate theory and alien programme. Following WP's approach, one could well argue that the Bolsheviks before Lenin's 'April Theses' and the rejection of the 'democratic dictatorship' slogan were no alternative to the Mensheviks. Only a fool, however, would do so.

The theoretical disorientation of the FI following World War II and the Stalinist overthrows of capitalism in Eastern Europe was real enough. The Trotskyists had lost sight of Trotsky's understanding of the Stalinist bu-



Poles hail Red Army liberators, 1945. Workers Power denounces Stalinist liquidation of capitalism in Eastern Europe as 'counter-revolutionary social overturn'.

reaucracy as contradictory: counterrevolutionary in programme and outlook but resting on the property forms established by the October Revolution and thereby impelled under certain circumstances to carry out, bureaucratically, progressive-revolutionary measures as a defensive reflex. As the Spartacist reporter at the 1966 London IC conference said,

'Pabloism is a revisionist answer to new problems posed by the post-1943 Stalinist expansions... The fight against Pabloism is the specific historic form of a necessarily continual struggle against revisionism....' Theoretically disarmed in the wake of post-war Stalinist expansion' and capitalist stabilisation, the FI provided fertile soil for Pablo's revisionist subversion of the fundamental tenets of Trotskyism. Pablo put forward the perspective of pressurising the Stalinist Communist parties and the Soviet bureaucracy itself to the left, increasingly generalising this in a liquidationist perspective that the labour bureaucracies and colonial nationalists could be forced to outline a revolutionary course. But he did not go unchallenged. In its 1953 document, 'Against Pabloite revisionism', the SWP wrote of Pablo's perspective:

'The working class is transformed into a pressure group, and the Trotskyists into a pressure grouping along with it which pushes a section of the bureaucracy toward the revolution. In this way, the bureaucracy is transformed from a block and a betrayer of the revolution into an auxiliary motor force of it.'

## Trotsky on Stalinism

With a wave of the hand, WP dismisses this, and indeed any conception of revolutionary continuity. All wings of Trotsky's FI having been proved hopelessly revisionist, it is left to WP to appear out of the blue -- thirty

years later -- to set things right. And what credentials do they bring to this task?

'Most have failed to "settle accounts" with the tendency from which they emerged, thus carrying with them the political errors which blinded their predecessors. Workers Power's break from one of the fragments of the Fourth International (SWP-GB) was political as well as organisational. It has enabled us, we believe, to look at the history of the FI from its foundation to its collapse in 1951....' (p3)

How does WP 'settle accounts'? Nowhere in this pamphlet of over 100 pages can one find any honest accounting of WP's own political evolution -- a *sine qua non* for any serious political tendency. To pass off (in parentheses no less) Tony Cliff's British SWP as one of 'the fragments' of the FI speaks volumes. The Cliff group was expelled from the FI in 1950 for its 'third camp' refusal to defend the Korean workers and peasants against

US-led imperialist aggression, a sequel to the decisive political struggle waged within the FI by Trotsky and Cannon in defence of Marxism against the Burnham/Shachtman 'third camp' Soviet-defeatist group in 1940. Straight after the expulsion Cliff was attacking the Trotskyist *Socialist Outlook* for giving 'full and unconditional support for the Stalinist forces in Korea' (*Socialist Review*, November 1950).

Cliff's wholesale assault on Trotskyism in 1950 does not even get a mention in this pamphlet, though it does deal with the British Trotskyists' response to the Korean war. Such evasions notwithstanding, it is precisely Cliff's political baggage and prejudices that WP carries with it in its 'analysis' of the 'collapse of the FI'. It took a full five years following WP's 'political break' from Cliff in 1974 for it to even formally acknowledge the Trotskyist position towards the Russian question. But while adopting a formal Soviet-defencist stance under the impact of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979, in practice WP pursued a Stalinophobic line of denouncing the Soviet intervention similar to that of Cliff and much of the rest of the left. And that is basically where they have remained since, wilfully mired in the rut of pseudo-Trotskyist Stalinophobia.

This is central to their mis-analysis of the 1953 split. According to the 'Death agony' pamphlet:

'Essential to Pablo's position was a revision of the Trotskyist understanding of Stalinism, i.e. that it is invariably a counterrevolutionary force.' (p29)

Later the pamphlet polemicalises against the Spartacist tendency, denouncing our supposedly 'anti-Trotskyist position that Stalinism has a dual nature' (p65). Here Workers Power polemicalises against Trotsky himself. We quote:

continued on page 10

# For a Bolshevik party in South Africa!

# Smash apartheid!

# For workers revolution!

South Africa. Apartheid. The very words evoke images of the most hideous racist oppression, degradation and exploitation. An entire people are treated as foreigners in the land of their birth, stripped of every democratic right and human decency. Millions are driven from their homes at gunpoint and dumped into the bantustan wastelands. Hundreds of thousands of black men are forced to live in all-male hostels as they toil as 'migrant' labourers in the white-owned factories and mines. If they're lucky, their wives and children, eking out an existence on the barren 'tribal homelands', get to see them perhaps one month during the year, around Christmas. What other people are forced to live like this?

Today South African blacks aren't taking it anymore. Often armed only with sticks and stones, they have defied and confronted the massively armed white police state. They have driven black policemen and police informers out of the segregated 'townships', and killed scores of the apartheid regime's collaborators. Every class-conscious worker, everyone who stands for social justice, indeed, every decent human being instinctively solidarises with the revolt of South Africa's black masses against the *wit baaskap* (white domination). The impact of the struggle against apartheid is especially powerful in the United States, where more than 20 million descendants of black African slaves see in South Africa a horrible mirror image of their own oppression.

However, many of those who solidarise with South Africa's defiant blacks believe that they are, in fact, bringing the system down, that the days of white-supremacist rule are numbered. It is one thing for Americans or Europeans who hate racism but know little of South African realities to think that the apartheid state is crumbling in the face of black rage and protest. But this same view is propagated by South Africa's principal black nationalist organisation, the African National Congress (ANC). The communique issued by the ANC's 'council of war' held in Zambia last June stated that 'It ... agreed that the possibility of victory was greater now than at any other time in our history.'

Last spring we warned:

'So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will

Mendel (AFP)



Black and white mourners at funeral of white anti-apartheid activist Molly Blackburn.



Weekly Mail

COSATU is the strongest organisation of black proletariat in South Africa's history. Black workers must break with petty-bourgeois nationalism.

win hands down. The danger is of a pointless bloodbath ... in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority.

'Yet the class principle can prevail.'  
(*'South Africa: Razor's edge'*, *Workers Hammer* no 68, April 1985)

Since then, events have only confirmed our analysis. Over a thousand blacks have been killed in the period of black unrest since September 1984, while casualties among the white police force and army have been all but nil. 'The power of the people is very strong, but we lack the means of confronting the regime. The regime is the one that does the shooting and the people do the dying.' These are the words of 'Comrade Lucas' in Crossroads, a bleak squatter community outside Cape Town which has been the scene of violent clashes with the police for the past year.

A perceptive article in the *Washington Post* (30 December 1985) summed up the situation in this way:

'...while blacks have succeeded for the first time in a generation in seriously damaging white South Africa, they remain far from their goal of toppling white rule. The dream that many youths believe is around the corner remains elusive. And because white military power remains intact, there is no clear path to get there. Blacks have created an enduring crisis, not a revolution.'

Yet there is no such thing as an enduring crisis of massive social unrest. The present impasse between the black oppressed, who are battling to overthrow apartheid, and the still powerful white police state cannot last long. And, ominously, in recent weeks black rage fuelled by economic desperation has turned in upon itself in a wave of tribalist,

factional and racial violence.

In the desolate shantytowns south of Durban, some 5000 Zulus and Pondos (a Xhosa-speaking people) armed with spears, clubs, knives and shotguns battled for two days over the Christmas holiday. Behind this bloody clash -- the worst tribalist violence in a decade -- was fierce competition for jobs and for water rights and other scarce resources. The death toll of 59 was significantly higher than in any single day in the more than year-long period of black unrest. The following week, 20 more people were killed when Ndebeles moved into a Pedi district near Pretoria after the regime had officially incorporated this area into the KwaNdebele 'homeland' (bantustan).

## Black rage, white terror

Along with a resurgence of tribalist blood-letting has been the violence arising from black nationalist politics in the townships. Take, for example, 'black Christmas', a misguided campaign endorsed by the ANC to force blacks to cancel holiday celebrations. Young activists calling themselves 'black Christmas marshals' tried to impose this ban on migrant workers in the hostels. They raided *shebeens* (illegal speakeasies), breaking up Christmas parties and destroying liquor. In Soweto five people were killed (it's surprising there weren't more) in clashes between the 'marshals' and migrant workers trying to enjoy their hard-earned holiday. At the same time fighting between supporters of the ANC and its narrowly black nationalist rival, the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), took still more lives.

Desperate black rage has also turned to indiscriminate terror against the privileged white population. The worst incident was a bomb set off in the racially exclusive beach resort of Amanzimtoti near Durban killing six whites, three of them young children. Such acts are not only criminal and indefensible, but they will rebound against the black masses. The Durban beach resort bombing plays into the hands of hard-line white supremacists who in order to restore apartheid 'law and order' are prepared to kill, in truly Hitlerite fashion, hundreds of thousands of blacks. But when Molly Blackburn, a leader of Black Sash, a white women's anti-apartheid group, was killed in a car crash, some 20,000 blacks flooded into the white areas of Port Elizabeth



Gideon Mendel (AFP)

Afrikaner fascist Terre'blanche at white power rally.



ANC leader Oliver Tambo (left) seeks deal with 'progressive' South African capitalist Gavin Relly (right).

to attend her funeral 2 January.

Fearing monstrous repression by the white police state and looking at the mounting tribalist and factional violence among the black oppressed, Black Sash leader Sheena Duncan exclaimed that the country was heading into 'an endless destructive hopelessness in a Beirut-type conflict in which there is no justice, no truth, no peace and no freedom from fear' (*Washington Post*, 24 December 1985). There is, however, an alternative in South Africa to false and fatuous 'revolutionary' triumphalism and liberal despair. That is the road of workers revolution against apartheid capitalism.

Unlike neocolonial black Africa, there exists in South Africa a potentially powerful black proletariat which in the past decade has entered into the struggle, from the gold mines and industrial heartland of the Witwatersrand to the car plants of the Eastern Cape. Early last month, independent black and coloured (mixed-race) unions united to form the half-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the strongest organisation of the black proletariat in the country's history. However, the top leadership of the new 'super-union' stands politically close to the liberal nationalist ANC.

Key to unlocking the South African situation is a racially integrated Leninist party, centred on the black and coloured working class together with Indian and white revolutionaries, which can break that proletariat from petty-bourgeois nationalism in the course of the struggle against apartheid. As we wrote in 'South Africa: Razor's edge':

'Instead of the mass starvation and internecine tribal strife which have marked the "independent" neocolonial states of black Africa, proletarian class rule in South Africa will open the way to socialist construction, based on the higher levels of industry and culture, in which whites will also have a necessary place. Only such a perspective of a black-centred workers government, through forging a multiracial working-class vanguard which struggles for class power, can break down the iron white-black line.'

### Tribalism, migrant labour and apartheid

Consider concretely the question of tribalism in South Africa. The recent fighting between Zulus and Pondos, and between Ndebeles and Pedis, is not simply a recurrence of ancient tribal enmities. It is the result of deliberate apartheid policy. The white supremacist regime has artificially maintained and fostered tribalism by funnelling millions of rands to its puppet bantustan chieftains like the Zulus' Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi's private army of thugs (*impis*) has for a decade sought to terrorise anti-apartheid militants, especially supporters of the ANC. He has also incited the Zulus against the large Indian community in Durban, as during the pogroms last August.

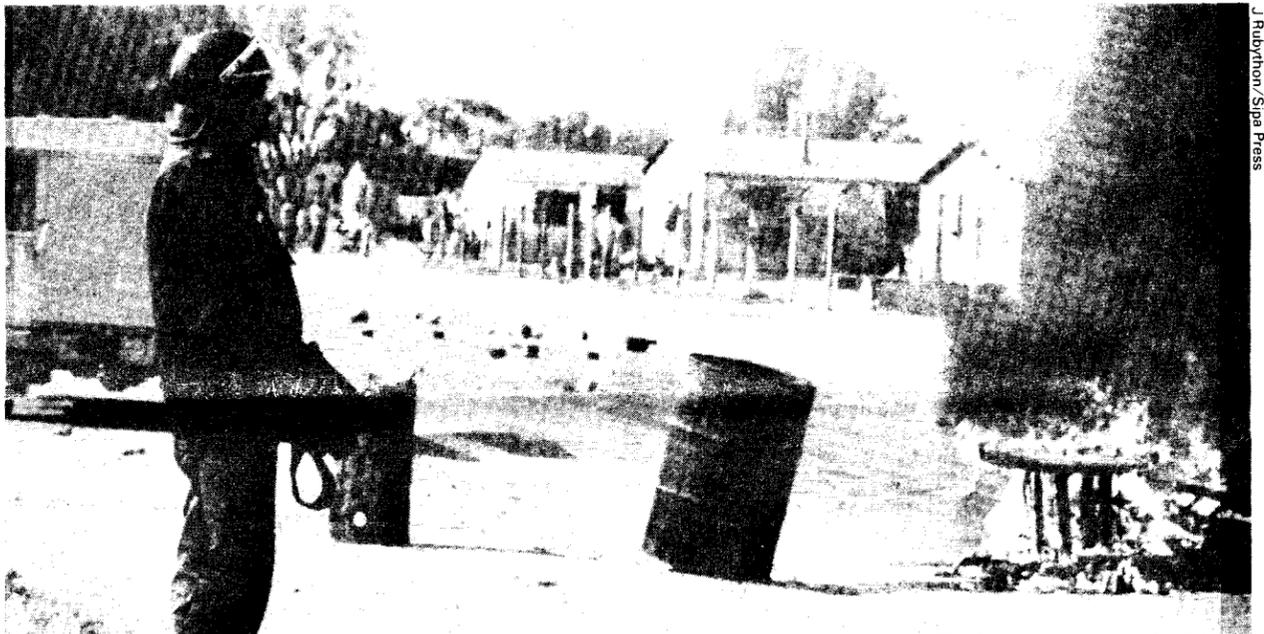
Resurgent tribalist strife is rooted in the very structure of South African capitalism. Key to brutal apartheid racism is the migratory labour system, the reduction of South African blacks to dispossessed foreigners within their own country and the reduction of surrounding black states to labour colonies for South Africa's mines, factories and farms. The bantustans with their forced evictions and tribalisation, the contract labour system, the onerous pass laws, all exist to turn southern Africa into a vast reservoir of superexploited black labour.

Thus the fighting between the Zulus and Pondos is directly tied to the economics of apartheid capitalism. Since the early 1980s, South Africa has been in the throes of the deepest depression in half a century, now worsened by massive capital flight. Driven out of the Transkei bantustan by starvation, thousands of Xhosas migrated to the Durban area, largely inhabited by Zulus, desperately looking for work. The prominent white South African

sociologist Lawrence Schlemmer explained:

'The resident Zulus regard the Xhosas who have moved in there as interlopers. As the pressure has increased on the district's scarce resources of water and land, and as unemployment has risen to about 45 per cent, it was more or less inevitable that tribal conflict would erupt.' (*Washington Post*, 27 December 1985)

To effectively combat tribalism and the divide-and-rule policies which are at the heart of apartheid capitalism requires united proletarian struggle. The ANC nationalists' illusion of a 'non-racial, democratic' capitalism will founder on the rocks of brutal competition for scarce economic resources. It will take a workers revolution, laying the basis for a socialist planned economy, to provide the framework for the overcoming of tribalism. This requires a programme to relocate the millions trapped on the bantustans and provide them with productive work. It also



Segregated townships are designed so that white police state can seal off and massacre rebellious blacks.

demand full employment throughout South Africa, something absolutely incompatible with capitalism which always needs a reserve army of the unemployed to hold down wages.

From the discovery of diamonds in 1869, and especially gold in 1886, the development of the mining industry shaped the institutions of apartheid slavery. Black miners are regimented in work gangs under white foremen armed with whips and guns and plunged thousands of feet into the ground, to toil in suffocating heat and dust around the clock, 100 hours a week. The minerals they extract account for 20 per cent of the national income, and gold alone for more than half of its foreign exchange.

By law, 97 per cent of the black miners must be 'migrant', recruited either from the bantustans or from the equally impoverished, nominally independent black states like Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland. More than 45 per cent of the labour force comes from outside the borders of South Africa. The mine bosses are careful to recruit a tribally and ethnically mixed labour force in order to exploit these divisions. There are frequent clashes between South African urban blacks and these migrants, and within the migrant workforce between the various tribes.

Nevertheless these workers, driven by the concentrated brutality of their condition, have shown tremendous courage and combativity. They have forged South Africa's largest and most powerful black union, the National Union of Mineworkers. However, the leadership of this union is narrowly legalistic, shackling the tremendous social power of the black miners within South Africa's extremely restrictive and corporatist labour codes. In the mines, the question of an integrated, internationalist communist party, armed with the Trotskyist programme of permanent revolution, is an urgent necessity. For the proletariat to

successfully pursue the class struggle, it must forge a class unity that cuts across tribal and national lines. It must pose itself as the vanguard of workers revolution, not only within South Africa, but also as the motor force for the socialist reconstruction of all southern Africa.

### For permanent revolution in Southern Africa!

In this regard the black miners of South Africa resemble the oil workers of Baku in tsarist Russia. Recruited from the many peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia, they were not only the vanguard of the Bolshevik Revolution in the region but became a transmission belt for communism to the toiling masses and oppressed peoples of Turkey and Persia. And one might contrast the mass misery of neocolonial black Africa with Soviet Central Asia today.

All the 'independent' black African states, including those labelling themselves 'African socialist' or even 'Marxist-Leninist', are subject to the economic dictates of imperialism. A fall of 5 or 10 per cent in the world market price of oil, copper or cocoa brings near-total economic collapse and massive dislocation, such as the expulsion of a million Ghanaian workers from Nigeria a few years ago. Vast sections of the continent are ravaged by famine, as African peasant villagers cannot compete with the mechanised and subsidised agriculture of North America. The imperialist immiseration of black Africa goes hand in hand with endemic, massive tribalist bloodletting. The genocidal slaughter of the Ibos in Nigeria in

the late 1960s, for example, was directly linked to conflict over oil revenues.

Soviet Central Asia at the time of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution was largely inhabited by illiterate, mullah-ridden Turkic-speaking nomads. Today their social progress is measurable in centuries, and in some respects (eg literacy) compares favourably even with the United States. An urban worker in the Uzbek or Tadzhik Soviet republics receives wages and benefits on the same scale as those in European Russia and the Ukraine -- thanks to central economic planning. Every year a disproportionate share of the government budget for health, education and other social programmes is allocated to these still relatively backward regions. Thus, despite Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement, the once vast economic gulf between the Turkic-speaking peoples of Soviet Central Asia and European Russia has been practically overcome. Such a development would be impossible under capitalism.

South Africa, like tsarist Russia, is an extreme case of combined and uneven capitalist development. Not far from the modern car factories of Port Elizabeth, Xhosa youth are initiated by their tribal elders into the secret rites leading to circumcision and manhood. An advanced industrial infrastructure is entirely dependent on a rigidly totalitarian, colonial subjugation of the non-white toiling masses.

And because South Africa represents an extreme case of combined and uneven capitalist development, it also represents an extreme application of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution summarising the experience of the Russian Revolution. This holds that in countries whose bourgeois development has been belated, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries, genuine democracy and national emancipation can be achieved only under the

continued on page 8

# Smash apartheid!...

(Continued from page 7)

dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation. Writing of tsarist Russia, Trotsky described the permanent revolution as:

'... a revolution which welds together the oppressed masses of town and country around the proletariat organised in soviets; as a national revolution that raises the proletariat to power and thereby opens up the possibility of a democratic revolution growing over into the socialist revolution.

'The permanent revolution is no isolated leap of the proletariat; rather it is the rebuilding of the whole nation under the leadership of the proletariat.' (*The Permanent Revolution*, 1930)

This holds true for South Africa today.

## ANC class collaboration and the 'strategy of chaos'

Yet what the African National Congress nationalists are offering South Africa's black oppressed and exploited is a 'democratic, nonracial' (capitalist) state, which would be 'non-aligned' between US imperialism and the Soviet Union. Many Western observers see the ANC as having two contradictory sides -- one side 'moderate' and seeking a peaceful solution; the other side militant and advocating civil war.

According to this view, the 'moderate' face is what the ANC presents to South Africa's white business and liberal communities and to the Western world. After talking with Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders last autumn, South African capitalist Tony Bloom reported, 'They used the example of Sweden as an ideal, rather than the USSR or Eastern Bloc states' (*International Viewpoint*, 25 November 1985). Tambo has also assured American imperialism that it has nothing to fear economically from an ANC-ruled South Africa. The ANC's 'militant' side is presented to South Africa's black masses. Thus, speaking on Radio Freedom broadcasting from Ethiopia, Tambo closed his 'Address to the Nation' last July with the slogan, 'Make South Africa ungovernable!'

There is, in reality, no contradiction between what Tambo tells Tony Bloom or Gavin Relly, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire, and what he broadcasts over Radio Freedom. The ANC's policy of 'making the townships ungovernable' is designed to pressure, not overthrow, the white ruling class. Tambo and Co are saying to the masters of apartheid capitalism that only by coming to terms with us can you restore social peace in South Africa. Whether the ANC leadership can actually control the rebellious black masses and young militants ('the comrades') in the townships is very much another matter. Nonetheless, the ANC has offered to call a truce and begin negotiations with the Botha regime if it releases Nelson Mandela, the organisation's long-imprisoned and universally revered leader, as well as other anti-apartheid prisoners, legalises the ANC, lifts the state of emergency and begins dismantling apartheid.

Today the ANC insists vehemently that it stands for one man, one vote, and this is non-negotiable. The leaders of the white bourgeois 'liberal' opposition, such as Anglo American's Relly and Progressive Federal Party head van Zyl Slabbert, refuse to accept one man, one vote, and call instead for 'power sharing with acknowledged black leaders'. Indeed, the South African bourgeoisie cannot accept the democratic rule of the black majority and still maintain its social dominance. Yet the ANC's 1955 Freedom Charter is deliberately ambiguous on this central point, calling for 'equal status in the bodies of the state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races'.

This formula opens the door to a racially federated state and 'power sharing' with a section of the white capitalist class. Significantly, last fall the ANC issued a joint statement with the Progressive Federal Party, the political arm of Anglo American, proclaiming 'the urgent need to dismantle apartheid and establish a nonracial democratic society' (*New York Times*, 14 October 1985). A government which includes Nelson Mandela and Gavin Relly, the biggest superexploiter of black labour on the African continent, will never come about. But this utopian programme of class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

Even more dangerous in an immediate sense is the ANC's policy of 'making the townships un-

governable'. At bottom, this 'strategy of chaos' aims at stepping up the action in order to get South African business interests and white liberals and the US imperialists to move against the Afrikaner nationalist regime. Two American liberals reported that when Botha proclaimed the state of emergency last July, ANC second-in-command Alfred Nzo told them he 'expected that the crackdown would divide the white population by driving the moderates and English-speaking capitalists away from the *verkrampes*, the reactionaries' (*Nation*, 26 October 1985).

For the moment, the rulers of South Africa are in some disarray and confusion. They lack a commanding leadership and are polarised between hard-line Afrikaners, soft-line (*verligtes*) Afrikaners and those generally referred to as English (including many Rhodesian and Portuguese ex-colonialists). But it is dangerously shortsighted to count on continuing paralysis among South African rulers, and even more so on the 'moral' sensibilities of the Anglo American board of directors and their friends on Wall Street and in the City of London.

Meanwhile, the ANC's Black Consciousness rivals of AZAPO are calling for the final battle, here and now. AZAPO's outgoing president, Ishmael Makhabele, proclaimed recently: 'The gun-shy Azanians have, in struggle, learnt the lesson "an eye for an eye". Enemy fire is answered by revolutionary fire. The law of the jungle, the survival of the fittest, is the order of the day' (*Weekly Mail* [Johannesburg], 20-26 December 1985). But it is the whites, not the 'Azanians', who have the guns; and if the law of the jungle is the order of the day, it is the blacks who will be the victims.

As the black unrest continues, an Afrikaner Hitler can emerge, winning over a decisive section of the white populace. The black townships are already set up for civil war, surrounded by an empty 'free fire' zone. A South African Hitler could seal them off, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water ... and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of dead would secure 'social peace' for a generation. True, Anglo American and the rest might have to operate in the red for some time, but that is a price they are prepared to pay.

Despite the radically different historical context, the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 holds a lesson for South Africa today. As the Prussian army approached the French capital and the working class became increasingly restive, the bourgeoisie fled Paris. The workers then took power in the city. However, the Paris Commune was isolated and surrounded by the Prussian army on the one side and the French bourgeois forces on the other. Working-class Paris was starved, forced to eat rats, horses, and slaughter the animals in the zoo. When the people were demoralised and weakened by starvation, the French bourgeoisie moved in for the kill. Twenty thousand Communards were massacred outright, over 70,000 taken as prisoners to Devil's Island and New Caledonia. Marx paid tribute to the great heroism of the Paris Commune as the first workers government. But he insisted that the workers could not maintain power in a single isolated city. They had to seize the basic elements of the national economy from the bourgeoisie.

What is to be done to prevent a Paris Commune-type bloodbath in South Africa? The breaking down of residential segregation -- the township/bantustan system -- is a key aspect of the struggle for a black-centred workers government. It has become commonplace



Black demonstrators demand freedom for Nelson Mandela, revered leader of the ANC who has been imprisoned for 25 years.

for South African black nationalists to disparage any weakening of apartheid laws which does not directly affect political power. 'I'm not interested in going to swimming pools with blondes in bikinis', expresses the attitude of many a black activist. But that is not the question. It's very important for the revolution that the white supremacist rulers not be able to unleash their bombs and cordon off areas without affecting any whites.

The enforced ghettoisation of the black majority must be fought as an important part of the struggle for workers power. Thus, repealing laws against interracial sex and marriage is not for revolutionaries a trivial matter, since this points to repealing the laws against residential segregation. Furthermore, it is important for the organisation of a racially integrated communist party that black and white men and women activists can drive in a car together and visit each other's homes at any time of the day or night. In South Africa, as nowhere else, the struggle for the most elementary democratic rights is inextricably bound up with the struggle for socialist revolution.

## The road to power

The ANC's class collaborationism and its current 'strategy of chaos' are directly combined in its campaign for international economic sanctions against South Africa and for corporate disinvestment. The African National Congress has historically looked to US-British imperialism as a protector of black Africans against the Afrikaner nationalists.

South Africa is the largest 'free world' producer of gold and various strategically important minerals (manganese, platinum). It is also a strategically important ally of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union, a relationship highlighted and strengthened under Reagan and Thatcher. The South African naval base at Simonstown is a key installation dominating the routes for supertankers carrying much of the West's vital oil supplies from the Near East. The idea that Washington and London can be pressured into sabotaging the South African economy in order to liberate the black oppressed is as absurd as it is reactionary.

The ANC has also campaigned for the international labour movement to boycott South Africa. Thus the South African Conference of Trade Unions (SACTU) last summer issued a call for a standing labour boycott of all cargo to and from South Africa. And they have had some success. For example, the social-democratic-led International Federation of Transport Workers has called upon its member unions to boycott all South African trade, and the Swedish

Spartacists, militant miners in London anti-apartheid protest, August 1985.



transport workers are already doing so. Many anti-racist and class-conscious workers support such action, believing they will in this way help to bring down apartheid.

International labour boycotts can at times be a powerful weapon against reactionary governments. Thus in 1935 Leon Trotsky called for 'workers' sanctions' against fascist Italy when Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. Such action can be effective during a civil war or general strike, or as part of a specific mass campaign for immediate demands upon the apartheid regime. But what the ANC and its reformist friends in the West are advocating is a permanent trade boycott intended to bring about the collapse of the South African economy. And that is not in the interest of South Africa's workers.

Look at what has happened to the South African economy over the last year. Over \$2 billion in capital (both domestic and foreign-owned) fled the country. The South African rand plunged to historic lows in world currency markets. Western banks refused to roll over the country's \$14 billion in short-term foreign debt, forcing Pretoria to declare a moratorium on debt service. As 'progressive' South African capitalist Tony Bloom observed: 'The banks accomplished in just two weeks what the entire international divestment movement couldn't do in five years.'

The South African economy is mired in its worst depression since the 1930s. Has this benefitted the black masses or strengthened their resistance to apartheid? As we have seen, starvation on the bantustans and massive unemployment in the townships was directly responsible for the recent outbreak of tribalist violence. Mass unemployment has also weakened the black union movement, making it easier for the apartheid bosses to sack their entire striking workforce and replace thousands of workers from the vast pool of desperate jobless.

If black Africans will suffer more than privileged whites from economic sanctions and disinvestment, how can this weaken, much less



**Impi thugs of Zulu chieftain Buthelezi terrorise Indian community in Durban. Only a Bolshevik party can combat tribalist and communal violence.**

bring down, the apartheid system? An answer of sort is given by the American liberals Calabrese and Kendall, who had extensive discussions with the ANC leadership about their strategy:

'Strengthened by their numbers and, strangely enough, fortified by the sheer hopelessness of their present life, blacks can absorb more violence and economic hardship than whites. Like Rocky Marciano, they expect to win the fight by taking more punches than the opposition, not throwing them.' (Nation, 26 October 1985)

So black African children are supposed to die from starvation or disease in order to bring 'economic hardship' to white executives and professionals, who perhaps cannot meet the

of their own unions in the process. *Playing by Labour's rules is a losing game.* Miners gratefully remember the vital financial assistance they got from Fleet Street unions, as well as occasional blacking as at the Sun; they also remember Kinnock's vile denunciations of their strike. Kinnock wants to liquidate mass pickets to prove he can police the labour movement for the bosses, and the NGA/SOGAT leaderships are going along. And not only them. The 3 February *Morning Star* argues that 'one should be under no illusion that the battle can be won simply by trying for a repeat of the Saltley Gates stoppage of coal early in the last decade, or a re-run of the attempts that were made at Warrington to stop Eddy Shah's attack on trade unionism.'

For the *Morning Star*, militant mass pickets are outmoded. Of course, the arsenal of anti-union legislation in the government's hands means that any militant struggle will come up directly against the capitalist state apparatus. The trade union movement must be mobilised to come to the defence of the printworkers through any means necessary in the face of state strikebreaking. Not surprisingly the *Morning Star* is foremost among those demanding the EETPU's expulsion from the TUC as a way of carrying the strike forward. Meanwhile it shamelessly defends anti-Communist scabherder Hammond from 'jeering, barracking and near hysterical heckling of mainly ultra-left groups' at a Cheltenham rally the day the print strike started (*Morning Star*, 27 January).

Appealing to the TUC worthies to expel the EETPU is just so much legalist, parliamentarist bullshit! What lost the day at Warrington was not primarily the massive police strikebreaking, but the TUC's sellout of the NGA by refusing to back its stand against the court injunctions. And remember the TUC's role during the miners strike: Kinnock/Willis' ballot-mongering and opposition to militant pickets earned them the contempt of every decent trade unionist. Now as then the TUC 'lefts' pass the buck as an excuse for their own passivity. Why isn't Ron Todd organising TGWU members to stop scab lorries at Wapping instead of just sending out letters to his members 'supporting' the printers?

Instead of appeals to the TUC, strikers should be appealing to the rest of the trade union movement, including particularly the base of Hammond's union. There are plenty of EETPU members who hate Hammond's scabherding; many Fleet Street electricians have been prominent on the pickets at Wapping. And on 6 February Hammond's scab-recruitment centre in Southampton was besieged by angry EETPU

payments on their BMW or continue to employ two full-time black maids, and may even think about emigrating to Australia?! And Rocky Marciano did not win his 49 fights by being a human punching bag.

The black masses of South Africa have the power to knock out the apartheid bosses. That power lies centrally in the six-million-strong black proletariat whose labour drives the South African economy. But this power must be organised and directed by a Bolshevik vanguard party. The Bolsheviks' programme in 1917 was the exact opposite of a strategy of chaos. Amid the terrible devastation growing out of the first imperialist world war, threatening a nationwide famine, Lenin wrote his famous pamphlet, *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It* -- namely by the proletariat seizing power, which it did a month later.

Communism is today a very positive word among the South African black masses, but one only barely understood. Certainly as the political police control of the massive townships weakens, there is an unprecedented opportunity to build small communist cells, in and oriented towards the workers movement. Among the Cape's coloured proletariat there may be particular openings: because they represent an intermediate layer which is oppressed by apartheid, they can most easily transcend nationalism. It was among coloured teachers that in the 1930s and '40s Trotskyism had a base in South Africa. And among black, coloured and also white organisers of the mushrooming black trade unions there are many who are fighting apartheid not in order to turn South Africa into a Zimbabwe writ large.

Out of this present ferment there can emerge in South Africa a Bolshevik party, preparing itself at the next crisis of the apartheid state to take power in what is, economically, a reasonably advanced industrial country which can provide a decent life for its citizens -- and liberate the rest of black Africa from the chains of neocolonialism.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 395, 17 January

## Union-busters ...

(Continued from page 1)

plants! Stop all distribution! TGWU: mobilise to stop lorry drivers scabbing! Give scabs the 'TNT treatment'! Shut Murdoch's operations down tight!

Murdoch's vicious scheme has been in the works for a long time. Even as the £100 million Wapping plant was being erected, razor-sharp fences and all, the NGA/SOGAT leaderships turned a blind eye, hoping in the end to 'negotiate' a deal as they did with Maxwell. But (as an expose in the 4 February *Morning Star* revealed) Murdoch was always intent on the mass sacking and replacing trade unionists with scab labour. Already the most profitable part of his international empire, his British operation is needed to help finance his grandiose expansion into broadcasting and entertainment in the US. Central to the success of Murdoch's scheme has been the open collusion of the scabherding EETPU leadership under Eric Hammond. Hammond and his predecessor Frank Chapple have long been the mainstay of the CIA-financed 'Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding' and the frontrunners in the CIA's anti-Communist splitting operation in the labour movement: from witchhunting Arthur Scargill at the 1983 Blackpool TUC to open scabherding during the miners strike to colluding with the Spencerite UDM in the coalfields to the present union-busting at Wapping. But the EETPU is not alone. With a handful of courageous exceptions, journalists have been brazenly crossing printers' picket lines at Murdoch's behest.

Unfortunately, instead of seeking to galvanise industrial unity on the picket lines, the NGA and SOGAT leaderships under Tony Dubbins and Brenda Dean have concentrated on impotent appeals for consumer boycotts of News International and even more futile reliance on the TUC. Shamefully, they have mobilised more members for useless lobbies of the TUC to demand the EETPU's expulsion than for the daily pickets of Wapping. Dubbins made it clear right from the start that he was opposed to militant action: 'Clearly the public was not very enamoured by what went on in the miners' strike' (*Guardian*, 28 January). And Murdoch himself said that, 'So long as Brenda Dean is in charge, I think things will be fairly peaceful' (*Times*, 27 January).

Dubbins and Dean want to keep things clean so as not to embarrass Kinnock's Labour Party, particularly with Kinnock sniffing the prospect of heading up the next strikebreaking government. But they are cutting the throats

members. What is needed is one militant industrial union of the entire print industry.

But the craftist tradition and outlook of the NGA and SOGAT leaderships acts as an obstacle to this needed course of action. If the NUJ is today crossing NGA/SOGAT picket lines, only a year ago NGA members were being instructed to cross NUJ picket lines at the Portsmouth and Sunderland dispute. Even within the NGA itself, these outmoded divisions are fostered, encouraging many general trades workers to see Fleet Street as virtually a separate union and a bastion of aristocracy. The bosses' job-slashing offensive will not be resolved by demarcation disputes and cut-throat competition among unions but through cross-union solidarity in a struggle to defend jobs and for wage parity at the highest levels in the industry. Defend and extend the union hiring list!

The introduction of so-called 'new technology' has been the cutting edge internationally of the publishers' offensive to cut costs, slash jobs and increase profits for more than a decade. Murdoch's ploy of mass sackings has become commonplace in the US of late. But it will not be defeated through futile strategies like atomised consumer boycotts. When Reagan sacked the air traffic controllers in 1981, the AFL-CIO officials likewise appealed for people not to fly planes instead of determined trade union action to shut down the airports. The result: PATCO was smashed.

The Tory government is not in the best position right now to mow down a concerted trade union drive to defend jobs and union rights. If Murdoch is stopped dead in his tracks, it will provide an example not only for how to deal with his fellow union-busters here, but for Australian and American workers as well. What's needed is a leadership which won't subordinate the interests of the trade unions to the Labour Party's electoral ambitions or to the bosses' laws. A revolutionary leadership of the trade unions would fight to defend jobs and working conditions as necessarily part of the struggle against this whole capitalist system of economic devastation and deindustrialisation. And that, above all, means building a revolutionary workers party. For mass pickets and blacking action to bury Murdoch! Victory to the News International strike! ■

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# Workers Power...

(Continued from page 5)

'Whoever fails to understand this dual role of Stalinism in the USSR has understood nothing' ('Class nature of the Soviet state', 1933). The section on the Russian question in the 1938 founding document of the FI, the 'Transitional Programme', hinges on this understanding, and Trotsky explicitly posits that:

'... all shades of political thought are to be found among the bureaucracy: from genuine Bolshevism (Ignace Reiss) to complete fascism (F. Butenko). The revolutionary elements within the bureaucracy, only a small minority, reflect, passively it is true, the socialist interests of the proletariat. The fascist, counterrevolutionary elements, growing uninterruptedly, express with ever greater consistency the interests of world imperialism....

'If tomorrow the bourgeois-fascist grouping, the "faction of Butenko", so to speak, should attempt the conquest of power, the "faction of Reiss" inevitably would align itself on the opposite side of the barricades. Although it would find itself temporarily the ally of Stalin, it would nevertheless defend not the Bonapartist clique but the social base of the USSR, i.e., the property wrenched away from the capitalists and transformed into state property.'

WP seeks to prove that the essence of Pablo's revisionism was a softness on Stalinism, and wilfully distorts the Trotskyist position in order to do so. But while the Pabloites' liquidationist perspective was first expressed towards the Stalinist parties and bureaucracies, it very rapidly broadened into a tailing of virtually any non-revolutionary force as a substitute for building Trotskyist parties. In fact one of the most explicit of Pablo's early projects was an entry into the staidly social-democratic Austrian Socialist Party with an explicit instruction 'Not to push forward programmatic and principled questions'. Thirty years later, Pablo's political heirs in Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, employing the same methodology, have gone from being the most vigorous enthusiasts for third world Stalinism to being the shrillest supporters of 'democratic' anti-Sovietism.

What WP solidarises with in the postwar FI is precisely its weak points, like its mistaken call in 1948 for the withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces from Eastern Europe. WP denounces the Soviet bureaucracy's expropriations in Eastern Europe (and even the later Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions) as 'counterrevolutionary social overturns'. It feels sympathy with the Goldman/Morrow opposition in the American SWP in 1946, which made some sober criticisms of the FI's initial underestimation of the resilience of Stalinism, but clearly from a rightist direction. After ludicrously bemoaning Goldman/Morrow's failure to become a 'Left Opposition', even WP must admit they ended up concluding 'that a return to the democratic -- as opposed to the transitional -- programme was necessary in Europe' and 'abandoning defencism altogether'.

And today? In Poland, December 1981, the Spartacist tendency found itself 'temporarily the ally' of General Jaruzelski against Solidarnosc' counterrevolutionary bid for power. WP aligned itself with the Polish 'faction of Butenko', ie Walesa/Bujak -- and behind them, Reagan. WP had the dubious distinction of being the only among Solidarnosc' many fake-Trotskyist supporters to openly acknowledge the capitalist-restorationist character of 'the leadership of Solidarity, and the dominant tendencies in its conferences and national commission' -- and still urge it on to armed insurrection (*Workers Power*, January 1982).

# The Workers Power song

Supporters and sympathisers who attend Spartacist League social gatherings have long clamoured for this song, written by one of our musically talented comrades, to be published. So here it is. As any opportunist will note, the song is clearly 'transitional', allowing for new verses to be elaborated to meet any forthcoming 'objective dynamic'.

1. The Shah was a man  
Who ruled in Iran  
And we really thought he really ought to go.  
Well, the Ayatollah K,  
Had a lot of things to say,  
He used to live there, so he ought to know.  
He won't go very far,  
But he's better than the Shah,  
So even though he's quaint, we really have to say:  
*Chorus*  
He could be a lot better,  
He's not a Trot to the letter,  
But he's out there, and he's showing us the way.  
He's leading a mass movement,  
Which could do with some improvement,  
But it really isn't up to us to say.  
Cos he's on the front line,  
And we're running out of time,  
So we'll support him anyway.
2. CIA and John Paul Two,

- Thought of lots of things to do,  
To give old Lech Walesa a good hand.  
So, they gave him lots of money,  
Which was really rather funny,  
But it made the Polish workers take a stand.  
It's the Stalinists we hate,  
So fuck the workers state,  
Go for them Lech, you're really doing grand.
3. Anti-Imperialist dynamic,  
Had Thatcher in a panic,  
When she's fighting in the South Atlantic Sea.  
Oh, Imperialist GB,  
Fought a semi-colony,  
And Galtieri was the man to set it free.  
He's oppressed like all the masses,  
So he fights for all the classes,  
Then the workers can go on to victory.
  4. Oh the miners went on strike,  
But it wasn't really right,  
They didn't vote and let the miner have his say.  
But, there was a man who fought,  
To get the NUM support,  
Yes Mr Murray and his fine old bunch of men.  
Well he might cross picket lines,  
And be untrustworthy at times,  
But we can lobby and petition, and protest, and pressurise.

Shortly before Jaruzelski's crackdown, *Workers Power* (September 1981) argued that a Soviet 'invasion' should be met with a 'direct struggle for working class power', all the while admitting that 'Polish nationalism ... would send the workers to their deaths clutching emblems of Pilsudski and pictures of the Pope'. For WP any force aligned against the Stalinist bureaucracy is a force to be aligned with: this is their 're-elaboration' of the Transitional Programme on the central question of Soviet defencism.

## Reforge the Fourth International!

In introducing its pamphlet, WP avers, 'We are committed to having such discussions on an open and honest basis. Unlike the centrists, we have nor [sic] fear of public polemic and criticism.' 'Open and honest'? Hardly. WP has put its 'commitment' into practice over the years with the most shameless evasion, slander and finally bureaucratic exclusionism directed against the Spartacist League. For several years beginning in 1978 WP repetitively sneered at or evaded our proposals for clarifying debate and discussion, in particular on the Russian question. Finally in late 1982 they proposed a 'debate' on Cuba, only to sabotage it at the last moment over the ludicrous pretext of our literature table. In the three years since, WP has acted like the cowardly petty bureaucrats they are, refusing to admit known supporters (or even contacts!) of the Spartacists to their 'public' meetings.

Polemics can be sharp, scornful and biting; but if they so distort the subject as to make it unrecognisable, they are only an admission of political impotence. To give but one example, WP rails against the supposed method of the Spartacists: 'first destroy the left groups, then and only then, turn to the class'. Any connection here with the real world, with our real activities? WP *knows* this is pure invention. When known Spartacist supporter and BL car worker Patrick Sliney got sacked for his active support to the miners strike, *Workers Power* felt compelled to run a (tiny) defence statement ... which omitted his poli-

tical affiliation. (Meanwhile, WP's chief supporter in BL 'fought' to aid the miners by taking voluntary redundancy halfway through the strike!)

For all its protestations of originality and uniqueness, WP's denial of the anti-Pabloite struggle leaves these pretend 'first Trotskyists since Trotsky' looking politically very much like the rest of the Pabloite swamp. Internationally WP has found itself cheering every 'mass movement' -- no matter how reactionary -- from Solidarnosc in Poland to the mullahs in Iran. Closer to home, it tails the Labour Party/trade union 'lefts', Irish Republicanism, the anti-apartheid sanctions movement, you name it. Always and everywhere, *Workers Power* attempts to cover the left flank of opportunism -- except when it stands even further to the right. Thus their charge that the Spartacists 'fetishise' and "elevate" the picket-line to a principle' (p66) didn't win them much sympathy from militant miners, especially given WP's own scabby pro-'ballot' line.

The failure of the International Committee to carry through the fight against Pabloism on an international plane and to a decisive resolution has made the tasks of Trotskyists today far more difficult. But WP's efforts are designed to obscure rather than clarify the problems of the postwar FI. These professional sceptics -- devoid of revolutionary heritage or programme and thus free to stand on nothing and criticise everything -- can do nothing more than serve as a transmission belt for demoralised elements out of the communist movement and towards the Labour Party. Is *Workers Power* for a rebuilt Fourth International, a 'Fifth International', or what? Who knows? Who cares? For these verbal tricksters it makes little difference.

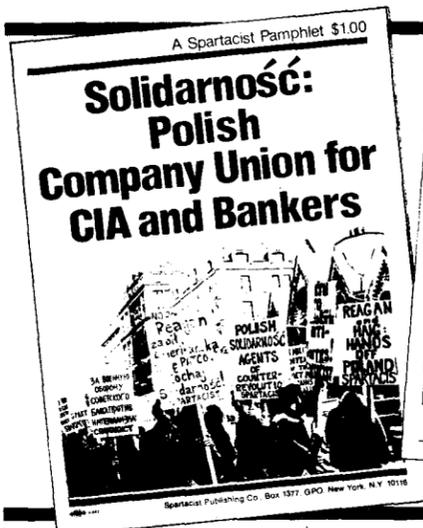
Marxists however do not lightly discard historic achievements. The FI did not succumb to a world-historic betrayal of the proletariat; it was undermined from within. Its banner remains unbesmirched; its founding programme vital to the tasks of the epoch. Out of the multi-faceted crisis of ostensible Trotskyism today, there exists a real opportunity to regroup the forces for a reborn Fourth International. In concluding 'Genesis of Pabloism', we wrote:

'The shattering of the revisionists' and centrists' pretensions to international organization -- the revelation that the United Secretariat, the International Committee, etc. have been nothing more than federated rotten blocs -- combined with the worldwide renewal of proletarian combativeness in a context of sharpened imperialist rivalry and intensified capitalist crisis, provide an unprecedented objective opportunity for the crystallization and development of the Spartacist tendency internationally. As the political corpses of the revisionist blocs continue to decay, the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, must be reborn.'

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## SLL...

(Continued from page 4)

advances, despite bureaucratic distortions, contrast sharply with the corruption and chaos of capitalism. We support the Soviet Union unconditionally against imperialism, because we consider that the danger of war comes entirely from imperialism and that the overthrow of Russia, Eastern Europe and China and their subjection to capitalist exploitation would be a major set-back to Socialism all over the world.

But this does not mean support for the bureaucrats in the Kremlin and their methods. We do not support Mr. Khrushchev's summitry, because it is not the way to defend the Soviet Union and preserve peace. The real forces for peace are the colonial revolution and the working class, plus the military strength of the Soviet Union.

We are for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain because we want to disarm capitalism. We are opposed to demands that Russia should unilaterally renounce nuclear weapons. The Russian economy is based on the property relations set up by the Revolution in 1917, and the needs of that economy do not drive it towards war. It is the economic nature of capitalism, demanding new markets and areas of exploitation, that contains the threat of war. As long as capitalism exists, the Soviet Union must be prepared to defend herself. Of course, the existence of antagonistic social systems, armed to the teeth, is a perpetual threat to peace. The only way to resolve this is to disarm imperialism by overthrowing it. ■

## Tottenham...

(Continued from page 12)

get what they deserve. If the Jarrett home had had a gun, Mrs Jarrett would not be dead -- Down with all restrictions on the right of citizens to bear arms!

To his credit, Bernie Grant denounced the police report as a pack of lies 'which seems designed to further damage relations in the area'. Grant has earned the enmity of the racist cops and their ruling class paymasters and Labourite bootlickers for daring to tell the simple truth. But his solution of an 'independent public inquiry' and building Labour Party 'black sections' as an answer to racial oppression is worse than useless. The racist, pro-imperialist Labour Party will never fight for the rights of black and Asian people. And what good will come of an inquiry demanded of a racist government which lies through its teeth -- from the Belgrano butchery to the inner-city explosions to the most recent, and most ludicrous, stories of Soviet 'Spetsnaz' agents at Greenham Common? The capitalist state and its racist police cannot be reformed -- what's needed is a revolutionary mobilisation of workers and minorities to sweep them away.

The Spartacist League fought for trade union/minority mobilisations to defend Brixton, Tottenham and Handsworth against racist cop terror, particularly in such key integrated workforces as London Transport, and we raised the call, 'Miners to Brixton!' On 11 November a Spartacist League contingent and Spartacist supporters in London Transport NUR joined a 5000-strong march through Brixton to demand the jailing of the cops responsible for the cold-blooded shooting of Mrs Cherry Groce. The struggle against racist attacks demands the building of a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party. Jail the cops who shot Mrs Groce and killed Mrs Jarrett! Down with the police occupation of Broadwater Farm! For trade union/minority mobilisation against racist terror! ■

## Thatcher...

(Continued from page 1)

explosion. The satirical journal *Private Eye* (7 February) captured it in a supposed report from 'Our Man in Haiti' headed "'Baby Doll' on last legs':

'Here in the poorest country in the world a state of uneasy calm has followed an announcement that hated dictator "Baby Doll" du Maggier is still technically in control.

'Despite several attempts to overthrow her hated regime, du Maggier is refusing to concede defeat.

'Since du Maggier took over in 1979 this tiny island has rapidly declined from its once-prosperous state.

'Millions of the inhabitants are unemployed

and lounge around the litter-strewn streets looking for trouble.

'American tourists have forsaken what was once a favourite holiday spot.

'To stay in power du Maggier has had to rely more and more on her private police or "Knack-Knacks" as they are known.

'Armed with CS gas, rifles, and sub-machine guns the "Knack-Knacks" have become a familiar sight, roaming the streets trying to keep order in their own inimitable way.

'However observers here are convinced that "Baba Mag" cannot last much longer than six months and that it is only a matter of time before she is replaced by the much-loved moderate "Papa-Doctor" Death....'

The Thatcher government is isolated, brittle and self-evidently morally bankrupt. There could be no better time for a working-class political offensive against this hated regime. But the Labour Party and TUC leaderships offer only parliamentary windbagery and pressure-politics, opposing any serious struggles which threaten the government, above all the miners strike. They supported Thatcher's dirty Falklands/Malvinas war and no longer even pretend to offer an end to mass unemployment (not a 'priority', says Roy Hattersley).

A revolutionary-led labour movement would put a stop to the current Westminster charade, march into parliament and put Thatcher on trial for her real crimes. Publish all the cabinet minutes and secret memoranda and play whatever tapes there are, not just about Westland but above all about the *Belgrano*! Abolish the Official Secrets Act and other government censorship legislation! Abolish MI5 and the secret police! But such democratic demands are incompatible not only with Thatcherism but with all the existing parliamentary parties of decaying British imperialism. What's needed is not parliamentary tinkering, looking to the likes of Kinnock and Co, but the mobilisation of the working class and oppressed to defeat the attacks of this government and bring it down. Waiting for the bosses to give Maggie the push is worse than useless, promising only more capitalist decay and degradation.

But the workers movement remains tied to the reformist Labour Party. In decaying Britain, where there is no room for credible reform, social democracy today means increasingly overtly breaking social struggle.

The heroic 12-month miners strike not only shook up the British ruling class but scared hell out of the labour lieutenants of capital. It wasn't simply the open strikebreakers like Kinnock and Willis, Hammond and Sirs that betrayed; in the final analysis it was the treachery of the 'lefts' in refusing to spread the strike that defeated the NUM. They did not want to shut down Thatcher's Britain because they are unwilling to *fight for power*. Today the 'lefts' including Scargill want to unite behind Kinnock and pimp for this social-imperialist windbag, thereby attempting to refurbish Labourite illusions at a time when thousands of miners and other militants can be won to a revolutionary alternative. We need a revolutionary working-class party, forged by breaking Labour's working class base away from pro-capitalist misleaders of all stripes.

In this society, it is the big-time crooks and arch traitors in the labour movement who get rewarded with their purple robes in the House of Lords. Honourable civil servants (like Clive Ponting or Sara Tisdall), who tell even part of the truth about the bourgeoisie's dirty secrets, or men and women who fight for no more than the right to work, end up on the dole, in jail, or worse. True justice awaits the workers revolution. And what shall we do with Margaret Thatcher then? Why not send her off to be tried by a jury composed of relatives of the *Belgrano* sailors. Then again, remember the reply of the miners strike song: 'Throw her to the bottom of the nearest pit shaft -- Burn, burn, burn the bastards!' ■

## WRP splits ...

(Continued from page 2)

'It must be stated emphatically, nay categorically, that the FI was proclaimed but never built.' And, of course, to put the Fourth International through a shredder, Banda is compelled to take up that unwelcome ghost, the Spartacist tendency, claiming that at the 1966 London IC conference 'a new and outrageous opportunist manoeuvre was embarked on by inviting such disparate anti-Trotskyist Shachtmanite groups as the Robertson Spartacus [sic] tendency and the overtly state capitalist Lutte Ouvriere group. Predictably none of them stayed until the end of the Con-

gress.' You should know, Mike -- you presided over having our delegation expelled.

And for what? For saying then what Banda/Slaughter are saying now, a mere 20 years later. Our reporter, Cde Robertson, stated our basic agreement with the IC resolutions and addressed the inadequacy of the IC's struggle against Pabloite revisionism: 'Up to now, we have not done very well, in our opinion, in smashing the Pabloites'. Twenty years ago, it was enough to get us turfed out. Now it so embarrasses these johnny-come-lately anti-Healyites that they treat us like the unwelcome ghost of Banquo at Macbeth's banquet table. 'Shachtmanite'? If Shachtmanism means anything politically, it means refusal to militarily defend the Soviet Union. Where in the world does that correspond to our politics? Take Poland for example: what Banda/Slaughter supporters oppose most about the Spartacist tendency is our stand in defence of the Polish deformed workers state against Solidarnosc counterrevolution.

So we were right over the years and stood our ground. A couple of months after seeing the light, Banda/Slaughter's tendency is to fold up under the pressure. And now it's crystallising in an appetite for an opportunist anti-Soviet lash-up which will take them into the Labour Party. The record exists, we exist. Add it up: our exposure of Healy & Co's use of the capitalist courts against left opponents from Ernest Tate in 1967 to the Gelfand/North campaign against the SWP, our exposure of Healy's mumbo-jumbo 'dialectics' and corrupt fealty to the Libyans and Iraqis, our analysis of 'The Crisis'-mongering as Pabloite objectivism, our analysis of the degeneration of the IC, our struggle to reforge rather than magically proclaim the FI.

Being 'premature' and persevering in our criticisms of everything that really was wrong or rotten about the SWP or SLL makes us an embarrassment to them. So authoritative is our record for honest and principled struggle that all sides use us against the other when it suits them. Hansen quoted Robertson against Healy on 1966, and Healy/North quote Robertson against Hansen's so-called 'Carleton Twelve' (Jack Barnes' coterie leading the SWP today). To people who cannot abide principled struggle we should not have a right to exist. And twice we have been ordered not to: first by the SWP, then by the SLL.

Much of the root cause of the current disarray stems from the historic discontinuity in the Trotskyist movement. But we have continuity, however slim, through James P Cannon. We have tried consciously to pursue a Leninist course; Banda/Slaughter and their tendency have done the opposite. Within that heterogeneous and politically confused organisation there are comrades who will find the road to Trotskyism if they take programme as their guide. In concluding 'Healyism Implodes' (*Spartacist* no 36-37, Winter 1985-85), we wrote:

"Morality" for Marxists is inextricably tied to program. The Spartacists' unwavering adherence to revolutionary Trotskyism -- our genuine, concrete defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and against the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy, our commitment to building an international party of proletarian revolution -- this has been our political compass. From that also comes a certain superstructure, a certain morality. We are fortunate to have been the heirs to an unbroken tradition which started with the American party of the Russian Revolution -- the Communist Party -- and continued through James Cannon's SWP to the Spartacist League, the party which is today acknowledged as the Trotskyist party in the United States.' ■

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## Vicious police vengeance in Tottenham

# Smash racist terror!

Thatcher's racist cops are still smarting from the treatment they received at the hands of courageous youth in Tottenham last October. When hundreds of the blue-suited killers swarmed onto Broadwater Farm estate after the cold-blooded police murder of Mrs Cynthia Jarrett, a black housewife, they got more than they bargained for. Angry youth, white as well as black, massed to defend their community with anything they could find to hand: over 240 cops were injured, several wounded by shotgun fire, one dead. Black Haringey Labour council leader Bernie Grant voiced the thoughts of every decent citizen when he said that the racist, strike-breaking thugs got 'a bloody good hiding'.

Since then the notorious Wood Green police have continued to seek their pound of flesh in a virtual occupation of Broadwater Farm. According to the Broadwater Farm Defence Committee, 209 people, overwhelmingly black, have been arrested in the three months since, 149 premises searched, 15 doors sledge-hammered. We say: Drop the charges against all the victims of this racist police reign of terror! Free the two framed up for the death of the cop! Cops out of Broadwater Farm now!

To explain the thrashing they got and to justify their continuing vengeful reign of ter-



Workers Hammer

London, 11 November: Spartacists, London Transport NUR militants in march to demand jailing of near-murderers of Mrs Cherry Groce.

Tottenham, October 1985: racist cop invaders came out one short. For trade union/minority mobilisation to stop racist terror!



Broadwater Photographic

ror at Broadwater Farm, the Metropolitan Police recently issued a report which tries to paint a sinister picture of insurrectionary conspiracy as the cause of the explosion. Deputy Assistant Commissioner Michael Richards charges that preparations for a 'riot' had been going on for months in advance, offering lurid -- and totally unsubstantiated -- stories of 'lakes of petrol' designed to turn basement garages into infernos and caches of petrol bombs stored away. As the *Caribbean Times* (24 January) put it, what Richards produces is ... 'a lake of lies'.

The police report does confirm preparations for a riot -- a cop riot, as *Workers Hammer* said it was. Frustrated over her failure to smash the miners union, Thatcher deliberately sought to foment a racist bloodbath directed against the staunch supporters of the strike in the black and Asian communities. From Handsworth to Brixton to Tottenham, she wanted the cities to burn -- and then blame it on the blacks, Asians and reds. But it didn't wash. Now Richards reveals that police reinforcements had been ordered into Wood Green two days before the killing of Mrs Jarrett, which he admits 'was the immediate trigger incident'. The report admits that nothing happened until the cops provocatively sealed off the estate in order to prevent outraged residents and friends of Mrs Jarrett from protesting outside Wood Green police station.

As for the rest, there were no basement garages filled with lakes of petrol -- because there are no basement garages on the estate. The 'evidence' of stores of petrol bombs hinged on the supposed statement of a drug offender picked up on 4 October, two days earlier, but their 'exact location was never determined'. When a 'dissident' cop on the beat charged that the police had found a crate filled with petrol bombs, Wood Green chief superintendent Colin Couch was forced to admit the crate was filled with empty milk bottles.

And at the Jarrett inquest, police admitted they had no search warrant when they broke into her flat and manhandled her, causing her to have a fatal heart attack. Yet the whitewash verdict was still 'accidental death'. We say it was cold-blooded murder -- and the killers should be thrown behind bars for good! When Mrs Jarrett's son Floyd, a prominent Youth Association activist on the estate whose arrest preceded the fatal break-in, finally came to court, the lying cops switched their story from a motoring offence to assault. The court threw the case out and awarded Floyd Jarrett £350 in damages. More and more, the British 'bobbies' are taking on the appearance of their American counterparts -- massive firepower and outright racist murder on top of the 'traditional' brutal backroom bashing. But in America most citizens have guns -- and uninvited intruders often

continued on page 11

## Defend victimised miners!

One year after the end of the heroic miners strike, and still more than 500 men remain sacked, while others languish in the bosses' dungeons. Thatcher has exacted her pound of flesh from the miners and their families for daring to stand up to her in defence of their jobs, their union, and their communities. Her day will come, sooner rather than later.

On 2 March there will be a first anniversary demonstration in London centred on defence of victimised strikers. It is an elementary demand of working-class principle, nay human decency, that every sacked man be reinstated, every jailed miner freed and restored to work, with full back pay. That what passes for a workers party in this country refuses to defend these valiant men speaks volumes about what the Labour Party stands for. As one wo-

man militant from the Kinsley Drift Community Action Group said at a 25 January Yorkshire miners rally: 'Let's not forget the miners who died on the picket lines, the jailed miners, the sacked miners. We owe it to them, we owe it to the young people to give them a future.'

For that future, that socialist future to be achieved requires the building of a revolutionary workers party to overthrow capitalism. The courageous year-long struggle of the miners served as a beacon to workers around the world in fighting the capitalist bloodsuckers. No decent worker will forget that. Reinstatement of the sacked miners! Free the imprisoned miners!

We urge readers to contribute generously to support of victimised miners to: Miners' Solidarity Fund, St James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield S1.



John Harris

Sheffield, April 1985: marchers defend victimised strike militants.