

## Forge a Bolshevick party in South Africa

# Avenge Soweto -

# Workers to power!

Today more than ever before, South Africa stands poised on the razor's edge. On May Day, 1.5 million black workers in that racist hell-hole, in concert with more than a million black and other non-white students, risked their jobs and very lives to mount the largest political general strike in South Africa's history. On 19 May, the apartheid regime struck out on a murderous rampage, bombing and raiding the capitals of three black African states while burning out black shantytown dwellers at home. Two days later, Hitlerite Eugene Terre'Blanche led his *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB -- Afrikaner Resistance Movement) thugs in a demonstration of growing hardline white racist strength, as they stormed and routed a meeting of the ruling National Party. Bullhoring from the shoulders of his jubilant *Stormvalk* (Storm Falcons) shock troops, as the AWB's three-legged swastika flags filled the chaotic hall, Terre'Blanche ranted: 'I want to tell the ANC: If you mess with the Boer Volk (people), we will blow you all to hell' (*Times*, 23 May).

Thus within weeks of each other were demonstrated the potential power of the black proletariat to smash apartheid capitalism and the danger of a genocidal racist bloodbath in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority. Commenting on Terre'Blanche's show of force, the *Guardian* (23 May) wrote: 'Mr Terre'Blanche has boasted that there are only two contenders in South Africa for power: the AWB and the ANC. By last night's showing he may be right.' But the grim truth is that the nationalist ANC does not have a programme to



Wide World

**May Day 1986: biggest general strike ever in South Africa. Black workers have the power to smash apartheid capitalism once broken from ANC nationalism.**

lead South Africa's oppressed black masses to power. The burning question of the day is the need to construct a revolutionary workers party rallying the oppressed masses behind the banner of Permanent Revolution in the fight for a black-centred workers republic.

### Black proletariat shows its muscle

The magnificent May Day general strike displayed the strength and growing organisation of black labour, reflected by the formation last December of the 650,000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and dramatically exposed the total dependence of white South Africa on superexploited black labour. Perhaps for the first time in their lives whites had to cook in restaurants, pump petrol and repair broken water pipes. From Durban to Cape Town and especially in the heavily industrialised and mining region of Transvaal around Johannesburg, the strike was reportedly 70 to 100 per cent effective. A survey of 86 companies in Port Elizabeth, centre of the motor industry, reported only six out of 11,000 black employees were working!

Coming after 21 months of continuous nationwide revolt it was an inspiring demonstration of the determination and capacity of South Africa's brutally superexploited black proletariat to break the chains of apartheid capitalism. The May Day strike was seen as a

trial run for COSATU's call for a three-day general strike planned for 16-18 June, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising. By bringing the South African economy to a halt, the black working class poses the question of *political power*. But that poses the question of leadership of the workers and oppressed.

The apartheid butchers have been escalating their war against the rebellious black townships and the neighbouring black 'front line' states. On the weekend of 17 May, government-organised thugs burned down shantytowns in Crossroads, where for years black militants have battled police trying to evict them. Close to 900 shacks have already been destroyed, over 50 killed and more than 20,000 left homeless, with dozens injured as the regime's black vigilantes continue their vicious rampage. The white-supremacist rulers have replaced their hated pass laws with bloody 'squatter removal'.

The declared target of the 19 May bombing raids was the ANC, for decades the main organisation of black resistance to apartheid slavery. In recent weeks friendly Western capitals from Reagan's Washington to Thatcher's London have been pushing the line that Pretoria was about to enter into negotiations with the ANC. Last month the so-called Commonwealth Eminent Persons were in Lusaka for

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Gideon Mendel (AFP)

**AWB fuhrer Terre'Blanche, aspiring South African Hitler.**

# Now you see it, now you don't

When Reagan and Thatcher launched their criminal assault on Libya, the centrist Workers Power (WP) group was conspicuously absent from the first protest rallies in London. Finally they appeared with a line: a leaflet dated 18 April featured five 'clear and unequivocal' slogans, the last of which read 'Defend the USSR against any attacks by imperialism'. But centrists are seldom unequivocal. So a few days later there appeared another line, with the leaflet rewritten into a front-page article for the May issue of *Workers Power* -- and, lo, the five slogans had magically become four. In the midst of an assault clearly linked to the anti-Soviet war drive, not once did this supposedly Trotskyist newspaper deem it necessary to mention military defence of the USSR against imperialism, or even that there is a war drive against the Soviet Union. Editorial sloppiness? Hardly.

Six years ago, under the impact of the Afghanistan events, WP broke with its 'state capitalist' heritage and adopted a formally Soviet-defencist analysis. Since then it has presented an inglorious picture of muddle, contradiction and inevitable political flinching whenever Soviet defence is posed concretely. Over Afghanistan itself, WP came up with a line only after a major internal fight,

## Quote of the month



Socialism and the Church

Trotsky and Lenin

Today sundry social democrats and fake revolutionaries hail clerical, counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc. In contrast we look to the revolutionary heritage of the Polish working class symbolised in particular by Rosa Luxemburg. We reprint here an excerpt from her 'Socialism and the Churches':

When the czarist government finally falls under the blows of the revolutionary proletariat of Poland and Russia, and when political liberty exists in our country, then we shall see the same Archbishop Popiel and the same ecclesiastics who today thunder against the militants, suddenly beginning to organize the workers into 'Christian' and 'national' associations in order to mislead them...

The workers must, therefore, be warned of the danger so that they will not let themselves be taken in, on the morrow of the victory of the revolution, by the honeyed words of those who today from the height of the pulpit, dare to defend the czarist government, which kills the workers, and the repressive apparatus of capital, which is the principal cause of the poverty of the proletariat.

In order to defend themselves against the antagonism of the clergy at the present time, during the revolution, and against their false friendship tomorrow, after the revolution, it is necessary for the workers to organize themselves in the Social Democratic Party.

-- Rosa Luxemburg, 'Socialism and the Churches' (1905)

## WORKERS HAMMER

Monthly newspaper of the Spartacist League, British section of the international Spartacist tendency

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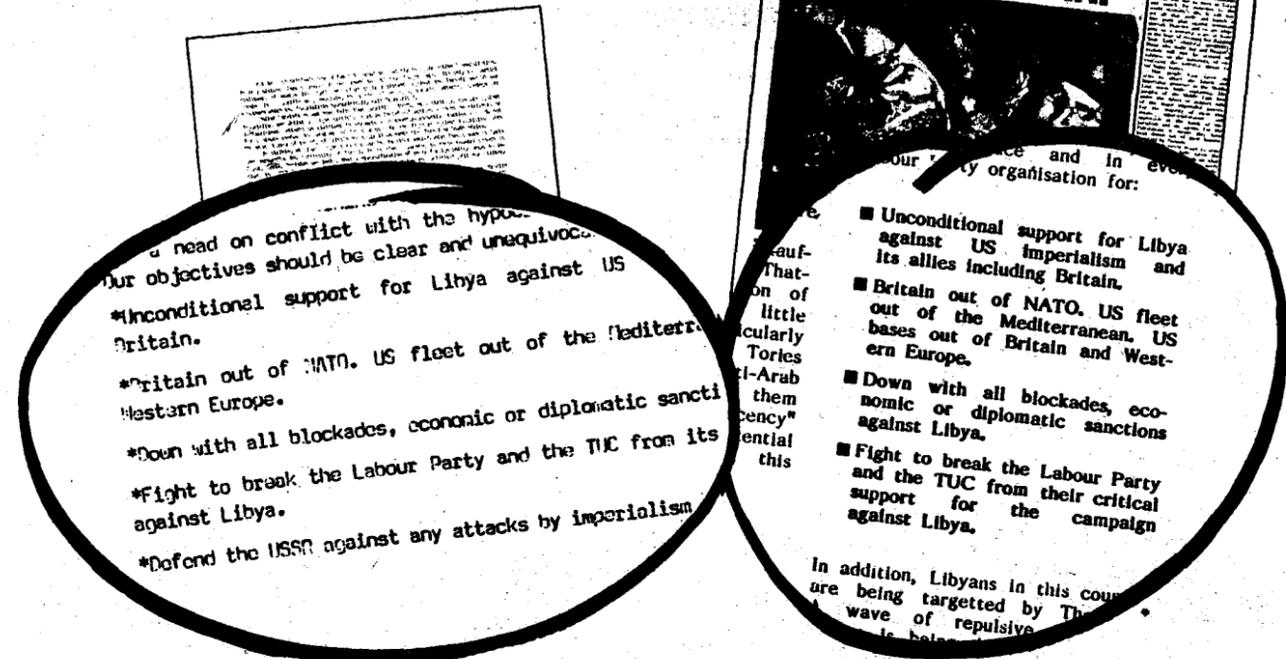
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### Workers Power v Workers Power on Libya: do they or don't they defend the Soviet Union?

with then-minority leader Keith Hassell arguing for a military united front with the counterrevolutionary 'rebels', even if the 'short term outcome' was a 'nationalist, pro-imperialist government' (*Internal Bulletin* no 36, February 1980). The WP majority settled for an inconsistent muddle of a line, denouncing the Soviet intervention as 'reactionary', but declining to call for 'troops out' until some mythical third force based on the (virtually non-existent) Afghan proletariat had been conjured into struggle. Their main spleen was directed against the Spartacists, because we pointed out that, for a change, the Soviet Stalinists were making a supportable intervention on the right side in a civil war and said 'Hail Red Army!'

Then came Poland. At first WP merely denied any reactionary, capitalist-restorationist potential in the emergence of Solidarnosc. (Lech Walesa was, they claimed, a 'simple trade unionist'.) Once Solidarnosc had consolidated on a counterrevolutionary line, and General Jaruzelski moved to spike its bid for power, the January 1982 *Workers Power* produced sixteen tortured 'Theses' which admitted that all of Solidarnosc' 'dominant tendencies' were capitalist-restorationist. Their conclusion? In typical WP confusion-speak, 'it does not mean that we do not solidarise with Solidar-

nosc'. Indeed, they were happy to join forces on demonstrations even with open Pilsudskite counterrevolutionaries. Again, we Spartacists drew conclusions from our analysis and said 'Stop Solidarnosc counterrevolution!' For WP, this made us 'miserable pedants' with 'blood on their hands'.

The rise of CND saw WP produce mutually contradictory articles explaining, one month, that the Soviet Union was the target of the war drive, and the next that, no, Reagan/Thatcher had the 'colonial revolution' in their sights. Now we have Libya -- and the latter line, disappearing altogether any idea of an anti-Soviet war drive, seems to have won out. At least for now.

Trotsky spoke of centrism as 'crystallised confusion', and in the Workers Power group we have this and then some. Seeking to be the 'left' conscience of the British fake-Trotskyist milieu, WP wants to offer a home to those who are disgruntled with the extreme Labourism and philistinism of most of the fake left but who do not want to make a hard break towards genuine Bolshevism (which is termed 'sectarianism'). That means not swimming (too much) against the stream and above all avoiding any taint of 'Spartacism' -- especially, in this period of Cold War, on the Russian Question. ■

## US dockers condemn Libya terror raid

On 24 April, the Executive Board of the US West Coast Dockers' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 in San Francisco unanimously passed a resolution condemning the murderous US bombing raid against Libya. This courageous stand places the predominantly black SF longshore local once again in the vanguard of American labor.

Local 10 was forged through the mighty 1934 general strike that smashed open shop conditions in San Francisco. In 1953, at the height of McCarthyite Cold War hysteria, thousands of Local 10 longshoremen drove the witchhunters out of town. Today, as ILWU members up and down the coast face a concerted employer attack on union conditions, defense of labor at home requires opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive.

We warmly applaud this action by Local 10 in the face of flag-waving, union-busting Reagan reaction. The resolution, presented by Stan Gow, a member of the Executive Board and supporter of the Spartacist League/US, is printed here:

'ILWU Local 10 supports the cause of Libyan independence and territorial integrity against assaults by U.S. imperialism. We condemn U.S. imperialism's policy of anti-

Soviet provocation and its acts of aggression, criminal assassination and mass terror against Libya.'

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 403, 9 May

A Spartacist Pamphlet 50¢

### KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation

The truth about KAL 007: exposed by the Spartacist tendency at the time. 45p inc p&p from Spartacist Publications, PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE.

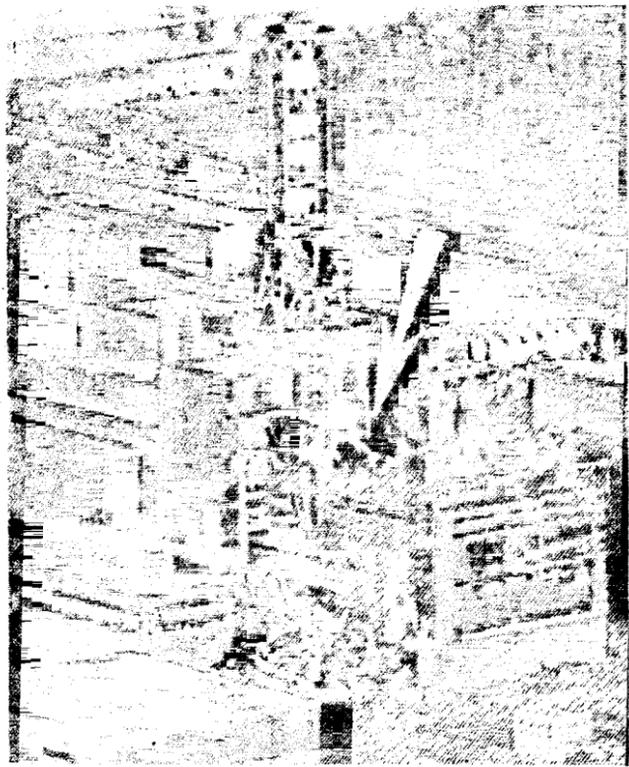
# Media meltdown over Chernobyl tragedy

It is a sign of the war mania rampant in the ruling class that a tragic industrial accident in the Soviet Union is turned into anti-Soviet hysteria. Lacking any hard information when the accident developed at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant near Kiev, the 'news' media simply conjured up the wildest stories imaginable. Then, after shamelessly conjuring up a 'Red nukemare', they had the gall to denounce the Russians for covering up! Even the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Dr Hans Blix, recognised as much, telling a conference of Western news editors: 'The Soviet news coverage of Chernobyl was late, meagre but not untrue. The Western coverage was fast, massive and misleading.' (*Observer*, 18 May)

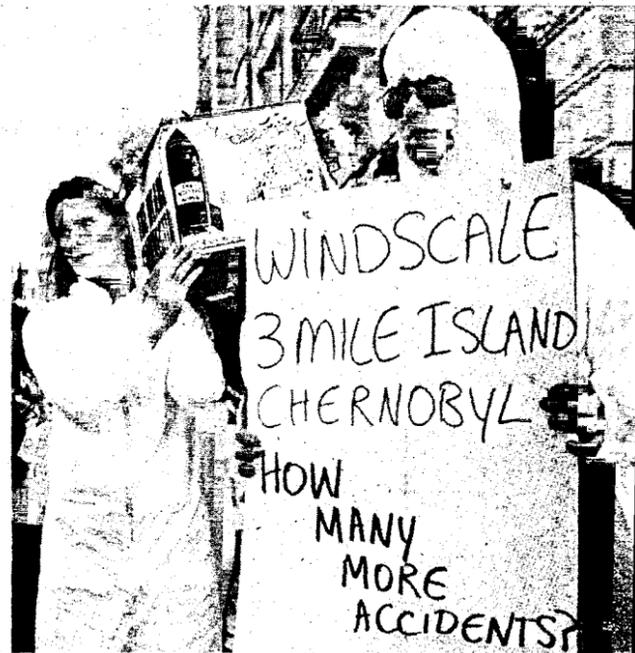
It was an across-the-board media panic, from ultra-right Reaganites in the US to CND types here. Strikebreaker Murdoch's international lie machine probably took first prize for sensationalist rubbish, from his *New York Post* headlines like 'Mass Grave for 15,000 N-Victims' to the *Sun*'s 'Red Nuke Disaster -- 2,000 Dead Riddle'. And the fake-left press swallowed it hook, line and sinker, with Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (1 May) blaring from its back page, 'Nuclear disaster in USSR -- Cloud of death'. Step aside, Rupert!

It was, moreover, a *manipulated media panic*. At the imperialist summit in Tokyo, Reagan tried to deny the US was engaged in 'Soviet bashing' while one key official said, 'the last thing we want to seem to be doing is any gloating'. Gloating isn't the half of it. The Reaganites were having a field day. Add to the usual 'Russians eat babies for breakfast' Cold War rhetoric quite a dose of Ukrainian malice, as the media interviewed expatriates filled with hatred for the October Revolution, who all seem to have left in 1944 (ie with the retreating Wehrmacht). Meanwhile Margaret Thatcher, who can't even tell her own Cabinet the truth, declaimed the Soviets' supposed dishonesty 'should make us wary' about arms control agreements. Then, in a blatant Cold War attack, the EEC slapped a ban on fresh food imports from the entire Warsaw Pact bloc!

The 'evil empire' propaganda was not only coming from Reagan and Thatcher. The 4 May *Observer* claimed, 'Chernobyl has shown how an authoritarian government can impose unacceptable dangers on its people'. The liberal *Washington Post* blathered how the Soviets 'don't put the same value on civilian lives ... as does the democratic West'. That's quite a mouthful coming from the only country to ever use nuclear weapons ... against the ci-



Chernobyl nuclear power plant near Kiev.



Beyond disinformation: Western media radiates anti-Soviet hysteria. Right: Anti-nuclear protest in London.

vilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a toll of more than 90,000 dead immediately and another 110,000 from the after-effects! And don't forget those innocent civilians repeatedly irradiated over the years by fallout from US and British nuclear tests in the Pacific. Recent evidence suggests that Marshall Islanders may have been deliberately exposed to the fallout so that they could be guinea pigs to study the effects of radiation on humans (*Guardian*, 2 May).

Reagan and Thatcher's accusations of Soviet 'disregard' for international welfare are not only lies but the height of hypocrisy, coming from the gang that wants to *nuke Russia* with a first strike. Far more dangerous than the Chernobyl incident was the deliberately provocative US invasion of Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea in March. That might have triggered a nuclear showdown. From Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan to Libya, the Pentagon is trying to escalate its 'low intensity conflicts' with 'Soviet surrogates' into confrontations with the Russian bear.

## Manipulated media panic

So in the midst of this media meltdown, what did happen at the Chernobyl power plant? The Russians clearly want to minimise it, and they have their story. The imperialists clearly want to maximise it, and they have lots of stories ... which rapidly started collapsing on each other. All the satellite photos and other paraphernalia available to the US 'intelligence community' have not come up with anything to contradict the assertions in Soviet press statements. There was a serious nuclear accident, two people reportedly died immediately, another 17 since and around 200 were hospitalised. Several towns were evacuated. Certainly there will be many more deaths in the weeks and years to come among the Soviet citizens exposed to the Chernobyl accident. And there will be an increased incidence of cancer in that region. But most everything else in the capitalist media has been a Big Lie.

Much of it was clearly orchestrated. For example, the scare over '2000 dead', according to UPI, came from an 'unidentified Kiev resident'. It was later stated by the UPI night editor in Washington that this was 'an unconfirmed report' which 'came out of U.S. intelligence' (from a column by Hunter Thompson in the 5 May *San Francisco Examiner*). In fact the lies came so fast and furious, the liars couldn't help tripping over themselves. Days after running scare headlines about a 'second meltdown' at Chernobyl, the *Times* shamelessly reported that there had been no 'first' meltdown. Then after weeks of squealing 'it can't happen here' because of superior Western reactor design, 'US nuclear experts

now realise that the three-year-old Chernobyl four unit was much more similar to Western reactors in terms of safety than originally thought' (*Guardian*, 20 May). And it turns out that key components of the Chernobyl reactor, which may have been faulty, were imported from the West!

If you want to talk about genuinely sinister governmental cover-up and silence, what about the Windscale/Sellafield accident of 1957, which was covered up by successive British governments for fully 26 years! More dangerous yet was the incident near Palomares, Spain in January 1966, where a US B-52 crashed losing four 20-megaton H-bombs. For 44 days the US would not even acknowledge that it had lost anything, even while American troops scoured the Spanish countryside with Geiger counters. Eventually the US admitted that two of the bombs had broken open, spraying the region with deadly radioactive plutonium and enriched uranium. The radiation was 'basically harmless', the US insisted, even as they secretly scooped up 1500 tons of topsoil and shipped it back to the US for burial. But there was no outcry about the 'madmen' in Washington from the US media or the 'European community' of NATO -- that rhetoric is reserved only for the Soviet Union.

## Anti-Soviet chain reaction

The sequence of events described by Soviet spokesmen appears utterly plausible. The accident reportedly happened on the night of Friday/Saturday, 25/26 April; the first public announcement came on Monday, 28 April. The Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency was informed of the partial destruction of a reactor and leakage of radioactivity. Contrary to scare stories about 'death clouds' spreading across Europe, the radiation levels outside the Soviet Union were minuscule and quickly dissipated. Danish scientists measured radiation at 0.02 millirems per hour on 1 May, or 1/500th of the amount of one chest x-ray. In Sweden, the peak was recorded at 2 millirems. 'By comparison', the *New York Times* (2 May) noted, 'a passenger flying from Los Angeles to New York receives a dose of 2.5 millirems from cosmic rays'.

There was a series of successively more detailed Soviet news releases as information was verified -- and so far they have proven to be true, unlike the hysterical Western reports. The *New York Times* (1 May), attempting to draw parallels about 'Soviet Secrecy', noted that the Soviet news release process 'recalled the defensive Soviet coverage of the South Korean [KAL 007] airliner incident, when Moscow took six days to concede that it had shot down the plane, and then gradually in-

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From forced labour to 'guest labour'

# Turkish workers in the German Fourth Reich

In January, 15,000 people, among them 5000 Turks, marched in Hamburg to protest against racist terror against the *Gastarbeiter* ('guest workers'), West Germany's huge population of immigrant labour. The latest victim was a young Turkish worker, Ramazan Avci, who was brutally murdered by skinhead punks. These fascist thugs stormed out of their hangout, the Landwehr pub, while one of them ran over Avci with a car. Lying helpless on the ground, he was beaten to death with baseball bats and axes. Avci was neither the first nor the last victim of skinhead terror. Indeed, outside the same Landwehr pub a black African from Ghana was beaten and kicked while his assailants chanted, 'Niggers out! White Power!'

The West German state -- official successor to the Nazi Third Reich -- has no intention of cracking down on the skinheads, who have close ties to fascist groups like Michael Kuhnen's Aktionsfront Nationaler Aktivisten. What is involved is not just some lumpen skinhead punks going wild but racist violence inherent in the capitalist system. The line runs back from today's *Auslanderhetze* (hostility toward foreign workers) to the deadly exploitation of slave labour in Nazi Germany and Hitler's *Endlosung* (final solution) for the Jews. This is captured in a popular 'joke' now current in West Germany: 'What is the difference between Jews and Turks?' Answer: 'The former have their fate already behind them.'

The reformist Social Democratic bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois radicals like the Greens offer no effective opposition to the super-exploitation, harassment and violence against foreign workers. The Social Democratic-led DGB trade-union federation, one of the sponsors of the Hamburg demonstration, does not stand for full citizenship rights for foreign workers but only talks of 'friendship with foreign workers'. And the nationalistic West German left does anything to avoid revolutionary class struggle. Thus the Hamburg anti-skinhead protest was reduced to an exercise in liberal moralism, which bothers the fascists not at all. A revolutionary leadership would have organised the outraged German and Turkish workers to tear the Landwehr pub to pieces and teach the scumbags a lesson they will never forget.

One of the scheduled speakers at this demonstration was the journalist Gunter Wallraff. Prevented by illness from being there, he had his speech read to the protesters:

'A chancellor [prime minister] tells the people on TV that the number of Turks in West Germany has to be reduced. Another CDU politician [member of the ruling bourgeois party] says: "It is high time to act. The

Hamburg, 11 January: Turkish leftists, West German trade unionists protest against the racist murder of Ramazan Avci (inset) by skinhead scum.



Turks don't just stand before Vienna anymore; by now they are already in Berlin, Stadt Allendorf or Hamburg." And as we experienced some days ago the extreme racist right then acts....'

Wallraff has recently shaken up West German society. For two and a half years he disguised himself and lived as the Turkish *Gastarbeiter* 'Ali Levant Sigirioglu'. The change was easy enough: dark-coloured contact lenses, a black wig and broken German fooled a racist society. Toward his Turkish coworkers he claimed to be a Greek. The cruel and degrading experiences he suffered -- 'slaves were treated better' -- were documented in a book, *Ganz unten (Rock Bottom)*, published last autumn. Almost a million copies were sold in just five weeks; by now the figure has risen to six million. It's West Germany's biggest book sale success ever!

The horrible experiences Wallraff recounts should not have been a surprise to the West German public. A number of German-language books and articles written by *Turks* exposed similar conditions long before *Rock Bottom*. Thus, in one sense the popularity, or notoriety, of Wallraff's book underscores the pervasive racism of West German society. They had to hear about it from the mouth of a German.

In March 1983 Wallraff placed an advertisement in the paper: 'Alien, physically strong, looking for work, any work, even hard

and dirty, for any pay.' The dirtiest, lowest paid and most dangerous jobs he got, indeed. He was kept 'like an animal' by a woman farm owner in Lower Saxony. Working at McDonald's he was constantly harassed by his foreman and humiliated by well-dressed college kids. Working on a construction site, he not only had to clean sewage away from overflowing toilets and balance on scaffolds while carrying concrete slabs up six floors. He was also confronted with viciously racist coworkers who loaded his cart so full of concrete he was unable to move it, who suspected him whenever anything was stolen and who made him the butt of anti-Turkish jokes.

The largest section of *Rock Bottom* covers 'Ali's' experiences working for the Thyssen steel empire. The Thyssen family, it will be recalled, were major early backers of Adolf Hitler. Wallraff/Ali came to work for Thyssen through a small subcontracting outfit owned by one Vogel, who, incidentally, was a member of the reformist Social Democratic Party, now in opposition. While Thyssen has laid off 17,000 workers since the 1974-75 economic slump, a large part of its labour supply is provided by subcontractor firms like Vogel's whose workforce has no trade-union rights. These workers are often forced to work two regular shifts, and if they refuse are laid off immediately. One fellow worker Wallraff/Ali knew used to work 300 to 350 hours a month! Nobody can do this kind of work for more than a few years but there are always new unemployed and immigrant workers to take their place.

Wallraff/Ali and his fellow workers had to remove coke dust from the steelmaking equipment, which was so thick that you had to 'swallow and eat it'. They didn't get masks so they could work faster. They didn't get helmets either. Wallraff/Ali bought one for himself. Twice the foreman gave Ali's helmet to a German worker who had forgotten his. One time a security engineer measured the amount of toxic gas in the air. When he received a signal that it was dangerously high, he said: 'This is impossible. The instrument must be broken.' A second instrument indicated the same level. 'That fucking thing is not working either.' No precautions were taken, no gas masks were distributed to the workers. Wallraff reports: 'Since working there my bronchial tubes are practically chronically damaged and today -- six months later -- when I spit after a coughing attack my saliva is still black.'

When he was laid off for a time, Wallraff/Ali tried to become a *Versuchsmensch*, a human guinea pig for medical experiments. Remember

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Turkish workers march in Stuttgart with banner, 'We don't want to be the Jews of tomorrow', as fascist attacks against foreign workers (right) increase.



# WRP teeters on split over FI history

# When did the SLL go wrong

A brief front-page statement in the 24 May *Workers Press* announces that the rapidly unravelling post-Healy Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) is on the verge of yet another split. A minority around Mike and Tony Banda are denounced for publicly distributing internal documents. The Bandaites have reportedly already set up public 'discussion groups' in various areas and, on 29 May, staged a public press conference in Liverpool, accusing the majority of break-ins and theft of personal documents. Tony Banda declared that the struggle will continue 'until there is nothing left' (*Morning Star*, 30 May).

Behind the mutual mudslinging and recriminations, the political basis of the factional dispute centres on Mike Banda's '27 reasons why the International Committee should be buried forthwith and the Fourth International built', which effectively repudiates the entire history of the Fourth International (FI). First published in the 7 February issue of *Workers Press*, Banda's rambling, convoluted and confused theses sent tremors throughout the WRP, dismissing Trotsky's FI virtually from the day of its founding in 1938 (and before) as a hopeless mess peopled with incompetents, cynics and traitors, chief among them founding American Trotskyist leader James P Cannon. Banda's 'god that failed' rendition of the history of the FI is not unconnected to the fact that for much of this period Mike Banda himself was a conscious cynic and traitor, loyally serving as Gerry Healy's hatchetman for over three decades.

The main documentary opposition to Banda's '27 reasons' within the WRP has been a piece by Bill Hunter, entitled 'Mike Banda and the Bad Men Theory of History' (*Workers Press*, 14 February). While rubbishing Banda's 'all devils, no angels' account of the history of the FI and the early anti-revisionist International Committee (IC), Hunter in turn defends the Healy organisation as fundamentally revolutionary through to at least the mid-1970s.

Coming to opposite conclusions, Banda and Hunter start from a common premise: that the Healyite political bandits of the 1970s represent the political continuity of the Healy group within the early anti-revisionist IC. Banda wants to throw out the baby; Hunter wants to save the dirty bathwater. Our 1972

10 June 1967

14 January 1967

28 January 1967



Following abortive 1966 London IC conference, Socialist Labour League made decisive departures from Trotskyism.

need for independent mobilisation of the proletariat under the leadership of a conscious Leninist vanguard party as the road to proletarian revolution. There was a side to be had in that fight. Through the IC, the programmatic integrity of Trotsky's FI was maintained, even as the Fourth International as a democratic-centralist world party was destroyed. When, in 1961-63, the SWP itself succumbed to rampant revisionist degeneration over adaptation to Castroism and petty-bourgeois black nationalism, it broke from the IC and joined forces with Pablo. But the IC continued to stand on the terrain of orthodox Trotskyism. This continuity manifested itself in the

remained unfinished -- within the framework of fundamental programmatic agreement, Healy/Banda had us expelled. Healy could not countenance a genuinely democratic-centralist international tendency. Despite earlier organisational criticisms of the SLL, we did not thereby simply abandon the IC. Even after our expulsion we maintained basic programmatic solidarity while denouncing the bureaucratism and demanding (following the vicious beating of Ernie Tate that year), 'Oust Healy!' But within months, the SLL moved rapidly towards a series of non-Marxist positions: hailing Vietnamese Stalinist Ho Chi Minh as an 'instinctive' Trotskyist, embracing the Pabloite 'Arab Revolution' line, supporting Mao Tse-tung's 'Cultural Revolution' in the bureaucratic infighting within the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, signalling its adaptation to 'left' Labourism with its 'make the lefts fight' slogan.

While Banda at least addresses the 1966 IC conference, if only to smear the Spartacist tendency as 'Shachtmanite' (sic!), for Hunter, Slaughter et al it has become the year that never was. When we confronted Hunter at a 25 May Glasgow dayschool with the question, 'Why was the Spartacist tendency expelled in 1966?', there was no reply. Why? Because it would pose the choice of either explicitly repudiating the SLL's pre-1966 programmatic heritage or admitting that the WRP's current politics represent a break from that. What happened in 1966 was not just a parting of the ways between the Spartacist tendency and the SLL, but a sharp political break by the SLL from its own previous positions.

## Centrism and the Fourth International

In the midst of the WRP's latest factional dispute, the centrist Workers Power (WP), which has been avidly courting the WRP with proposals for immediate fusion, issued an (undated) 'Open letter to the WRP Central Committee and membership' entitled 'The impending split in the WRP and why it should be combatted'. Why? Well, apparently 'some comrades [in the WRP] accuse Workers Power of holding "Banda-ite" positions on the FI' -- and that might queer WP's pitch. Though WP distances itself from some of Banda's more outlandish (and patently false) assertions about Trotsky-

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American Socialist Workers Party memorial meeting following Trotsky's assassination, 1940.

article, 'Genesis of Pabloism', analysing the destruction of Trotsky's Fourth International by Pabloite revisionism in the period 1951-53, the flawed response of the anti-Pabloite forces which formed the IC in 1954 and the subsequent gross political degeneration of the main IC groupings, remains a nodal document in any discussion of the postwar FI.

For all its shortcomings and theoretical weaknesses, Cannon's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) at the head of the early IC waged a struggle in difficult conditions of Cold War anti-communism to uphold the programme of Trotsky's Fourth International, centrally the

1961 Socialist Labour League (SLL) document, 'The World Prospect for Socialism', and within the SWP in the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency, precursor of the Spartacist tendency, which solidarised with the IC against the SWP's burgeoning liquidationism.

## SLL breaks from Trotskyism

But 1966 was a watershed in the SLL's history. When the Spartacist delegation to the 1966 London IC conference raised its differences with the SLL -- including our assertion that the struggle against Pabloism

# Solidarnosc calls for Wall Street to run Poland

'Solidarity with Solidarnosc' has been a key slogan linking much of the Western left to NATO imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. For example, last December the French 'far left' Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) and Lutte Ouvriere joined hands with the CIA-financed Force Ouvriere and the Catholic trade-union group to protest president Francois Mitterrand's meeting with Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski. In effect they want the French imperialist state to break off even diplomatic relations with Poland. Ernest Mandel, godfather of the French LCR, has over Poland become the pope's 'Trotskyist', proclaiming Solidarnosc to be 'the best socialists in the world'. Mandel's supporters in Britain and the US have adopted the Solidarnosc logo for the mastheads of their own newspapers, as did Argentine fake-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In Britain, the Healy outfit sparked a right-wing witchhunt against militant miners leader Arthur Scargill when they attacked him for denouncing Solidarnosc as 'anti-socialist'.

Solidarnosc spokesmen both underground in Poland and in exile have repaid their enthusiasts in the Western left with blackest ingratitude. Taking their cue from Ronald Reagan, they have denounced the social-democratic-led 'peace' movement in West Europe as Kremlin agents and dupes. The so-called 'Walesa Report', issued last August, called for a 'full market' economy for Poland. And in September the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarnosc came out for capitalist restoration in the most extreme and unashamed way conceivable. They called for private industry, even private banks and the opening of a stock market in Poland, as well as 'legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment' for foreign capital. In other words, they want Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt bankers to take over the Polish economy!

What a low blow for Solidarnosc 'left' apologists in the West, who stand exposed as dupes of the CIA and Vatican. One of these outfits, Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (13 February), writes:

"Pro-imperialist, Catholic, right wing -- they want to restore capitalism".

'That was how many left-wingers in the West saw the Polish workers' movement Solidarnosc when it flowered in 1980-1.

'A new economic programme issued by Solidarnosc' underground leadership (the TKK) seems to prove them right.'

It sure does, Sean, doesn't it! In fact, damn few left-wingers in the West in 1980-81 saw Solidarnosc for what it was: pro-imperialist, Catholic, right-wing. All manner of social democrats, the Eurocommunists, anarcho-libertarian types, etc hailed this clerical-

nationalist movement with wild enthusiasm. So did the main currents falsely claiming the mantle of Trotskyism (Mandel, Moreno, Pierre Lambert).

The international Spartacist tendency stood virtually alone in warning against the terrible danger of counterrevolution in Poland. We thus protested when in September 1981 Solidarnosc opened an office in New York City in facilities provided by the violently anti-Communist bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO trade unions. For this action we were threatened by no less an institution of the American bourgeoisie than the *Wall Street Journal*! 'Anyone seeking to delegitimize' the AFL-CIO's foreign operations, a *Journal* editorial (29 September 1981) thundered, 'should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching'. The *Wall*

support Jaruzelski?

'No. No more than we should support a bourgeois-democratic government in the West which suppresses a Stalinist-minded workers' movement....

'Likewise in Poland we should defend Solidarnosc even under pro-Western leadership.' (emphasis in original)

To begin with, it is false to define Solidarnosc as 'the Polish workers movement'. While originally sparked by legitimate workers' grievances against the Stalinist bureaucracy, it rapidly became a broad political movement, embracing whole sections of the petty bourgeoisie, led by clerical-nationalists. A survey taken at Solidarnosc's first national congress in September 1981 indicated that less than half the delegates were members of the



Walesa feted by pro-capitalist trade union bureaucrats in Japan. 'Workers self-management' a la Solidarnosc means restoration of capitalism in Poland.

*Street Journal* and Reagan gang embraced Walesa, Bujak & Co as their people in Poland.

While *Socialist Organiser* now grudgingly admits that Solidarnosc is for capitalist restoration, nevertheless Matgamna's outfit still supports it against the bureaucracy of the Polish deformed workers state. This position is actually worse than its former fraudulent claim that Solidarnosc was fighting for workers democracy:

'So maybe Solidarnosc, or a central section of it, is now advocating the restoration of a capitalist market economy in Poland. Does that mean that the Western left should

working class while almost a third were liberal professionals. A 'Letter to Poles in the Whole World' issued by this congress stated: 'Born of the whole nation's will, Solidarity is not only a trades union of working people, but at the same time a civic social movement of people conscious of their rights and duties towards the Fatherland and its independence' (quoted in Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* [1984]).

What is fundamentally wrong with *Socialist Organiser's* position, however, is not just its flagrantly false picture of Solidarnosc. It is the grotesque equation of bourgeois democracy in the West with Stalinism in the Eastern bloc. It is this 'third campist' equation which leads Matgamna & Co to ally themselves with Reagan and Thatcher in supporting capitalist counterrevolution in the name of 'defending the Polish workers'.

## Solidarnosc counterrevolution spiked

To cover this up *Socialist Organiser* claims that in 1980-81 Solidarnosc stood for workers democracy and only since then has it moved to the right, now calling outright for capitalist restoration:

'In 1980-81, when Solidarnosc was in the ascendant, its central theme was workers' control, but now, battered, repressed and hounded, the Solidarnosc underground leaders have turned to market economics as a "realistic" (their term) alternative to bureaucratic mismanagement.'

Anyone not wilfully blind could see from the outset that Walesa, Bujak & Co aimed to make Poland safe for 'free world' imperialism. At its first national congress in September 1981 Solidarnosc consolidated around a programme of 'bourgeois-democratic' counterrevolution in almost chemically pure form. This

## Solidarnosc blueprint for counterrevolution

- 'Alongside state ownership in the national economy, there should be a room for a wide range of private ownership which should include industry.... Fair competition should decide which kind of ownership will predominate in the various fields of the national economy.'
- 'Alongside the central banks, there should be deposit banks, acting as independent enterprises and earning profits by lending on interest.'
- 'Alongside the market for goods and services, there should be a stock market, enabling anyone to buy shares and bonds, to become one of the sources of capital for the development of enterprises.'
- 'The reform must be market orientated and

should encourage economic activity based on healthy competition.... Prices must be allowed to be shaped by the market.'

- 'In cases of unprofitable enterprises, the principle of bankruptcy and insolvency should be vigorously adhered to.'
- 'Private foreign capital should have legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment in Poland, also in the form, among others, of joint private-state capital companies.'

-- excerpted from the *Economic Demands of the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarnosc* (24 September 1985), reproduced in *Uncensored Poland News Bulletin* [London], 14 November 1985



Laski-Sipa Press

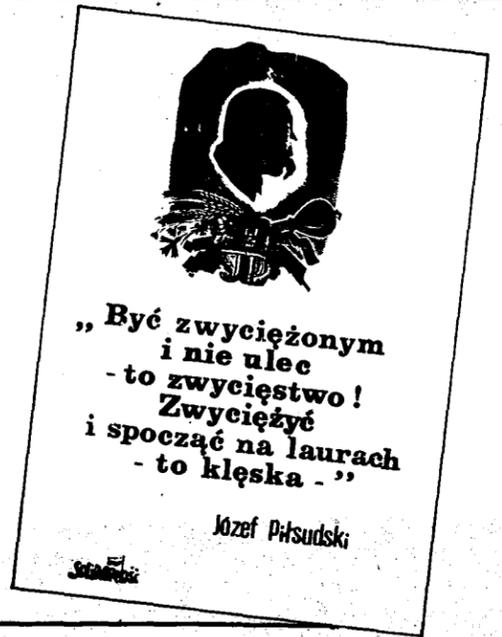


Chris Niedenthal



Laski-Sipa Press

Key Solidarnosc leaders (left to right) pope-lover Lech Walesa, social democrats Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik. Solidarnosc idolises Polish nationalist hero, fascistic dictator Marshal Pilsudski.



programme could have been written by Radio Free Europe. It called for 'free elections' in Poland and 'free trade unions' throughout the Soviet bloc. It demanded that Poland join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world bankers' cartel whose initials spell starvation and police-state terror from Bolivia to Bangladesh. A delegate's motion to put Solidarnosc on record for socialism (in order to deflect charges that it was pro-capitalist) was defeated. And to top it off, invited to the Solidarnosc congress was the notorious American CIA labour operator Irving Brown, a man synonymous with the Cold War subversion of the workers movement in West Europe and the colonial world.

As for Solidarnosc's agitation around 'workers self-management', this was intended to dismantle centralised economic planning, and the 'self-managed' enterprises were to be run on the basis of market profitability. Thus the programme adopted by Solidarnosc at its September 1981 congress declares: 'The organisational structure of the economy, serving the command system, must be smashed. The economic administrative organs must be separated from political power.... The union recognises the need to restore the equilibrium of the market....' (*Bulletin Solidarnosc*, March 1982)

Solidarnosc's advocacy of self-management in 1981 had nothing to do with 'industrial democracy' as it's called in Western social-democratic circles. Rather it was a move to oust the incumbent managers and replace them with pro-Western anti-Communists. For example, the Conference of Workers Self-Management at the LOT national airline proposed for the airline's new managing director one Stanislaw Kutek. A former emigre, Kutek had lived in Britain for 35 years and even served in the Royal Navy during the Korean War. He was a retired capitalist who had amassed a fortune from his own aviation company. Kutek's programme for LOT was to stop buying Soviet-made planes and buy American instead:

'I've got contacts in the American companies -- they'll sell us some good Boeings at a reasonable price. And there's no problem about paying for them: I've got lots of friends in the Western banks.' (quoted in Henry Norr, 'Solidarity and Self-Management, May-July 1981', *Poland Watch* no 7 [1985])

That is what Solidarnosc meant by 'workers self-management' in practice, 'rationalising' the Polish economy by turning it over to the capitalists.

That much of the Polish working class wanted the likes of Stanislaw Kutek to run the economy testified to the complete bankruptcy of Stalinist rule. Three decades of gross economic mismanagement and political oppression along with endless broken promises of reform and democratisation had driven the mass of the Polish people into the arms of Pope Karol Wojtyla, Ronald Reagan and the Common Market of NATO Europe. A top White House official saw in the Polish crisis the greatest opportunity to roll back Communism in the Soviet sphere since 1945.

By the autumn of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war and counterrevolution. In early December the Solidarnosc leadership held a secret meeting in the town of Radom. The 'moderate' Lech Walesa declared: 'Confrontation is inevitable and it will take place.... We are aware that we are dismantling the system.' Zbigniew Bujak, head of the Warsaw region of Solidarnosc, asserted: 'The first action of the workers' militia will be aimed at liberating the radio and television

headquarters.... The Government must at last be overthrown.' Jacek Kuron, Poland's leading social democrat, stated: 'The ground must be well prepared to overpower the authorities' (quoted in Kevin Ruane, *The Polish Challenge* [1982]). Fortunately for the international working class, indeed for all humanity, Solidarnosc's bid for power was checked a few weeks later in a near bloodless countercoup carried out by the Polish regime under General Jaruzelski.

### The Workers Opposition

Since then the Solidarnosc leaders have made it ever more clear that their 'comrades' in the West are Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. To divert attention from the brazenly pro-capitalist Temporary Coordinating Commission the 'left' cheerleaders for Solidarnosc are playing up a new grouping in Poland, the Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition. 'The left in Solidarnosc', proclaims *Socialist Organiser*, 'have declared themselves in favour of an anti-bureaucratic revolution, waged by the working class and aimed at achieving the full liberation of the working class'. The Mandelites' *International Viewpoint* likewise claims that the Workers Opposition 'identifies with the working class, stands for its self-organization, and poses the question of the revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracy'.

In reality the Press Alliance is a syndicalist current in the stream of anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Polish nationalism. Its attitude towards the militantly pro-imperial-

are the advocates of 'reprivatization'. Indeed, that is what unites them. In fact, the Alliance deliberately refuses to call itself socialist, a term it only uses in quotation marks to define what it is not. The Workers Opposition draft platform declares:

'The indispensable precondition for the liberation of the working class is for it to lay the economic foundations of its liberty, that is socialization, outside of the state and in the framework of a system of workers self-management, of the means of production that are today statized.' (reproduced in *International Viewpoint*, 23 December 1985, our emphasis)

This is a social-democratic/syndicalist utopia. Workers self-management outside the framework of state ownership and control amounts to an economic system of producer cooperatives which are necessarily governed by market competition. Profitable enterprises would buy up bankrupt ones and exploit their labour in a fully capitalist manner. And what is to stop enterprises which are losing money or simply want more capital from going into partnership with Western multinationals and financiers? The Solidarnosc leadership's demand for stock markets and private foreign investment in Poland is in no sense an abandonment of its 1981 programme. It is the logical extension of 'workers self-management'.

The documents of this Workers Opposition are abstract, bloodless, almost scholastic. In the half dozen or so that we've read in translation there is no mention of Ronald Reagan or Pope John Paul II (formerly cardinal of Cracow). Nonetheless, its position on the Cold War is clear enough. To use a term

Polish peasant — Solidarnosc was not a workers union but a political movement with social base among reactionary Catholic private landholders.



Chris Niedenthal

ist Solidarnosc leadership is one of comradely criticism, not opposition. It does not condemn 'the reprivatization of the means of production' as a programme for bloody counter-revolution but considers it a legitimate difference of opinion within the 'democratic opposition'. The Alliance does not regard Walesa, Bujak & Co as enemies of socialism and workers liberation but as errant comrades in the common struggle against the 'totalitarian' bureaucracy. Thus the Workers Opposition stands four-square for Solidarnosc's bid for power in 1981.

Marxists stand for the planned, centralised administration of the economy by a democratically governed workers state. But despite their proclaimed 'leftism', the Alliance is just as hostile to this socialist programme as

commonly employed by the Trotskyist movement, the Polish Workers Opposition is a 'third campist' grouping. That is, it views Western imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy as equally militarist, equally expansionist, equally driving towards war:

'To the slogan "Down with the militarist policy of the US and imperialism," which we support totally and without reservation, we add the complementary slogan, "Down with the militarist policy of the Kremlin and totalitarianism."' ('The Fight for Peace and Workers Power', reproduced in *International Viewpoint*, 24 March)

Like many 'third campist' groupings in the West, the Polish Alliance maintains that Wall Street and the Kremlin are essentially collab-

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# Solidarnosc ...

(Continued from page 7)

orative, that they form a kind of joint partnership exploiting and oppressing the workers of the world. The first issue of *Workers Cause*, one of the four papers making up the Press Alliance, declared that it 'has enemies with whom no accord or alliance can ever be concluded -- they are the bureaucracy (that is, the social layer that exploits the workers); as well as the bourgeoisie, which guarantees the survival of the long bankrupt bureaucracy!'

This is a flagrant denial of the most fundamental reality governing world politics. Reagan guarantees the survival of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski? In the most naked and aggressive way, from Nicaragua to Libya to Afghanistan, US imperialism is bent on rolling back and eventually destroying Soviet power. That is why the Pentagon is spending hundreds of billions on weaponry to decapitate the Kremlin leadership in a nuclear first strike. And that is why the CIA funnelled millions to Solidarnosc, mainly via the fanatically anti-



Workers Vanguard

## Spartacist League/US protests against opening of Solidarnosc office in New York, October 1981.

Communist leadership of the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy. That is also why the equally fanatically anti-Communist underground leadership of Solidarnosc is calling for Wall Street to take over Poland's collectivised economy. Walesa, Bujak & Co far better understand the real relation of Western capitalism to the Soviet-bloc degenerated and deformed workers states than do the 'third campists' of the Workers Opposition.

But the reality of the Cold War -- which is at bottom a class war -- always breaks through 'third campist' posturing. Those groups which shout 'A curse on both your houses' are inexorably drawn into the camp of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of 'democracy and national independence'. This is demonstrated dramatically in Poland by the career of Jacek Kuron.

## Kuron's path to counterrevolution

The first issue of *Workers Front*, one of the papers of the Press Alliance, reprinted the lengthy 1965 'Open Letter' to Communist Party members by Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. Kuron went on to become the most prominent Polish dissident in the Gierek era of the 1970s as founder and leader of KOR (Workers Defence Committee). He played a decisive role in the origins of Solidarnosc and an important one in the 1980-81 crisis. Kuron continues to be a major figure in the underground opposition.

When Kuron and his comrades were sentenced to prison in the mid-1960s for distributing the 'Open Letter', they marched out of court singing the 'Internationale'. The politics of the 'Open Letter' is in fundamental ways far to the left of the present Workers Opposition. It denounced Polish Stalinism for favouring 'the traditional political right' headed by the Catholic hierarchy. It also drew a hard line against Western social democracy and parliamentarism -- 'the parliamentary system is one in which the working class and the entire society finds itself deprived of all influence on government' -- and called for a government based on workers councils.

Yet a dozen or so years later Kuron called

for the transformation of Poland along the lines of Finland, that is, into a 'neutral' bourgeois-democratic state. At the same time his cohort Adam Michnik argued that the Polish left should abandon its traditional anti-clericalism and form a united front with the Catholic hierarchy against the Communist regime. A few years later KOR became a sympathising member of the Second International of Helmut Schmidt and Francois Mitterrand.

How does one account for the transformation of Kuron from a left opponent of Stalinism into Pope Wojtyla's social democrat? It would be scholastic to blame it all on some theoretical original sin. Nonetheless, the 1965 'Open Letter' is fundamentally flawed in a way which does help explain Kuron's subsequent rightward course. The Kuron circle were not politically unsophisticated people. Among them was Ludwik Hass, one of the few survivors of the pre-war Polish Trotskyist movement. Kuron was thus familiar with but rejected the Trotskyist understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a parasitic caste resting upon socialised (and therefore progressive) economic foundations. The 'Open Letter' maintained that the bureaucracy 'exploits the workers' and had transformed the means of production into 'a single centralized national "capital"'.

In the mid-1960s Kuron adopted a 'plague on both your houses' towards the Cold War, in large part because he believed that Western imperialism accepted the status quo in the Soviet bloc in return for the Kremlin's quid pro quo. The 'Open Letter' maintained that 'the two principal blocs ... are waging an economic, political and diplomatic competition based on the division of the world into established spheres of influence.' In this period impressionistic New Left radicals in the West held a similar view of the Cold War.

However, following the Vietnam War, in the mid-1970s US imperialism scrapped 'detente' and revved up the anti-Soviet Cold War under the banner of Jimmy Carter's 'human rights' crusade. Washington now put its considerable diplomatic and economic muscle behind encouraging and protecting pro-Western 'dissidents' in the Soviet bloc. Poland was an especial target both because it had the strongest right-wing forces in East Europe and because Gierek's unbelievable economic mismanagement made the Warsaw regime desperate for Western financial help.

The development of Kuron's KOR in the late 1970s was directly linked to Washington's 'human rights' campaign. When Carter himself visited Warsaw in 1977:

'At a press conference Carter loudly praised the Polish record on human rights and religious tolerance, in the next breath announcing a further \$200 million of US credits. "Linkage" could hardly be more explicit than that. If the KOR activists had still been imprisoned, it is doubtful if the credits would have flowed so freely.' (Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*)

US imperialism's modest investment in KOR paid handsome dividends. The activities of Kuron, Michnik & Co prepared the explosion of anti-Soviet clerical-nationalism in and around Solidarnosc in 1980-81.

## For Polish Trotskyism!

Poland, however, is not one reactionary mass. Propagandists for Solidarnosc define the Polish nation as fervently Catholic and fanatically anti-Russian. Yet historically the Polish working-class was socialist and secu-

lar, and Poland had one of the oldest and strongest Marxist traditions of any European country.

The first Marxist working-class organisation in the Russian tsarist empire was formed in Warsaw in the 1880s, the Party Proletariat of Ludwik Warynski, which worked closely with the Russian revolutionary populists. In the next generation Poland produced one of the greatest figures of international socialism, Rosa Luxemburg. Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches' Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania was, along with Lenin's Bolsheviks, in the vanguard of the European workers movement as decaying capitalism drove towards the slaughterhouse of World War I. The early Polish Communist Party of the 1920s, under Luxemburg's disciple Adolf Warski, wrote a heroic chapter in the history of the European workers movement of that period. And Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International found a response in Warsaw. During the early 1930s an oppositional grouping in the Communist Party led by Isaac Deutscher was won to Trotskyism. And even after this group was expelled from the party, there remained a strong undercurrent of sympathy for Trotsky among Polish Communists fighting the fascistic Marshal Pilsudski (now a Solidarnosc hero) and the 'regime of the colonels'.

What characterised all of these great figures of Polish socialism, as Deutscher has pointed out, was their call for revolutionary unity with the Russian and German workers. The emergence of the nationalist Solidarnosc movement could come about only in a political vacuum created by the destruction of the traditions of international communism in Poland through savage persecution -- Polish Pilsudskite, German Nazi, and Stalinist. Perhaps the greatest crime of Polish Stalinism was to so discredit socialism that much of the Polish working class has looked to Reagan's America and the Vatican for salvation. Yet it is only the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism on the Vistula which offers a future for the working people of Poland. Shortly after Jaruzelski's near bloodless coup we wrote in 'What Next for Poland?' (*Spartacist Britain* no 40, March 1982):

'The workers intoxicated by the clerical-nationalist fervor of Solidarnosc have received a sobering shock. Many are asking themselves what went wrong and are now open to new solutions....'

'Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them.'

The documents of the 'Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition' define this tendency as anti-Communist syndicalists, a 'left' face of Solidarnosc' counterrevolution. A genuine left opposition would have denounced Walesa & Co's embracing of Western capitalism, and proclaimed its unconditional defence of socialised property and the Soviet bloc against counterrevolution; it would have fought the clerical domination in Solidarnosc, calling for full separation of church and state; it would call for a return to the path of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the 'three L's' of the Communist International, in building a Trotskyist party in Poland as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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# Chernobyl...

(Continued from page 3)

creased the doses of information while it built its case that the plane had been on an espionage mission.' But in the sequel, all evidence points to the fact that the KAL jetliner was on a US spy mission (see 'KAL 007 Was U.S. Spy Plane', *Workers Vanguard* no 379, 17 May 1985).

If this process seems slow by Western standards, it's not a Kremlin plot of secrecy, but reflects the slowness of the ponderous Stalinist bureaucracy. If the Soviets can be faulted, it's that they did not inform *their own people* fast enough or with enough detail, leaving them susceptible to capitalist panic-mongering. And the decision-making levels of the apparatus may indeed *not have known* what happened. There is no doubt that Soviet safety standards have been undermined by the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Certainly workers democracy would clear up many things in this degenerated workers state. But a Stalinophobic editorial in the 3 May *Workers Press* merely echoes the capitalists' propaganda, insisting, 'This is why the nuclear "chain" broke at its weakest link: safety standards are lower in the USSR.' Rubbish -- look only at the US, bastion of the 'free market', which this year has managed to blow up a billion-dollar space shuttle with seven people on board; explode a \$500m spy satellite atop a Titan rocket; run two nuclear submarines aground; and blow up a weather satellite atop a Delta rocket.

The monstrous inefficiencies and loss of life caused by the Stalinist bureaucracy's stifling of workers democracy are all too real. They only pale in comparison to the deliberate mass murder carried out by the imperialists. Militarily defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, the Soviet workers must take back political power and restore the banner of the Bolshevik October

Revolution.

What's been happening in the US and West Europe over Chernobyl is a sinister amalgamation of hysterias, cleverly manipulated into anti-Soviet panic. Those within the fake left and pacifist milieu who have not openly gone along with the strident anti-Soviet hysteria have instead sought to fuel the anti-nuclear movement, by making a false equation between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. Thus the pro-Benn 'Trotskyists' of *Socialist Action* (2 May) assert 'the obvious connection between the nuclear power lobby and Reagan/Thatcher's war drive -- as well as Thatcher's miner-bashing'. There is a connection between the war drive against the Soviet Union and the war against trade unions at home, but the link is not nuclear power. Instead of calling for defence of the Soviet Union and pointing the road to workers revolution, *Socialist Action* prefers tinkering with capitalist technology and boosting Kinnock into Downing Street.

Of course nuclear energy is far from completely safe and is fraught with unsolved problems. But the alternatives under capitalism are just as, if not more, unsafe. How many thousands of coal miners have died horrible deaths from pneumoconiosis over the years? And don't forget the Union Carbide disaster in Bhopal, India in December 1984: 2000 people died immediately, and another 200,000 suffered injuries which will remain with them for the rest of their lives. But nobody seriously proposed abandoning the petrochemical industry.

In 'Nuclear Power and the Workers Movement' (*Workers Vanguard* no 146, 25 February 1977), we wrote:

'There are very real problems of safety connected with nuclear reactors. As throughout industry, we demand union control of working conditions and, where there are specific hazards, action to shut down dangerous facilities. But beyond this we have no particular interest in determining how the bourgeoisie meets its energy needs....

# Turkish workers...

(Continued from page 4)

Dr Mengele, the Angel of Death? The old Nazi doctors are not only still practising, they still use human beings for their sadistic tests -- only Jews have been replaced by Turks. The desperate foreigners get paid only if they stay through the whole test. If they choose to remain alive and healthy, they could even be sued for 'breach of contract'! Ali decided not to go through this experience.

The final act in Wallraff's career as Ali came when friends of his made entrepreneur Vogel a fake offer to see just how far he would go. Six Turks were supposedly needed to repair equipment in a power plant poisoned by escaping radioactive fumes. To avoid a scandal only Turks who would soon be returning to Turkey could be chosen so they would not die in West Germany. Vogel had no qualms accepting this deal, demonstrating that West German capitalists would *kill* foreign workers in order to make a profit.

And their fascist thugs are out to kill foreign workers for the hell of it. On one occasion Wallraff/Ali had good reason to fear for his life. The occasion was the German-Turkish football match in West Berlin in the summer of 1983. The fascists used this event for a national mobilisation against the Turks while the DGB trade-union tops and West German left staged a pitiful counterdemonstration outside the stadium and did nothing to protect the Turkish ghettos. Inside the stadium many Turks doubtless felt like Ali: 'I am not a football fan. But in the Olympic Stadium I cheered for the German team. Out of fear.'

Wallraff originally expected to be persecuted for his gruesome revelations. But the enormous publicity around his book and the video documentary he secretly produced during his life as 'Ali' has provided him with a protective screen. Still, he does receive death threats. While the trade-union bureaucracy is cold-shouldering him, crowded meetings of unionists have been held all over West Germany to hear Wallraff describe the terrible conditions of foreign workers. The outrage of West German workers over this question is certainly a good thing. But it will require a revolutionary party to turn this anger into class struggle against the Fourth Reich of Thyssen and Flick.

Last year US president Reagan and West German chancellor Kohl confirmed their anti-

Soviet alliance by saluting the Nazi SS graves at Bitburg. This ceremony unleashed a wave of 'Deutschland uber alles' chauvinism and anti-Semitism across West German society. The mood of resurgent nationalism expresses the increased self-assertion of the German imperialist ruling class. It also provides a fertile climate for the growth of fascist groups.

The 4.5 million *Gastarbeiter*, of which 1.5 million are Turks, are treated as disturbers of 'national unity' and as scapegoats for all social ills while many are still needed to keep West Germany's economy strong. Those that are not needed are brutally expelled. Many Turkish working-class youth are forced to go 'back to Turkey' after school although they hardly speak Turkish or know that country. This is especially hard on young Turkish women, who have been raised in Western society and are now forced to live under repressive Islamic custom. And while the West German bourgeoisie opens the doors wide for anti-Communist refugees, it locks up left-wing political refugees in concentration camps.

Wallraff believes that a Social Democratic government will change things for the better for foreign workers. But it was under a government led by Social Democratic chancellor Helmut Schmidt that the crackdown against the *Gastarbeiter* began. And remember 'Ali's' employer Vogel was an SPD member in good standing. There is nothing shocking or surprising in this. The Social Democratic bureaucracy are the loyal labour lieutenants of the Thyssens and Flicks.

The Federal Republic of Germany is the official successor state to the Nazi Third Reich. And the continuity is not simply a formal one. Old Nazis are to be found at every level of the West German government. Some of West Germany's biggest industrialists, like Flick, first grew rich as exploiters of *Zwangsarbeiter* (slave labour) for Hitler's war machine. In 1944 there were 7.5 million slave labourers in Nazi Germany. They worked 16 hours a day, getting only 800 calories of food. After six months most were so weak they couldn't work any longer and were thrown into the gas ovens.

Today, the West German ruling class would like to wash its hands of the Holocaust. But the working class will never forgive nor forget the concentration camps where eleven million people, six million of them Jews, were killed, nor the slave-labour camps and the destruction of the German workers movement.

The nightmare of Nazi rule in Europe was

'The greatest, most overwhelming nuclear danger confronting the world comes not from the existence of atomic power generating facilities but from the possession of nuclear weapons by the imperialist powers, first and foremost the U.S....



Hiroshima was no accident!

'At the same time, we resolutely defend the necessity of nuclear weapons technology (including whatever attendant testing programs may be necessary) for the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam and the other deformed workers states. The answer to the dangers of nuclear war is not to be found in imperialist/social-pacifist "non-proliferation" treaties or test bans, but in the destruction of capitalism by the revolutionary action of the international proletariat.'

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 403, 9 May

finally ended in 1945 when the victorious Soviet Red Army entered Berlin and raised the red flag atop the Reichstag. However, only one part of Germany was ripped from the hands of the capitalists and transformed into a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed by Stalinism. In East Germany there are no old Nazis in high places and no skinhead fascists to terrorise foreigners and workers. But in West Germany the bourgeoisie remained in power and by and large the old fascists kept calling the shots. They see Bitburg as the opening shot in their 'revenge'. Their aim is to overthrow the East German workers state and ultimately the Soviet Union, continuing the old Nazi programme of '*Drang nach Osten*'.

West Germany, however, is not one reactionary mass. The powerful German bourgeoisie finds its counterpart in a powerful and well-organised proletariat, one that was historically betrayed by Social Democracy and Stalinism. Never again must German imperialism, now in alliance with the far more powerful and dangerous warmongers in Washington, be allowed to plunge the world into a new wave of barbarism! The German working class can provide the spark to ignite the workers of the whole of Europe in the struggle for the revolutionary future of mankind. This requires a Trotskyist party based on an internationalist programme of *revolutionary unification* of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and political revolution in the East.

Turkish worker militants can and must be a crucial component of a German revolutionary party. For the most part foreign workers are deeply integrated into West Germany's industrial labour force. Many of them are militant trade-union fighters, all the more so since they are not bound to the Social Democracy like their native German coworkers. There have been quite a few fights where German, Turkish and other foreign workers stood side by side struggling against the same capitalist enemy, from the 1973 Ford strike in Cologne to the shipyard occupations in Hamburg and Bremen in 1984 to last year's strikes for the 35-hour week. What is needed to weld the German and immigrant workers into a mighty assault on capital is a party based on an internationalist programme which fights for full citizenship rights for foreign workers and for the defence of East Germany and the Soviet Union against resurgent German imperialism.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 399, 14 March

(Continued from page 5)

ist treachery at every turn, it indeed shares Banda's conclusions. In a turgid 12-page discussion document ('What is centrism?'), WP describes the FI as on-and-off 'disoriented' from its foundation until its definitive, unchallenged collapse into centrism in 1948-51:

'The utter negation of Trotskyism which [the FI] adopted in 1951, and the fact that no tendency or section correctly criticised the Yugoslav Revolution, signal the passing of the FI decisively into its centrist phase.'

Coming from an outfit which took years to work out its line on the Vietnamese revolution (for one) in the 1970s, this is a bit much. And what clarity do these johnny-come-lately 'Trotskyists' contribute to the discussion on East Europe -- that the Stalinist-led overthrow of capitalism was a 'counterrevolutionary social overturn'! Though WP finally broke with state capitalism some years after leaving Tony Cliff's anti-Soviet outfit (the British SWP), it continues to carry the baggage of Cliffism, which it characterises as 'one of the fragments of the Fourth International'. WP isn't the first to claim Yugoslavia proved the bankruptcy of the postwar FI. A critique of the SLL by leading Cliffite Duncan Hallas entitled 'Building the Leadership' (*International Socialism*, October-November 1969) says:

'The lead was taken by Michel Pablo. Yugoslavia, he decided, was a workers' state, deformed yes, but a workers' state.... As long as it was maintained that the USSR was a degenerated workers' state Pablo was bound to win in the end. And win he did. The Third World Congress in 1951 decided that, after all, the East European states were "deformed workers' states".'

For the state-capitalist Cliffites, the FI's disorientation over Yugoslavia and Pablo's revisionism provided a convenient after-the-fact justification for their Cold War split from the Healy group under the impact of the Korean War in 1950. Notwithstanding its arch-Pabloite entry into the Bevan wing of the Labour Party, the Healy group was prepared to lose its Labourite allies by coming to the defence of the North Korean deformed workers state: Cliff jumped the other way. Where does WP stand on this split between two 'centrist fragments'?

What determines a revolutionary orientation is how an organisation meets decisive programmatic tests. When the implications of Pablo's line became clear to Cannon at home in the SWP, he declared factional war. In response to the East German workers uprising of 1953, the anti-Pabloites called for proletarian political revolution, while Pablo's IS whitewashed the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Likewise the IC advanced a programme for political revolution in Hungary and Poland 1956, emphasising all the while its defence of the workers states against imperialist-inspired counterrevolution, whereas Pablo's IS hailed Gomulka's 'self-reform' of the Stalinist regime in Poland. And with the recruitment of a layer of CP cadre over Hungary, the Healy organisation moved sharply away from its earlier deep entrenchment in the Labour Party.

Yet according to Workers Power, the Healyites have been uniformly centrist these past 35 years or more. Explaining that the SLL/WRP fought Pabloism with 'inadequate political weapons', WP goes on to say: 'That is why the fight against "Pabloism" evolved into a criminal slander campaign, that is why the fight against "liquidation" ended up with the assertion that no revolutionary party was needed in Libya....' In other words, it is a continuous line from James P Cannon's 'Against Pabloite Revisionism' to Healy/North's 'Security and the Fourth International', from the early IC's defence of the centrality of Trotskyist leadership and programme to Healy's mercenary deals with Arab sheiks and colonels, from the SLL's principled defence of the Stalinist leadership of the ETU against an anti-Communist witchhunt in 1959 to their instigation of a similar witchhunt against Arthur Scargill in 1983.

Firstly, WP reflects the most myopic

'Little England' national-centredness: Healy was 'Cannon's man' in the 1940s and 1950s; it is impossible to critically evaluate the early fight against Pabloism without recognising the central role of the SWP. Secondly, the early SLL fought Pabloism; the late SLL embraced it (with Healy's 'The Crisis' version of a 'new world reality'), collapsing into a gross political banditry in which yesterday's positions were turned upside down to suit today's organisational purposes, and finally being lured right over the class line by Arab oil money. Thirdly, to WP none of this really matters anyway. Even if today's WRP is a centrist mess, even if by WP's terms it has been for decades, Workers Power still coos for immediate fusion. Centrism isn't really such a bad thing, anyway, WP assures rankled WRPers: 'in fact the centrism originating in the degeneration of the FI preserved many of the gains of the struggle against Stalinism even if it negated them as an adequate revolutionary programme' ('Open Letter')! Workers Power is the living proof of Trotsky's characterisation of centrism as 'crystallised confusion'. And as many a former Healyite can tell them, confusion and contradiction don't equal dialectics!

Anti-Pabloism does not equal anti-Sovietism

Behind WP's jaundiced view of the FI lies its own Stalinophobia. Workers Power sees the cause of the destruction of the Fourth International as purely and simply an adaptation to Stalinism. Likewise the WRP's Cliff Slaughter defended their support to counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet movements in Poland and Afghanistan against our criticism at a 30 April London public meeting by trying to equate our consistent Soviet-defencism with entrusting defence of the gains of October to the Stalinist bureaucracy, and then labelling this Pabloism:

'The fact is that the Trotskyist movement was founded on the basis that Stalinism and the whole case for socialism in a single country had transformed what was a communist movement into a counterrevolutionary movement. You cannot in the name of defence of the Soviet Union drop that. And you're really, with this kind of argument you're on the road back, in my opinion, to a Pabloite conception.'

This line of defence was amplified several weeks later at a 30 May WRP class, where Cyril Smith argued that we, like Pablo, started off by distorting Trotsky's position on the 'dual nature' of Stalinism. Stalinism, claimed Smith, is 'counterrevolutionary through and through'.

The WRP and WP to the contrary, the dual nature of Stalinism is not a Pabloite invention. Trotsky emphasised repeatedly this 'dual position' -- 'how and why the Stalinist apparatus could completely squander its meaning as the international revolutionary factor and yet preserve a part of its progressive meaning as the gatekeeper of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution' ('The Class Nature of the Soviet State', 1933).

In fact, the chief political weakness accounting for the immediate postwar disorientation of the FI was its failure to see this. Refusing initially to accept that Stalinism was capable of overturning capitalism in East Europe, when the accomplished fact stared them in the face the Trotskyists reacted by dubbing Tito a 'centrist' who had led a proletarian revolution. As we noted in 'Genesis of Pabloism', 'Clinging to orthodoxy, the Trotskyists had lost a real grasp of theory and suppressed part of Trotsky's dialectical understanding of Stalinism as a parasitic and counterrevolutionary caste sitting atop the gains of the October Revolution, a kind of treacherous middle-man poised between the victorious Russian proletariat and world imperialism.' But Pabloism seized on that disorientation to project a completely different programme: 'Pabloism was more than a symmetrical false theory, more than simply an impressionistic over-reaction against orthodoxy; it was a theoretical justification for a non-revolutionary impulse based on giving up a perspective for the construction of a proletarian vanguard in the advanced or the colonial countries.'

While Pablo initially premised his liquidationist project on the claim that mass Stalinist parties could be pressured to 'project a revolutionary orientation', his perspective was one of liquidating the Trotskyist programme in favour of pressuring any mass movement, including the social-democratic parties, and subsequently radical Third World

nationalists. As 'World Prospect' stated: 'The greatest danger confronting the revolutionary movement is liquidationism, flowing from a capitulation either to the strength of imperialism or of the bureaucratic apparatuses in the Labour movement, or both, Pabloism represents, even more clearly now than in 1953, this liquidationist tendency in the international Marxist movement.'

The WRP and WP balk at accepting the dual or contradictory character of Stalinism because for them it means seeing in it a revolutionary side and a counterrevolutionary side a 'good' side and a 'bad' side. But there is more than theoretical confusion at play in the positions of Workers Power and the WRP. To assert the counterrevolutionary character of Stalinism against those who would liquidate into it is one thing; to use the same argument, as do the WRP and WP, to justify standing with the imperialists in condemning the progressive Soviet intervention into Afghanistan or hailing capitalist-restorationist Solidarnosc in Poland is quite another. It negates everything Trotsky fought for, including his last major struggle in 1939-40 documented in his *In Defence of Marxism*, where he argued for defence of the Soviet Union during its invasion of Finland and Poland. Like the Shachtman of 1939, while abstractly proclaiming defence of the USSR, both WP and the WRP seek to duck it in the concrete.

Reforge the Fourth International!

The nub of the question is programme. Workers Power rejects the IC's fight to defend the programme of the Fourth International against Pabloite revisionism because it rejects that programme itself, calling for a 'new International' and a 'renewed, re-elaborated programme'. Exactly what in the Transitional Programme does Workers Power consider outdated and what does it want to add and 'reelaborate'? The argument that a 'new world reality' dictates a revision of the Trotskyist programme is an old one -- used by all and sundry from Pablo to Mandel to Healy.

From its inception the Spartacist tendency has fought to reforge the Fourth International on the basis of its original programmatic foundations, encapsulated in the first four congresses of the Communist International and the FI's founding document, 'The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International'. That programme (obviously including theoretical extensions to take up questions which arose after Trotsky's time, eg East Europe and Cuba), remains adequate to the tasks of the day -- constructing a world revolutionary party capable of leading socialist revolutions in the imperialist/capitalist countries and political revolutions to oust the Stalinist usurpers in the deformed/degenerated workers states.

As has been shown over the past seven months, the mess the WRP is in today will not be solved by ducking the programmatic questions. Political choices are being made -- consciously or otherwise. Some WRP leaders push Lambert's French OCI/PCI and its deeply Labourite gaggle here, others look elsewhere, still others seek to dump the struggle for the Fourth International altogether. If political choices are made through murky organisational manoeuvres instead of sharp and clear political fights, the struggle will certainly end when 'there is nothing left'. Have years of Healyite atrocities so wrecked the revolutionary fibre of the WRP cadre that they cannot find their way to an open, clear fight for the principles of communism? Don't wait until it's too late to answer that question.

Advertisement for Spartacist magazine featuring 'Genesis of Pabloism' (30p) and 'Healyism Implodes' (75p). Includes contact information for Spartacist Publications, PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE.

CONTACT THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE: BIRMINGHAM (021) 236 9774 LONDON (01) 278 2232 SHEFFIELD (0742) 751828

## Wapping...

(Continued from page 12)

to be elected, their chorus goes -- and meanwhile lie down and take it while the Tories put the boot in. We say: For occupations to fight closures and mass redundancies! Fight for worksharing on full pay -- Thirty hours work for forty hours pay! Don't play Kinnock's losing game -- Class struggle can smash the bosses' offensive!

The belated introduction of automated technology into the British printing industry has underscored the obsolescence of craft unionism, which relies on the supposed irreplaceability of highly skilled labour and rejects class-struggle weapons like mass picket lines. Beating Murdoch requires a fight for genuine industrial unionism forged in struggle; cross-union elected strike committees now can lay the basis for this. And while parochial NGA and SOGAT leaders constantly grumble about 'imported American union-busting', they are quick to resort to the same loser class-collaborationist methods (like consumer boycotts) as their cousins in the American trade-union bureaucracy. The nationalist flag-waving and 'Aussie/Yank-bashing' seen on the Wapping pickets is counterposed to effective class struggle and international solidarity.

The fight against Murdoch's union smashing today stands at a crucial point. The SOGAT and NGA mass meetings showed that the sentiment is there to throw out Dean's sellout and continue the struggle. But victory requires a new, fighting strategy based on a break from the crippling dead-weight of Labourite reformism. Defeat the sellout! For militant mass pickets -- printers, transport workers, miners all out to Wapping! Smash Murdoch union-busting -- Victory to the News International strike! ■

## Letter: On voting Labour

Dear Comrades,

In the article 'WRP after Healy: The god that failed?' (*Workers Hammer* no 79, May 1986), there is a paragraph which could give rise to misunderstanding. Referring to such self-styled Trotskyists as Alan Thornett's Socialist Group and Workers Power, we say:

'As an SL supporter ... put it, what brings this centrist swamp together is that they all support "Khomeini's Iran, Red Army out of Afghanistan, counterrevolution in Poland". And at home that means strategic support to the Labour traitors: "come the next general elections in Britain, all of these parties will be out campaigning for the Labour Party, it doesn't matter how much they say tonight about Neil Kinnock."'

First, though Workers Power 'oppose the invasion of Afghanistan' like all the rest, they deem it 'tactically wrong ... to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops' (*Workers Power*, February 1980), an uneasy centrist amalgam of a position.

Second, the quoted formulation on the Labour Party could imply that electoral support to Labour necessarily equals strategic support as practised by these Labour-loyal fake-Trotskyists. In fact critical electoral support to the Labour Party, when it stands independently of the bourgeois parties, can and has been a valuable and necessary communist tactic, aimed at placing the Labour traitors in power where they can best be exposed before the working masses (in Lenin's phrase, support 'as a rope supports a hanging man'). In the 1974 elections, called by Heath in the midst of the miners strike, critical support to Labour was correct and appropriate. But in 1979 when Callaghan & Co campaigned on the record of the Lib-Lab coalition and more of the same Social Contract betrayal, and broad layers of workers had absolutely no illusions left in this strikebreaking government, we said 'No vote to the traitors'. Our position in the next general elections will depend on concrete circumstances at the time, unlike fake revolutionaries from Thornett to the WRP and WP -- who all supported Labour in 1979, for example, and will inevitably campaign for Kinnock next time.

Communist greetings,  
John Masters

# Murdoch retracts smear

The press release printed below was issued by the Spartacist League/US on May 16.

New York City's WNYW-TV Channel 5 broadcast the following statement Thursday evening, May 15, on the '10 O'Clock News' in settlement of a libel lawsuit brought against it by the Spartacist League:

'On March 31, 1986, Channel 5 reported that someone had painted swastikas on the front of the Austrian Consulate and that an anonymous caller claimed it was the work of the Spartacist League. Channel 5 has investigated the matter further and has found no evidence linking the Spartacist League with the incident. The Police Department has advised Channel 5 that the Spartacist League is not a suspect in this matter.'

The SL suit had charged that the original Channel 5 newscast 'falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously' defamed the SL, setting up the organization as a target for police repression and right-wing violence. The SL categorically denied that it or any of its members was involved in, nor did it urge others to initiate or participate in the reported events. Channel 5 'grossly departed from usual and normal standards of journalism', the SL suit charged. Channel 5 had

made no effort to check with the Spartacist League about the 'anonymous caller', nor to check its own files, where they would have found extensive material from the Spartacist NYC [New York City] election campaign last fall, amply documenting our Marxist politics.

Both the newscast's false statements and its repeated and prominent display of images of the swastika were a lethal double whammy, the SL charged, portraying the SL as terrorist crazies and simultaneously trying to tar it with the brush of fascism, equating our Marxist organization with the hated swastika, symbol of anti-Semitic terror and genocide. The SL press release of April 5 announcing the suit noted that it was no accident that this display of gutter journalism came just a few weeks after Channel 5 was bought by Fox Television Stations, owned by Rupert Murdoch, who also owns the *New York Post*. Murdoch, the Australian-born press baron, is a notorious union-buster currently seeking to destroy the British newspaper unions.

Attorney Jonathan Lubell, of the firm of Lubell & Lubell, and SL general counsel, attorney Rachel H Wolkenstein, filed the successful action on behalf of the Spartacist League.

## South Africa...

(Continued from page 1)

talks with the ANC leadership. They arrived in South Africa just in time for the bombing raid on the Zambian capital. That was Botha's reply to Western pressure, disinvestment, sanctions and all that. It was a big 'screw you' to 'world opinion'. The bombs that exploded in that refugee camp near Lusaka should have exploded the illusion of disinvestment/sanctions social democrats and liberals that South Africa's white supremacists can be pressurised into reforming away apartheid by their 'democratic' imperialist allies.

May Day in South Africa showed the power and combativity of the black workers movement. But it also brought to the surface the danger of tribalism. In Durban, the major city of Natal province, Zulu chieftain and apartheid puppet Gatsha Buthelezi staged a 'union' rally of 70,000 supporters armed with spears and clubs, who trampled on a black coffin with the initials COSATU. Buthelezi's Inkatha thugs have repeatedly attacked COSATU union organisers and offices in the Durban area. Now the sinister Zulu chief has launched a 'union' of thugs to destroy the real South African black workers movement.

The tribalist Buthelezi is an open and deadly enemy of South Africa's black workers movement, and every union militant recognises him as such. A more insidious danger for the black proletariat is petty-bourgeois nationalism. The COSATU leadership has made no secret of its political sympathy for and support to the ANC. The subordination of the black union movement to the ANC nationalists can only derail class struggle against apartheid.

Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, told a May Day rally of 30,000 in Soweto to 'close up ranks and prepare for the final onslaught'. But ANC spokesmen have made it unambiguously clear that the 'final onslaught' they are talking about is not a social revolution to smash apartheid

capitalism, but a neocolonial solution as in Zimbabwe. Thus ANC publicity director Thabo Mbeki stated in a recent interview: '... we are talking not of overthrowing the government but of turning so many people against it that it would be forced to do what Ian Smith had to do' (*Washington Post*, 10 March).

In 1980 Ian Smith's Rhodesian white-supremacist regime, in a deal brokered by British imperialism, was replaced by black African nationalist Robert Mugabe. Since then the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe has ruthlessly exploited the black toilers on behalf of Western capital, brutally suppressed the unions and all black opposition, and waged genocidal terror against the minority Ndebele people. However the black working class in South Africa is far more powerful, better organised and politically conscious than in Zimbabwe.

The ominous growth of the Hitlerite AWB and the escalating bloody attacks of the apartheid state machine point to the urgency of a political break with petty-bourgeois nationalism, ultimately a death trap for the oppressed of South Africa. As we wrote over one year ago:

'South Africa appears to be rumbling down the tracks to a bloody confrontation....

Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation any more. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-v-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down....

'Yet the class principle can prevail. In South Africa there is a black proletariat with a growing sense of its power.... A Bolshevik party must be built to lead a victorious struggle for 'amandla', power, for the oppressed, through workers revolution.' ('South Africa: Razor's edge', *Workers Hammer* no 68, April 1985)

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 403, 9 May

## South Africa: Avenge Soweto - Workers to power!

- For a black-centred workers government!
- Smash Reagan/Thatcher/Botha anti-Soviet war axis!

### Public Meeting

7.30 pm Tuesday 24 June  
Friends House, Room 7/8  
Euston Road, London NW1  
(near Euston station)

### Demonstration

March with the Spartacist League  
28 June  
Assemble 11.00am, Hyde Park  
For further information, tel (01) 278 2232



## Miners, T&G, printers—join the pickets

# Take Wapping! Bust Murdoch!

### For elected strike committees - no sellout, no anti-union court action!

The 5500 sacked printworkers at Wapping, who have been fighting for 18 weeks against Murdoch's union-busting scab operation, are now being stabbed in the back by their own union leadership and the unspeakable Norman Willis. Murdoch's 'final offer', trying to buy out printworkers' jobs with offers of more hush money and an old printworks to launch a Labour Party newspaper, is rightly seen as an insult. 'Rupert Murdoch stick your money up your arse', chanted pickets outside the barbed wire Wapping fortress on 28 May. But Brenda Dean is trying to shove it down their throats, calling a ballot while pushing Murdoch's line that this is the most SOGAT members can expect to get. The NGA's Tony Dubbins too has called a ballot to meet Murdoch's deadline. This sellout must be thrown back!

But the so-called 'militant' opposition to Dean and Dubbins, centred on London SOGAT branch officials, is now dragging the union leadership to court to try and stop the postal ballot. Taking labour's affairs to the bosses' courts -- the same courts that sequestered miners and SOGAT assets -- feeds right into Murdoch's union-busting. Like Dean/Dubbins, the London SOGAT leaders who look to the courts are playing by Neil Kinnock's 'peaceful, legal' rules. And even as they speak against Murdoch's offer they are committed to the same basic strategy as the national officials, trying to bamboozle the membership with the line that if we only keep up the boycott campaign and the twice-weekly demonstrations (mass pickets that aren't allowed to fight), Murdoch will be forced to concede.

### Throw back the sellout

Militant printworkers must reject the sellout and fight for a sharply different strategy. Vote 'no!' Organise elected strike committees representing all striking unions! Fight within them to rally the entire labour movement for total blacking action and disciplined, militant mass pickets to seize Wapping and shut it down! Turn the tide against Murdoch!

From the start of this dispute Dean, Dubbins and their henchmen have actively sabotaged militant action. They fear like the plague the sort of confrontation with the Tories and their laws that is needed since this, like the struggle of the militant miners, would embarrass would-be Prime Minister Kinnock. Militant miners who came to Wapping to stand with the printers and were in the front line against the bloody cop charges on 3 May have been told to 'stay away' by national print union officials. SOGAT marshals actively collude with the police to keep the thousands-strong Wednesday and Saturday night pickets 'orderly'. On 15 March, when Murdoch's fence was torn down with the cops unprepared, thousands of militants could have flooded in and seized the place. But union stewards herded pickets back, allowing the cops to regroup their forces and attack. That evening, and others since, showed what could be done with a leadership determined to fight. But that is what is sorely missing at Wapping today.



Workers Hammer Photos

NGA, SOGAT bureaucrats Tony Dubbins, Brenda Dean: playing by Kinnock's rules means backstabbing sellout. We say: Form elected strike committees to fight for militant strategy to blockade Murdoch, seize Wapping!

The Stalinists of *Morning Star* and the Communist Campaign Group (CCG), influential among the London SOGAT leadership, now find themselves in the unaccustomed position of oppos-

## US printers back strike

The following motion was passed unanimously by a US printers union meeting in the San Francisco Bay Area, 28 May. In addition the Union Labor Relief Fund of the International Typographical Union voted to forward its first \$100 raised to the strikers at Wapping.

Whereas printers at News International in London have been on strike for three-and-a-half months against a vicious, union-busting assault by international press magnate Rupert Murdoch, and with 6000 members of the National Graphical Association (NGA) and Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT) have been fired;

Whereas some 500 pickets have been arrested in the struggle to shut down Murdoch's scab-operated printing plant;

Whereas New York Post publisher Murdoch is a notorious union-buster who headed the New York Publishers Association during the New York City press strike in 1978;

Therefore Be it Resolved that Bay Area Typographical Union Local 21:

1. Declares its solidarity with the NGA and SOGAT and calls for victory to the News International strike -- as we did for the National Union of Mineworkers strikers last year;
2. Conveys this motion by telegram to the striking workers' union.

ing the (supposedly 'left') print union bureaucrats and denouncing a would-be sellout. 'Murdoch's offer should be rejected and the pressure on him should be kept up', says *Morning Star* (27 May). But prominent CCG supporters like SOGAT official Mick Hicks have been notorious for 'provocateur'-baiting militants on the picket lines who want a real fight. And while being forced by their significant Fleet Street base to put up a semblance of opposition to Dean, the *Star* tacitly endorses the London machine branch's attempted

court injunction against the SOGAT leadership. 'Print branch seeks ballot instruction', reads the 29 May *Morning Star* back-page lead, positively and uncritically reporting this anti-union act.

Wapping has demonstrated above all the bankruptcy of the 'left' union bureaucrats so beloved of *Morning Star* and sundry fake revolutionaries. Fifteen months ago the heroic miners strike went down to defeat, thanks to the outright scabbery of the Labour/TUC right wing -- and the cowardice of the 'left', faced with the need to shut down the country but fearful of a confrontation that posed the question of class political power. Now 'lefts' like Dean, Dubbins and Ron Todd are all 'new realists'. Why isn't Todd enforcing blacking of Murdoch's papers by TNT drivers? Why aren't a dozen or so T&G juggernauts brought down to The Highway to support the mass pickets? Why aren't tens of thousands of T&G members, railwaymen, miners being mobilised to Wapping? And why does Arthur Scargill merely join the crowd telling printworkers to put pressure on the TUC and look to a future Labour government? Because an effective strategy for industrial victory today requires a sharp break with the Labourite misleaders -- and this the 'lefts' will not do.

### Crisis of leadership

Wapping, and the union-busting offensive planned by all Fleet Street proprietors, is only one example of the renewed capitalist offensive on jobs. Thousands of redundancies in British Shipbuilders with closures in Scotland and the North East, thousands more job cuts in ER Engineering, the threat of yet more closures by the Coal Board: the bosses' attacks are raining down. Meantime the Tories keep increasing police powers with water cannon, plastic bullets and the like, to be employed against inner-city black and Asian minorities and trade unionists on the picket lines. The Thatcher government is today hated, isolated and brittle; concerted working-class action could not only defeat its attacks but bring it down. But the union bureaucrats are unwilling to wage serious struggle. Wait for Neil Kinnock

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