



Kinnock: Thatcher in drag!

On 21 November Neil Kinnock added to his long list of consciously vicious anti-working class acts. Surrounded by a police honour guard, flanked by a Tory MP, Judas Kinnock unveiled a memorial plaque for Keith Blakelock – the cop killed during the brutal police occupation of black Tottenham last year. While a police band played 'God save the queen' and 'Abide with me' Kinnock, truly in his element, laid a wreath at the cop's plaque.

Neil Kinnock is Thatcher in drag. This man does not simply betray – he gets off on it. Kinnock worked to break the heroic twelve-month miners strike through every means at his disposal and that wasn't enough for him. In the aftermath, he openly vows to throw away the keys to the prison cells where miner militants still languish. A scabberding disgrace to his Welsh mining roots, Kinnock fully fits Jack London's famous description of that lowest of creatures, the scab, 'with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue'.

Praising the 'honour and sacrifice' of Blakelock, the Labour leader denounced his death as an 'atrocious' 'beyond the scope of comprehension and the bounds of forgiveness' (*Guardian*, 22 November). The fact is that in Tottenham some of the people under Thatcher's lash fought back and the cops came up one short.

One black militant who observed the spectacle told *Workers Hammer* that he felt like a Jew watching a Nazi parade. Indeed three weeks earlier, the National Front made it clear that the fascists, too, considered Blakelock a 'nation-

al hero'. On 3 November the Birmingham NF staged a racist provocation when a local Labour Council announced plans to rename two streets in honour of leading figures in the Asian community. The race-terrorists put up their own sign – 'Blakelock Croft'!

JUDAS KINNOCK'S 'LEFT' BOOSTERS

Kinnock's display of touching grief for one of Her Majesty's/Maggie's boot boys says volumes about what sort of Labour government his would be. After seven years in government, Margaret Thatcher is despised the length and breadth of this country for her willful and enthusiastic attacks on old-age pensioners, on striking workers, the unemployed, on black and Asian minorities. Kinnock is trying to outdo her. The authoritative, conservative braintruster, the *Economist* (17 May), speculated that Kinnock might manage British capitalism in its twilight – even if he is 'verbose, intellectually lightweight and devoid of experience in government'. But here's the rub: the Labour Party, after all, claims to be a 'people's party'. And a goodly number among the people that Kinnock is supposed to get out to the polls justly hate his guts. He is in fact crawling so low to please his ruling class masters now that he may well ensure he'll never get to crawl before the queen as prime minister.

Neither Kinnock's treachery nor his widespread unpopularity has dissuaded the entire Labourite spectrum from backing him. From Tony Benn and Arthur Scargill to



Birmingham Post



Workers Hammer

Left: Thatcher's racist cops brutalise black man, Handsworth 1985. Right: Labour's Kinnock eulogises cop who invaded Tottenham.

the supposedly revolutionary 'far left', the cry is 'Vote Kinnock'. He certainly needs all the help he can get from his left flank. Undoubtedly wishing to give Kinnock some small measure of cover for the Blakelock episode, Haringey Labour councillor Bernie Grant welcomed the same Kinnock to participate in a memorial ceremony (on the same day!) for Cynthia Jarrett, a black woman murdered by Blakelock's fellows in the police

force. As Mrs Jarrett lay dying from a coronary triggered by a police break-in of her flat, her assailants deliberately refused to allow an emergency ambulance call. They were out for blood, and Mrs Jarrett's killing was the signal for the full scale police riot in Tottenham.

That was a real outrage! And Neil Kinnock should have been driven away from that ceremony. *continued on page 4*

Thatcher's Syria 'anti-terrorist' gambit

Was El Al bomb a Mossad plot?

Back in April Thatcher played a full role in Reagan's murderous terror-bombing of Tripoli, aimed at punishing Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi for being a 'Soviet surrogate'. Whole areas of the city were devastated and some hundred innocent civilians slaughtered in the name of fighting Libyan 'terrorism'. Now Britain and Israel are pushing the 'Syrian connection', with clearance from Washington. On 24 October Nezar Hindawi was sentenced to 45 years in prison at the Old Bailey for allegedly trying to blow up an El Al civilian airliner last April. The Thatcher government immediately broke off diplomatic relations with Syria – based on supposedly 'conclusive'

evidence of direct involvement, including by the Syrian ambassador in London, in the plot.

Then the Moonie *Washington Times* (10 November) published an explosive interview with French prime minister Jacques Chirac, saying he understood from top German officials that the *El Al bomb plot may have been a Mossad job*, orchestrated by the Israeli spy agency from start to finish. Syria is widely understood to be the target of the Israeli war buildup. Yet the Chirac revelations, which cut the ground from under this latest criminal provocation, have been effectively buried by the British media.

The utter hypocrisy of the That-

cher government screaming about 'state-supported terrorism' while the RUC organises out-and-out death squads to roam through Northern Ireland murdering Catholic activists should be enough to turn any stomach. But this did not prevent the political whores of Fleet Street, including the supposedly 'liberal' *Guardian*, as well as Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition from enthusiastically applauding Thatcher's 'anti-terrorist' stand over the Hindawi affair. In the last few years, 'state-supported terrorism' has been a key codeword in Reagan/Thatcher's war drive against the Soviet Union. And, his occasional muttering about 'non-nuclear defence' notwithstanding,

Judas Kinnock and his Cold War Labour Party are no less deeply committed to the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive than the Iron Lady herself.

'PLOT' BY JOHN LE CARRE?

From the beginning, the case of Nezar Hindawi and the alleged plan to blow up an El Al jet sounded uncannily like a plot straight out of *The Little Drummer Girl*, John Le Carre's pro-Zionist espionage novel. A high-living Palestinian terrorist in London induces a naive, lonely Irish chambermaid, just two months off the boat from Dublin, to be his unwitting pawn. *continued on page 8*

PDC: 'An injury to one is an injury to all!'

The following is taken from 'Class-Struggle Defense Notes' in Workers Vanguard no 413 (10 October).

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We undertake our work in the spirit of the International Labor Defense under its founder and first secretary, James P Cannon (1925-1928). The PDC is partisan: we stand unconditionally on the side of working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. In its partisanship, the PDC is also anti-sectarian. We champion causes and defend cases whose victorious outcome is in the interest of working people, irrespective of particular political

views.

We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the 'justice' of the courts. An injury to one is an injury to all! The PDC urgently needs your support. To contribute and receive the PDC's newsletter 'Class-Struggle Defense Notes' please write to: Partisan Defense Committee, PO Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

The need for a mass class-struggle legal defense organization is urgent. Witness racist atrocities such as the hideous bombing of MOVE, the signature of the Reagan years, and union-busting attacks on labor like the smashing of PATCO. The government is attacking the most basic democratic rights, from

the right to privacy to labor's right to organize, in its drive to regiment the American people for war against the Soviet Union.

International working-class solidarity is the cornerstone of the Partisan Defense Committee. We have supported striking Soweto hospital workers and the largely Hispanic Watsonville, California cannery workers. We fought to mobilize the power of labor for an emergency demonstration against the execution of ANC supporter Benjamin Moloise by the racist South African apartheid butchers. We supported the heroic year-long struggle of the British coal miners, and the Hormel strikers as they faced criminal charges for standing up to the bosses, the government and their loyal cops in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The PDC supported the British coal miners throughout their bitter 1985 strike against Margaret Thatcher's anti-union onslaught. We sought to galvanize international working-class solidarity for 'Aid to Striking Miners' Families' in the face of obstruction from the national AFL-CIO tops. Union locals and unionists joined us in raising over \$23,000 in support of the miners. Key were union brothers and sisters who had assisted the SL-initiated labor/black mobilization against the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982 in Washing-

ton, DC. The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 333 executive board in Baltimore endorsed November 27 and also contributed generously to the British miners.

The PDC stood with the members of ILA Local 333 in grieving for the loss of brother Jack Taylor, a long-time union activist, who was in the forefront of defending a picket when he was cut down by a scabberding cop. As we wrote to the union local in October 1985, 'He joins thousands of labor martyrs who have given their lives for the working class and its cause.... The tradition that picket lines mean don't cross must be restored. The union-busting offensive will be stopped. We are confident that the cause that Jack Taylor died for will be victorious.'

As an expression of class solidarity, the PDC has revived the tradition of the early International Labor Defense by sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners, including those jailed for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. Today we continue to send stipends to British miners still in prison for defending their union: Terry French, Dean Hancock, Russell Shankland and Clive Thompson. Also receiving PDC monthly stipends are Ramona Africa of MOVE and former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt, among others. ■



TROTSKY

On the Labour 'lefts'

On the eve of the 1926 General Strike, Trotsky wrote about the capitulatory role of the Labour/TUC 'lefts'. Today the TUC is firmly in the grip of Kinnockite Norm Willis and the 'lefts' abjectly crawling to Kinnock. Still the pseudo-revolutionaries plead to 'make the lefts fight'. Communists instead fight for splitting the Labour Party



LENIN

as a strategic task in the construction of a Bolshevik party in this country.

The left faction at the top of the trade unions leads the General Council on a number of questions. This expresses itself most clearly in the attitude towards the Soviet trade unions and to Amsterdam. But it would be a mistake to overestimate the influence of these lefts upon the unions as the organizations of class struggle. This is not so much because the masses in the trade unions are not radical enough, on the contrary the masses are immeasurably more left than the most left of the leaders. In the British labour movement international questions have always been a path of least resistance for the 'leaders'. In regarding international issues as a sort of safety valve for the radical mood of the masses Messrs. leaders are prepared to bow to a certain degree to revolution (elsewhere) only the more surely to take revenge on the questions of the domestic class struggle. The left faction on the General Council is distinguished by a total ideological formlessness and for this very reason it is incapable of consolidating around itself organizationally the leadership of the trade union movement.

This too explains the impotence of the lefts within the Labour Party. The latter rests of course upon the same trade unions. It might appear that the left faction which 'leads' the General Council would have taken control of the Labour Party. But we see something quite different in reality. The extreme rights continue to control the party. This can be explained by the fact that a party cannot confine itself to isolated left campaigns but is compelled to have an overall system of policy. The lefts have no such system nor by their very essence can they. But the rights do: with them stands tradition, experience and routine and, most important, with them stands bourgeois society as a whole which slips them ready-made solutions. For MacDonald has only to translate Baldwin's and Lloyd George's suggestions into Fabian language. The rights win despite the fact that the lefts are more numerous. The weakness of the lefts arises from their disorder and their disorder from their ideological formlessness. In order to marshal their ranks the lefts have first of all to rally their ideas. The best of them will only be capable of doing so under the fire of the most ruthless criticism based upon the everyday experience of the masses.

-Leon Trotsky, 'Problems of the British Labour Movement' (7 January 1926)

Jewish Soviet General Dragunsky banned from US

The following is excerpted from Workers Vanguard no 415 (24 October).

On 21 September, for the second time, Soviet General David Dragunsky was denied permission to enter the United States to attend a dinner sponsored by Jewish Affairs magazine in his honor. Earlier, in June 1985, one month after Reagan saluted SS graves at Bitburg, Dragunsky and two other prominent Soviet Jews, Lev Kaufman and Andrei Belaeu, were denied entry visas to attend a celebration (also sponsored

by Jewish Affairs) of the 40th anniversary of V-E Day. Dragunsky, twice decorated with the Hero of the Soviet Union medal, lost his family to Nazi terror in World War II. The PDC sent the following telegram of protest to US Secretary of State George Shultz:

'23 September 1986

PDC condemns second McCarthyite exclusion of Jewish Soviet General David Dragunsky, hero of Red Army triumph over Hitler, as outrage to every victim of and fighter against fascist terror.' ■

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Industrial murder in the North Sea

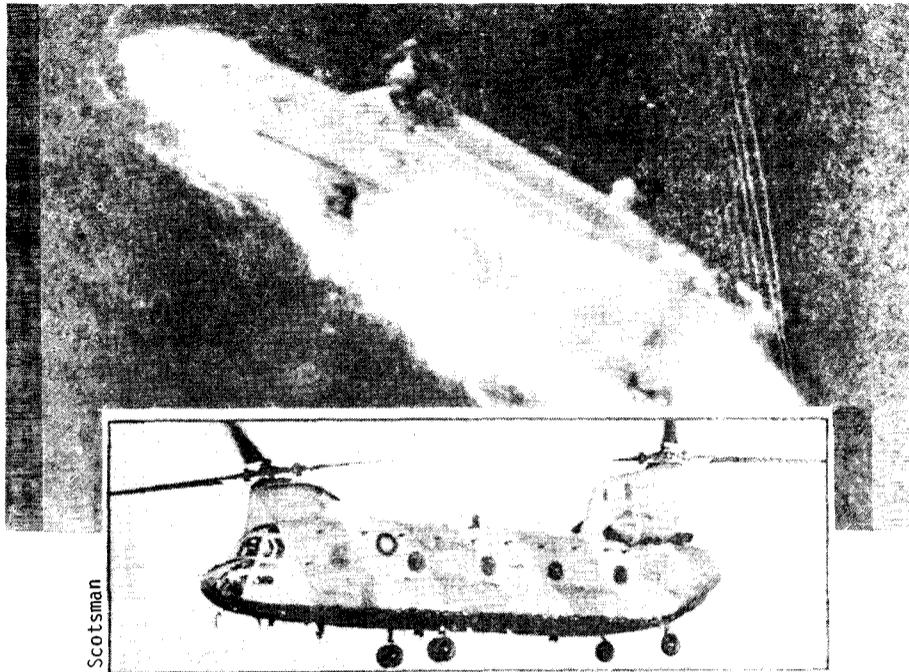
On 6 November, one of the worst helicopter crashes in history took place just off the Shetland Isles in the North Sea. Forty-five men, oil workers working on the offshore oil rigs, died as their Chinook helicopter foundered and broke up in the icy waters of the North Sea, where you're lucky to last two minutes in the near-Arctic conditions before freezing to death. Miraculously, two survived, by clinging to a piece of wreckage and a dinghy and being fortuitously picked up by a coast guard chopper on a training flight within minutes of the crash. Otherwise, they too would have frozen and drowned.

The ill-fated Chinook helicopter was owned by Robert ('Captain Bob') Maxwell, darling of treacherous Labour leader Neil Kinnock and owner of a number of daily papers. His recently acquired British International Helicopters has taken over much of the work involved in ferrying oil workers to and from the various rigs and depots dotted around the North Sea. Having sent these 45 mainly Scottish workers to their deaths, the despicable Labourite millionaire then launched a fund drive for the bereaved families through his newspaper chain. Truly, blood money!

'Accidents will happen', the bosses are saying in chorus. But why do they happen? The drive for profit that is intrinsic to capitalism involves systematic negligence and outright, wanton murder. Maintenance engineers insisted on delaying the fatal flight when they discovered an oil leak before its takeoff, and an eyewitness to the crash on a nearby fishing vessel saw one of the rotor blades fall off just before the Chinook started its dive into the sea.

Aircraft design experts describe the Chinook as an 'engineering nightmare'. In February 1983 this same chopper had to make a forced landing when a gearbox bearing failed. Only two of the three improvements recommended in its wake by safety experts – on fire safety, flight deck warning indicator and gearbox design – were ever implemented. In October 1984, the synchronisation shaft failed during maintenance. Given the Chinook's overlapping twin rotor blades design, the synchronisation mechanism is critical to keeping the blades from smashing each other to bits. That was the cause of a similarly horrific crash in Mannheim, West Germany in 1982, in which 46 French and Welsh amateur parachutists aboard a military version of the Chinook were killed. It appears that something very similar happened on 6 November.

Conditions on the North Sea oil rigs epitomise the total disdain for the lives and welfare of the workforce that is characteristic of capitalist exploitation. In April 1977, 'Red' Adair, the American oil rig troubleshooter, said: 'Whatever precautions are taken, there'll be a disaster in the North Sea, sooner or later. There are no proper facilities for coping with it' (*New Yorker*, 27 January). The North Sea oilfield has been plagued with disaster from its inception. In December 1965, 13 men were killed when the *Sea Gem*, one of the first drilling barges, capsized and sank. Several weeks after Adair's pre-



A Chinook (inset depicts military version) similar to the one which took 45 workers to their death in a May 1984 near-fatal forced landing just off Shetland. Capitalism creates disaster-ridden, frozen hell for workers.

diction, Well 14, on Ekofisk Bravo in the Norwegian sector of the oilfield, blew out. The oil companies had previously rejected Adair's proposal for a specialised firefighting vessel on the grounds of expense.

North Sea oil adds something like £2 million *per hour* to the coffers of the oil magnates – every penny of it leeches out of the blood of the workforce. The workers, many of them highly skilled and specialised, work straight 12-hour shifts 14 days at a stretch. (You can get a taste of the Dante-like infernal scene, minus the high-tech, from the Sean Connery film *Outland*.) They are forced to work on slippery platforms blown backwards and forwards by gale-force winds in a prisonlike regime – booze and women are banned, newspapers are generally several days old, their only source of relaxation videotapes. Except in the sleeping areas, the deafening din and vibration of the rigs is everywhere and always present. And, unlike onshore oil refineries, workers can't run away from a fire; they can only jump into the surrounding icy sea.

And the helicopters – mostly Chinooks and the smaller Sikorski S-61s – which are central to the functioning of the oilfield are five times more likely to malfunction and crash than fixed-wing aircraft. The pilot must maintain hands-on control of these 'unstable platforms' during every instant of flight. And in the North Sea oilfield, they operate virtually without cease, making the air traffic control centre at Brent Log one of the busiest in Europe (at one time second only to Heathrow international airport). The *New Yorker* correspondent notes that 'The parallel between the North Sea and space has become one of the clichés of the industry'. But if the imperialist bourgeoisie is prepared to see seven astronauts blown to bits aboard the Challenger space shuttle, what concern would one expect the notoriously rapacious oil companies to give to their workers?

The North Sea helicopter disaster was fundamentally of a piece with the Kinross gold mine catastrophe in South Africa a couple of months ago, in which nearly 200 black min-

ers were asphyxiated a mile underground. For the capitalist bloodsuckers, the bottom line – literally – is their profit statement at the end of the fiscal year; and to that end, human life is expendable. In particular, the English-centred bourgeoisie has routinely treated Scottish working people as expendable, be it as cannon fodder in the Scottish regiments or as workers on North Sea oil rigs.

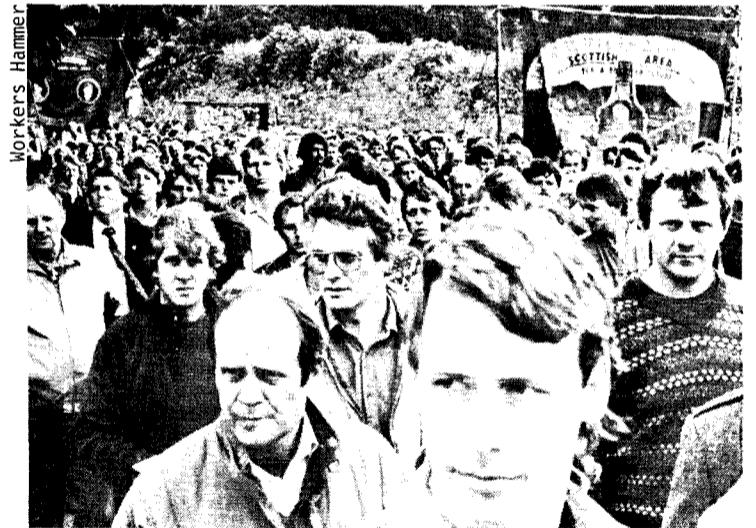
The oil workers have considerable industrial muscle. The nascent South African black National Union of Mineworkers organised a powerful memorial strike in outrage over the Kinross massacre. But to the extent the North Sea oil workers

are unionised, they have only the pathetic ASTMS, which organises primarily white-collar technicians.

From Whitehall to the City of London, the ruling class has seen in the North Sea oilfield the saviour that would somehow save clapped-out British capitalism indefinitely from economic disaster. But it has not. And now the one region of Scotland that due to oil has had some measure of alleviation from the all-round economic devastation is finding that this was transient and illusory. As the oil industry goes into decline, it is estimated that 40,000 jobs will be lost, ripping the heart out of this enclave of Scottish 'prosperity'. It's no accident that a significant number of those killed aboard the Chinook came from Fife, once a rich coalfield, since turned into industrial desert. Acting out a capitalist sequel to the Highland Clearances, Scotland (like Wales) has been viciously ravaged and ripped off by the British bourgeoisie in its epoch of decay. And look what British imperialism has done in Ireland.

Marxists stand for the right of self-determination for the Celtic fringe. We do not, however, urge a course of separation: the Scottish and Welsh proletariat have been in the vanguard of the working class movement in the British Isles. The answer is neither the fool's gold of Scottish nationalism, which would leave the Scottish working class no less brutally exploited, nor the vile 'socialism' of Kinnock's Labour Party, which revels in its strike-breaking and treacherous fealty to the English ruling class. Having stabbed the miners in the back, 'Judas' Kinnock goes off on a pilgrimage to the Berlin Wall to laud the Nazi effort to fight off the Red

Striking miners in funeral procession for fellow striker Joe Green killed by scab. General strike then could have brought down bloody Thatcher.



Army liberation of Berlin and then lays a wreath for the racist cop killed during the police invasion of London's Tottenham ghetto last year!

are unionised, they have only the pathetic ASTMS, which organises primarily white-collar technicians. Shortly before the recent crash, government official Norman Marguerite wrote to 'interested parties' (no doubt including the ASTMS leadership) expressing gratitude for their 'patience' over long-postponed reforms in safety conditions.

Union-busting paves the way to industrial murder. Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union led directly to a sharp rise in air fatalities. Had ASTMS struck in support of the heroic miners strike – when oil-fired power stations played a crucial strike-breaking role – they could have made the difference in deep-sixing 'Iron Lady' Thatcher, whose revenues depend heavily on North Sea oil. For union control over safety and working conditions! For a strong indus-

A revolutionary struggle for socialism can unite the English working class with the downtrodden peoples of the Celtic fringe and the oppressed black and Asian minorities – who all have good reason to hate and fight the British ruling class. Above all, that requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party through splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist tops. Such a party will act as tribune of the oppressed, mobilising all the downtrodden in this society behind the social power of the proletariat and finally sweeping the racist butchers of this senile ruling class into the dustbin of history. ■

Kinnock ...

(Continued from page 1)

Instead he was honoured—in order to sell this wretched sellout to Bernie Grant's constituency. Bernie Grant told the truth about Tottenham when he said the cops got 'a bloody good hiding' and he has defended the rights of gypsies and gays, but he is wedded to ensuring that the swine Kinnock becomes the next prime minister. When Grant addressed a mass meeting in Tottenham shortly after the police riots, he was cheered by the audience. But when he put forward his

a veteran of the miners strike, stand in the elections on a class-struggle programme against Kinnock.

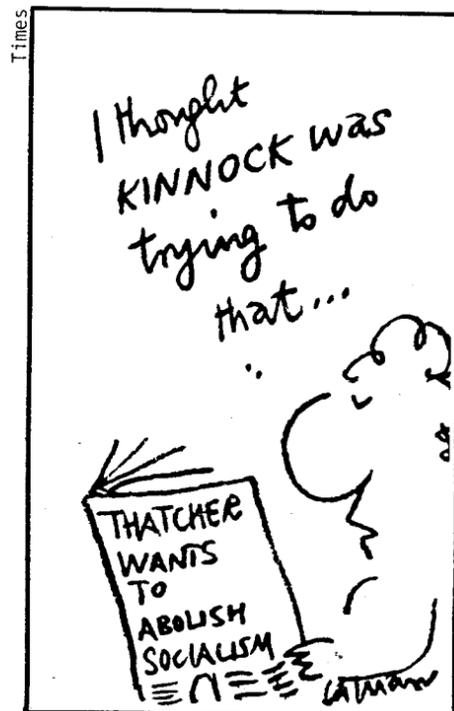
What the Labour 'lefts' would like to obscure is that Kinnock does indeed represent the Labour Party programme. Labour leaders know that in order to be Her Majesty's next government their party must demonstrate its eager willingness to run the country by policing and stifling any resistance and militancy. It must bend over backwards to show thoroughgoing loyalty to Washington's anti-Soviet war drive. Hence Kinnock's anti-Communist pilgrimage to the Berlin Wall in October, there to listen enthusias-

working class, so racist that he manages to make the chinless wonder, Prince Charles, sound like some sort of Robin Hood when the 'heir apparent' speaks on the plight of the inner-city ghettos. The Labour Party conference voted down even the cosmetic (and futile) 'reform' of Labour Party 'black sections'. Kinnock joins the Tory outcry over Blakelock—a cop killed during a racist cop riot. The miners he says are 'violent'. What neither Kinnock nor his Tory chums can tolerate is any struggle by the exploited and oppressed which threatens to transcend anaemic parliamentary manoeuvring. If they do—there are plenty of prison cells. The courts are still handing down massive jail sentences to black and white youth from Broadwater Farm. We demand: Drop the charges—release the victims of cop terror! Free the jailed miners and reinstate all sacked strikers!

HATE KINNOCK—FORGE A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

As for violence, the repression by the occupying British forces in Northern Ireland is a monumental example of the violence of the British rulers. And Labour has been the chief instrument for British imperialism in Ireland. It was, of course, a Labour government which sent in the troops in 1969, which passed the Prevention of Terrorism Act (used as a model for South Africa's own such law). Kinnock's hosannas to Blakelock echo the wails of the former Empire's 'gentlemen' forced to bring 'civilisation' to half the globe through murder, robbery, partition—it was so troublesome when the colonies fought back.

Similarly Kinnock offered up an obsequious imitation of Thatcher's 'Victorian values' rhetoric and the



Guardian

Kinnock at the Berlin Wall. Ich bin ein anti-Soviet strikebreaker.

'solution'—vote Labour—he was booed down.

Likewise miners leader Arthur Scargill has been on the hustings. His task is to somehow convince battle-hardened miners and their families that the man who pushed Thatcher/MacGregor's strikebreaking 'ballot', who slandered the militancy of the miners as 'violence', who worked overtime to deflect any possibility of solidarity strike action that could have toppled the Iron Bitch and secured a miners' victory, is not a complete enemy of the working people. This is tough going. (Arthur Scargill better realise that he can't walk on water with Judas Kinnock.)

REMEMBER THE MINERS STRIKE

The miners strike shook the social fabric of capitalist Britain to its very foundations. Traditional barriers and divisions among the working class and oppressed were broken down as Irish, blacks, Asians, women and gays rallied to the miners' cause. The Labourite illusions of many workers in parliament and bourgeois-democratic reformism were cracked. The general strike needed to catapult the miners to victory would have posed the question of power: which class will rule? Had the miners won their strike, it could well have brought down Thatcher's government. Precisely for this reason, victory for the miners required a revolutionary leadership capable of organising for proletarian state power. Insofar as the next elections go, we will not lend one ounce of support to Kinnock's Labour Party. Workers and oppressed would have a chance to express their felt outrage should a proletarian militant,

tically to British officers brief him on how 'West Berlin could be defended now as it was in the final days of the Hitler regime, when a ramshackle German army inflicted severe casualties on the Russians' (*Guardian*, 16 October). It was the Soviet Red Army which liberated Berlin from the Nazi scourge—taking 60,000 casualties in that final drive against Hitler. Today, the NATO imperialists long to overturn that victory. Perhaps Kinnock—in Berlin and at Blakelock's grave—was trying to make up for having missed Reagan's grotesque homage to the Hitlerite SS killer at Bitburg.

Kinnock is certainly making it clear that 'Denis Healey rules OK' in the Cold War Labour Party, continuing its vile tradition of trying to sabotage the Russian proletariat's historic victory, the October Revolution of 1917, of putting itself at the service of the US spy agencies at the end of World War II in splitting and wrecking pro-Communist trade unions in West Europe and acting as a loyal agent of NATO. When the Labour Party conference, despite its multitudinous resolutions about a 'non-nuclear defence policy', votes in favour of the anti-Soviet NATO alliance *five-to-one*, they are conveying the same message. Now Kinnock is off to the United States to assure the war-crazed ruling class there that they need have no qualms about a Kinnock Labour government—he aims to please.

The anti-Soviet war drive abroad means a reactionary vendetta at home against all sectors of society. In the sick man of Europe this is so with a vengeance. And Kinnock is so viscerally anti-

Stop the deportation of Viraj Mendis!

In July of this year, the Home Office turned down Viraj Mendis' final appeal against deportation to Sri Lanka. Viraj Mendis, who has lived in Britain for 13 years, is a Sri Lankan Sinhalese supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Group in Britain. He is known for his defence of democratic rights for Tamils against JR Jayewardene's bloody Sinhala-chauvinist government, making him a particular target for a regime that butchers Tamils and 'disappears' its opponents. The Thatcher government's threat to deport Viraj Mendis is not only a racist outrage, but a death sentence—point-blank.

While support for Mendis is widespread throughout the trade union movement and amongst the oppressed minorities in this country, Judas Kinnock's racist Labour Party leadership has criminally refused to support his appeal. The backdrop to the Mendis case is Britain's wholesale collusion with JR's anti-Tamil terror, including SAS 'training' for JR's death squads. Even now 30 Tamil refugees have been left to rot in Home Office 'detention' centres—in conditions so horrendous that one man was driven to

attempt suicide—and 'the Home Office has admitted that detention is being used as a sanction to discourage them coming here' (*Observer*, 23 November). We say: Hands off Viraj Mendis! Full, immediate and unconditional asylum for all Tamil refugees and victims of JR's communalist terror! Full citizenship rights for all minority and foreign-born workers and their families!

We reprint below a telegram of protest to the Home Office sent by the Spartacist League. For more information and for messages of support write to: VMDC, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester M15 5AL, or phone (061) 234 3168.

David Waddington
c/o Home Office

17 November 1986

Spartacist League strongly protests your government's threatened deportation of Viraj Mendis to Sri Lanka. Mendis is a known defender of Tamil rights against Sri Lankan butcher J.R. Jayewardene. This is a racist outrage and a death sentence. Stop the deportation proceedings now!

Spartacist League/Britain

North London Poly Spartacist Society leaflet:

Drive the fascists off campus!

The fascists are raising their dangerous and ugly heads again at NLP. Early this month, one of these racist pigs turned up in the Kentish Town bar dressed in a 'Screwdriver'/BNP T-shirt. The following week, he repeated the provocation, this time flaunting a Union Jack T-shirt. This is an intolerable outrage which must be met with concerted action. In this country, advertising the BNP alongside the Union Jack is like the Ku Klux Klan appearing in white sheets waving the Confederate flag of slavery in the US. This fascist insignia means firebombings, stabblings and murders of blacks, Asians and all minorities. The fascist thugs are a mortal threat to every black, Asian, Jew, trade unionist, socialist, woman, homosexual. They are a provocation to every decent person on campus. Smash the fascist swine through militant trade union/minority/student mobilisations!

This is a heavily minority and working-class campus. Less than two years ago students here fought a long, bitter and militant struggle against National Front organiser Patrick Harrington. The Spartacist League mobilised to bring miners, London Transport workers and other trade unionists to NLP to drive the fascist Harrington off once and for all. We Marxists understand that it is the social power of the working class that can, in alliance with all the oppressed, send the fascists packing and take on their friends, the boys in blue. However, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-dominated 'Harrington Out Campaign' stabbed that fight in the back. Small wonder. From their own internal Discussion Bulletin (August 1984) comes the following: 'We are not saying ignore the nazis, and they will necessarily go away. We are saying at present, organise specifically against the nazis, and we'll build their organisation. 'The practical conclusions are few, but important. If the nazis

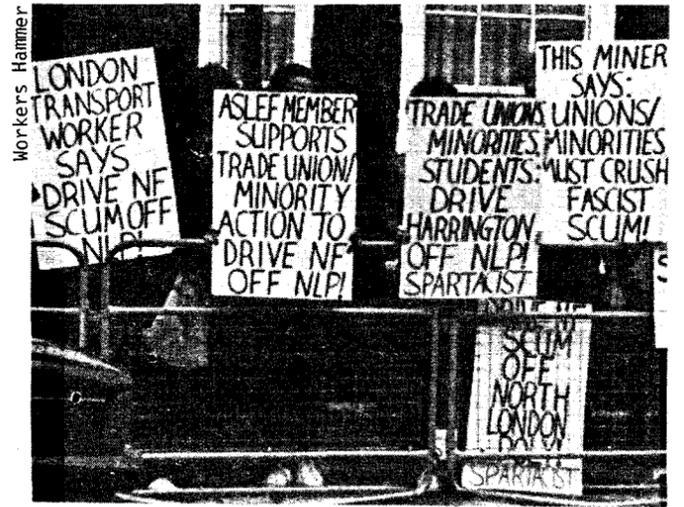
start paper sales we should not pay them any special attention. If they attack a SW [the SWP's own paper] sale, make a tactical retreat and start again the following week.'

Refusing to lift a finger to organise combative workers in the fight against the NF, the SWP accepted a deal in accordance with a court ruling that allowed Harrington to stay at NLP. They cynically insisted that Harrington's removal to separate quarters on campus was a '90% victory'. The bosses courts are used to attack anti-fascist militants and to protect the fascists. In fact, two students, one of them an SWP supporter, were sent to jail for defying that court injunction which also prohibited anti-fascist demos.

With this green light from the courts, the fascists are surfacing again at NLP. Nazi graffiti has been scrawled in the campus toilets. True to form, the SWPers at NLP have argued that the fascist creeps should be ignored. Their supporters at NLP are even trying to argue that fascist attacks don't represent any threat at all. Tell that to an Asian family in the East End or a black NLP student! Only last month at Bristol University, the SWP joined hands with the Labour Club to protect Enoch 'Rivers of Blood' Powell from outraged anti-racist students! We hail those militants who broke through the SWP/Labour line and forced Powell to cancel his 'speech'.

Now Education Minister Kenneth Baker wants to push through the Education Bill which is in part aimed at enforcing the 'right' of any racist scum, including outright fascists, to come onto campuses throughout the country. Under the nauseatingly hypocritical rubric of 'free speech', such a law is aimed precisely at removing the rights of students to protest. As for the fascists, they 'debate' with clubs, firebombs and gang beatings. Powell, while not a card-carrying NF member, uses his platforms to incite racist terror, to create a

October, 1984:
Spartacist students at NLP mobilised trade unionists around the perspective of trade union/minority/student mobilisations to drive fascist Patrick Harrington off campus.



climate conducive to the growth of fascist gangs. But, for the SWP, Powell is to be defended against student protesters.

What is happening in Thatcher's Britain today is a massive build-up for war against the Soviet Union. That necessarily means attacks on workers, minorities and youth at 'home'. It means a green light to the fascists, the ruling class's dogs of war. When Thatcher tried to smash the miners union as part of this war effort, what did the SWP do? Its leader Tony Cliff proudly announced that the SWP had been scabbing right through the strike. The SWP was on the wrong side in the biggest class battle in this country for the same reason they were on the wrong side at Bristol—they are on the wrong side when it comes to defending the Soviet Union against imperialism. Their anti-Sovietism means gross betrayal of the struggles of those under attack by the Iron Lady.

Thus, the SWP links arms with the Labour Club. Kinnock wants the miners arrested during the strike to stay in jail. He just went up to Muswell Hill to unveil a plaque in memory of the racist cop Blacklock who got his (see article, page one). And Thatcher's cops rampaged against the black and Asian youth because they were the most loyal supporters of the miners strike and the next section of society in the

bosses' line of fire. Anyone who wants to fight against racist capitalism had better look to the revolutionists of the Spartacist League. The cringing Labourite reformists of the SWP have only sell-outs for sale.

The fascists are the filth that this rotten, decaying capitalist system throws up. They must be beaten back whenever they show up. Our comrades in the Spartacist League of the United States organised a demonstration in November 1982 of 5000 overwhelmingly black trade unionists and youth which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, DC. To get rid of such scum for good, you need to build a party capable of leading the working class to sweep away the rule of the bosses and put the workers in power. The Spartacist League sets itself this task. Students have to take a side: either you stand with Thatcher, Kinnock and the bosses or with the working class and minorities. There is no 'third camp' as the SWP pretends. If you want to fight for socialism and drive the fascists back into the sewers from which they sprung: join us! For trade union/minority/student mobilisations to drive the fascists off NLP! Down with Thatcher! No vote to racist scabherd Kinnock! Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union! ■

Beware the RCP!

Earlier this year, we carried an article on the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) (see 'RCP apologises for race-terror', *Workers Hammer* no 77, March 1986) denouncing this pretty sinister and bizarre 'bad-news outfit' for publishing a disgusting interview with an outright fascist street thug from East London. In effect the RCP was providing a platform in the pages of its paper for incitement to racist terror. We warned: 'With its bizarre rhetoric of classless bravado ... the RCP appeals to the same social base, the same petty-bourgeois despair and lumpen impotence as do the fascists.'

Now the RCP's efforts in this direction appear to have borne fruit,

making them a danger and a threat to every working-class and anti-racist militant. The Autumn issue of a broadsheet entitled the *Sheffield Anarchist* carried the following information under the heading 'Is it Marx or is it Adolf?':

'Our congratulations go out to Sheffield R.C.P. for a rather amazing conversion that they have recently made. The ranks of their supporters have been joined by the ex-British Movement organiser for Sheffield, known far and wide at one time for the hospitality she offered at the Hitler's birthday parties held at her father's pub.'

When confronted by a Spartacist League supporter on a Fargate street

sale in Sheffield on 15 November, an RCP'er admitted the truth of this report, adding by way of justification that the British working class was very racist and that this 'converted' fascist scum hadn't been in the BM recently!

At the time of the RCP's disgusting apology for race-terrorists, claiming the fascists 'simply' put 'the prejudices of their parents and the rest of society into action' (*tns*, 7 February), we wrote: 'The RCP is a bad-news outfit whose outright aversion to the class line has taken them to ever stranger and more sinister positions in recent years.' This gang is virulently anti-Soviet, against the trade union closed shop, opposed to the elementary demand 'No platform for fascists', and denies that Jews and gypsies are oppressed (*tns*, 20 June). Its megalomaniacal guru Frank Richards publicly 'jokes' about the stoning of homosexuals in Iran. It plasters the streets with

wallposters prominently featuring Hitler's portrait beneath the cry, 'Preparing for power'. The coalfields abound with stories of RCPers being acquainted with the pavement (and in one instance thrown into a river) for their grotesquely open scabberding during the miners strike—their attempt to popularise the strikebreaking ballot and organising conferences of scabs.

Their own far-out brand of anti-communist politics notwithstanding, the anarchists have carried out a genuine service to the workers movement with this exposure. The fascists are a real and growing danger, and the British Movement in particular has always tried to be the hard 'activist' anti-communist/terrorist pole within the fascist milieu. Now the sinister RCP offers them a vehicle by which to infiltrate the left. We say to every left-wing and minority militant: Beware the RCP! ■

Soviet bureaucracy at Iceland summit:

Limits to betrayal?

From the moment Ronald Reagan walked out of the non-summit summit in Reykjavik, Iceland cursing at Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the media has been filled with morning-after speculations about the disarmament mega-deal that almost was. US Democratic Party liberals and their Labourite brethren in Britain who believe in the 'arms control process' as the road to 'peace' were upset that Reagan insisted on testing (and ultimately deploying) his trillion-dollar 'Star Wars' space weapons scheme, instead of using it as a 'bargaining chip'. Former war secretary James Schlesinger fretted that the 'opportunity of a generation' had been missed. The cynics in the Oval Office, meanwhile, claimed to have almost sealed a pact with the Russians to cut strategic nuclear arms by half within five years and eliminate all 'offensive' ballistic missiles in ten. Reykjavik awakened widespread hopes, but anyone who thinks peace was almost at hand must believe in the tooth fairy.

Unfortunately, it appears that Gorbachev was one of those expecting to miraculously find a peace gift under his pillow. In order to achieve a 'historic' pact, he was evidently ready to mortgage the proverbial store for a piece of paper signed by the world's leading imperialist. Even the viciously anti-Soviet *New York Times* (15 October) felt compelled to editorialise that many of the 'sweeping agreements' in the proposed deal were made 'largely on the basis of Soviet concessions'. Among the significant concessions:

- The Soviets would eliminate all their medium-range missiles in Europe if the US did the same, while allowing Washington's British and French allies to keep theirs in place.

- The Soviets would cut back, by perhaps several hundred, the number of shorter-range missiles in Europe.

- After unilaterally imposing on themselves for the past year a moratorium on nuclear testing in the hopes that the US would do the same, the Soviets capitulated to Reagan's insistence on letting US nuclear tests continue. Instead there would be a vague commitment to phase out the tests 'over time'.

- Bombers and cruise missiles, where the Americans have the advantage, would *not* be eliminated under the proposed ten-year deal, while ballistic missiles (the Soviet strong suit) would go.

- Sea-launched cruise missiles, which the US constantly flaunts against the Soviet Union in endless provocative Navy 'exercises', are

exempted entirely from the deal.

- All this comes on top of the already agreed-to deal in which Gorbachev gave NATO the 'right' to call 'snap inspections' of Soviet conventional force manoeuvres in Europe to 'ease tensions'.

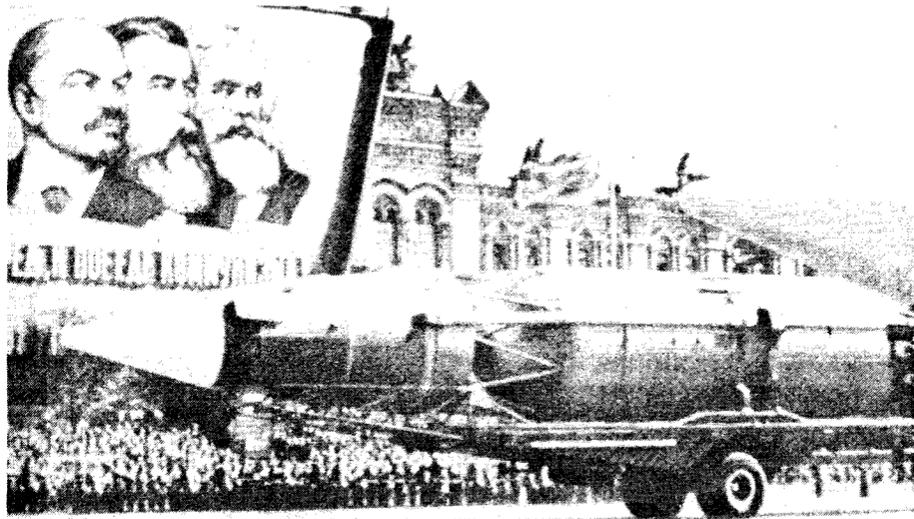
'Things look much brighter than they did before', bragged Kenneth Adelman, the rocket-rattling head of Reagan's 'arms control' agency after the summit. Massachusetts Democrat Ed Markey said it was 'the best deal the Russians have offered us since they sold us Alaska'. The Reaganites think they can get what they want by slamming the Russians against the wall. And now the US has announced the expulsion of another 55 Soviet diplomats. The Soviets are well aware of the US strategy of nuclear blackmail. In his post-summit speech Gorbachev said:

'The West thinks or hopes that perhaps the Soviet Union will, in the final analysis, be unable to bear the arms race, economically will break and will therefore come and bow to the West.' (*New York Times*, 15 October)

Unfortunately, the Kremlin is all too willing to accommodate, driven by the illusion that an expensive arms race can be avoided by a paper deal. Indeed, already there are hints being dropped by the Soviet Union that they might capit-

The Soviet Union, homeland of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, is in grave danger. But even Joseph Stalin discovered that there were limits to his betrayals to imperial-

reduce the number of arms. That's putting the cart before the horse. Weapons don't create imperialist war, the conflict arises out of the very depths of the worldwide class



PBS

Don't mess with Russia! Soviet military power deters war-crazy NATO rulers.

ism, when three million German soldiers poured across the Soviet border in June 1941, compelling him to fight or face the destruction of the foundations on which the bureaucracy rests.

Underlying the whole 'arms control process' is the pacifist myth

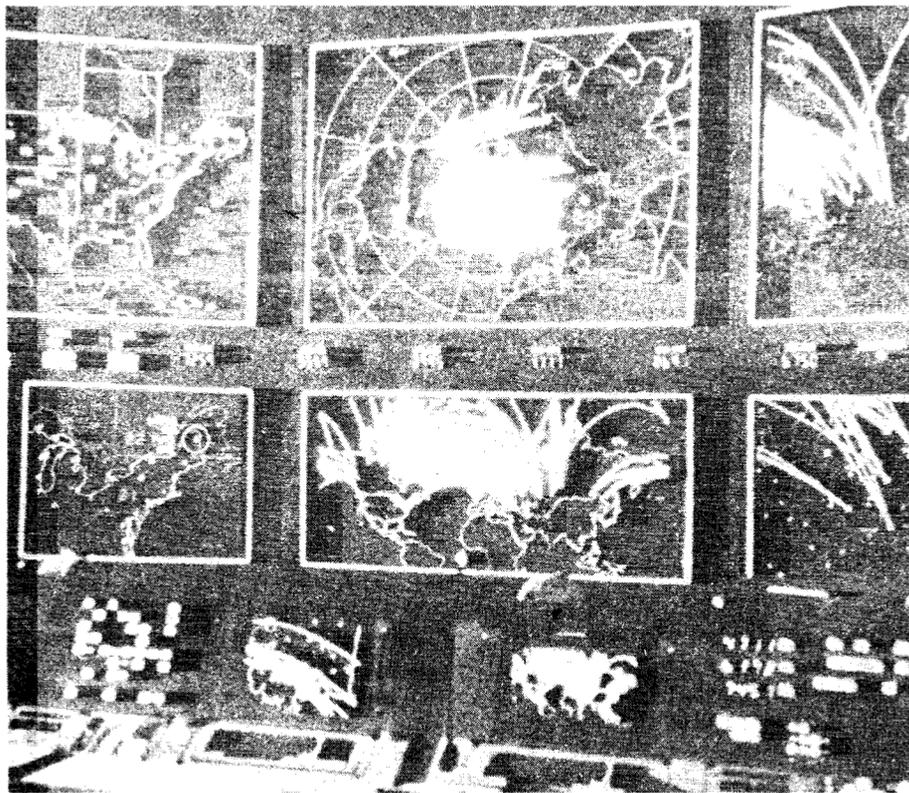
struggle, the struggle between the capitalists seeking to maintain their exploitative class rule, and the working class and oppressed fighting for liberation. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, noted many years ago:

'Petty-bourgeois pacifism, which sees in a 10 percent, or 33 percent, or 50 percent disarmament proposal the "first step" towards prevention of war, is more dangerous than all the explosives and asphyxiating gases....

'Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war.' (Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam, July 1932)

REAGAN'S FIRST-STRIKE WAR PLANS

So what was Reagan up to at Reykjavik? The centrepiece of his policy is the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), better known as 'Star Wars'. This would involve deployment of high-tech weapons in space and on the ground - lasers, particle beam weapons and kinetic energy 'rail' guns - to destroy Soviet missiles and warheads in flight. The Russians



Kennerley/Time

'Star Wars' scheme is part of Pentagon plan for nuclear first strike against Soviet Union.

ulate to Reagan's 'Star Wars' demands, allowing 'some research and testing ... outside the laboratory' (*New York Times*, 19 October).

that wars are caused by weapons, and therefore war can be prevented or at least postponed by state-to-state agreements to freeze or

Defend the Soviet Union!

Workers revolution must disarm the imperialists

demanded the mildest of restraints, insisting that the US adhere to the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty by keeping SDI in the laboratory for ten years. (Not even the most optimistic Star Warriors think the US would be ready to extensively test before then anyway.) But Reagan nixed it. Many reputable scientists regard SDI as a crackpot scheme (and a horribly expensive one) which can't possibly work. But these scientific criticisms are valid only if one buys Reagan's assertion that it is meant to be a defence against a Soviet first strike. Reagan has a different idea, as we wrote over a year ago:

'As an umbrella against surprise attack, "Star Wars" is truly a hare-brained scheme. But as part of a first strike it makes a lot of (twisted) sense. The Union of Concerned Scientists' detailed study on *Space-Based Missile Defense* (March 1984) notes that an attacker with thousands of missiles could readily smash through any conceivable defense shield, but ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems "might perform with some effectiveness against a poorly coordinated and weakened retaliatory strike".' ('Reagan's First-Strike War Plans', *Workers Vanguard* no 370, 11 January 1985)

In short, the 'Star Wars' scheme is part of a US first-strike plan.

The cheapest way for the Russians to counter SDI is by adding to their inventory of long-range ballistic missiles, to ensure that enough of them will survive a US first strike to deliver a devastating retaliatory blow – and thus by their existence act as a *deterrent* against attack. But the whole thrust of Reagan's push at Reykjavik was to *reduce* the inventory of Russian long-range ballistic missiles. If that were done, the Russians at a certain point would no longer have a deterrent force credible to the nuclear nuts in the White House (Reagan no doubt plans to have a reliable successor in place) who would feel they could launch a first strike with impunity. Thus the reduction of the number of Soviet weapons would actually heighten the danger of war.

The world, in short, would become a far more dangerous place if the proposed 'disarmament' deal were signed. Indeed, to the extent that there hasn't been a world war since 1945, it is due to the fact that the Soviet Union developed atomic weapons and ballistic missiles, staying the hand of US imperialism in particular. Anti-Soviet liberal Seymour Hersh admits as much in his book about Henry Kissinger and the Nixon years. Nixon let the word leak out to Hanoi that he was indeed crazy enough to use nuclear weapons, so the North Vietnamese would supposedly crawl to the bargaining table; it was an attempt to mimic Eisenhower's nuclear threats against China during the Korean War. 'I call it the madman theory', Nixon confided to one of his close aides. But, as Hersh explains, the North Vietnamese weren't intimidated:

'There was a basic flaw in Nixon's "madman theory". Eisenhower's threat had been made at a time when the United States had a virtual monopoly on nuclear weapons. That situation did not exist in the late 1960s, and the credibility of Nixon's threat was reduced by the possibility that the Soviet Union, or even Communist

China, would retaliate after an American first use of nuclear weapons.' (Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power* [1983])

Cuba and Vietnam would never have been allowed to consolidate their social revolutions, and the US would have tried to dismember the Soviet



Reagan fumes over failure to disarm Russia at Iceland meeting with Gorbachev.

Union and bring back private property (if not the tsar), if it weren't for the fact that Russia had the bomb, and SS-18 missiles to deliver it!

ROAD TO PEACE: WORLD REVOLUTION

The dangerous cringing of the Kremlin bureaucracy in the face of US belligerence has only encouraged Reaganite reactionaries to push harder. Yet Moscow continues to plead, because the Stalinists with their nationalist blinders look to the false road of collaboration with the imperialist powers. Such a 'defence' of the Soviet Union leads to catastrophe. To understand the origins of this peculiar blindness one must understand the rise to power of the Stalinist political counterrevolution in the 1920s.

Lenin, the great founder and leader of the Bolshevik Party, never excluded the necessity of the Soviet state – surrounded as it was and is by hostile imperialist powers – to make deals with them and manoeuvre for time. But he never gave an inch to the idea that this could buy permanent 'peace', only a respite for the newly-born workers state. While Churchill talked of crushing it in the cradle, the young Soviet republic was under intense economic as well as military pressure, flowing from the fact that the 1917 Revolution had taken place in a backward, largely peasant country where the urban working class was a small minority. Lenin himself made a point of this in 1921:

'A workers' state is an abstraction. What we actually have is a workers' state, with this peculiarity, firstly, that it is not the working class but the peasant population that predominates in the country, and, secondly, that it is a workers' state with bureaucratic distortions.' ('The Party Crisis' [January 1921])

Lenin knew that the survival of the workers state 'with bureaucratic distortions' depended on worldwide proletarian revolution. But this perspective was thwarted by the rise of a conservative privileged bureaucracy under Stalin, who purged and murdered the Old Bolsheviks and consolidated his rule around the anti-internationalist dogma of 'socialism in one country'. Gone was the call for world revol-

ution – indeed, the outbreak of proletarian revolution in capitalist countries like Spain was regarded as a menace by Stalin – and Soviet foreign policy was transformed into the grossest class collaboration with so-called 'progressive' capitalists. Trotsky summarised this betrayal

tion is needed to defend the gains of 1917.

In the US, the Stalinist strategy is reflected in the Communist Party's endless exhortations to vote for liberal Democratic candidates, from Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 to Walter Mondale in 1984. The thorough discrediting of the Democratic Party for its role in the imperialist rape of Vietnam in the 1960s has left that bourgeois party in disarray, but today the CP continues to promote various 'progressive' Democrats like New York candidate for US Senate Mark Green, who just bought Reagan's Star Wars. The Democrats' programme is merely to develop a more 'rational' mix of weaponry to use against the Soviet Union, with a stronger emphasis on conventional warfare. It's no accident the Democrats have agreed to fund Reagan's contras, from Nicaragua to Angola to Afghanistan – they're all in the anti-Soviet war drive together.

The problem is not simply that there's an irrational man in the White House, or even the sinister 'military-industrial complex' much touted by the Stalinists, but the irrational social system, capitalism, whose motor force – maximum profit – is driving us toward nuclear war. The real hope for humanity lies in the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, for the establishment of a workers government under the leadership of a revolutionary party. The Soviet bomb has bought precious time for the working class, but time is run-

as follows:

'The bureaucracy has not only broken with the past, but has deprived itself of the ability to understand the most important lessons of that past. The chief of these lessons was that the Soviet power could not have held out for twelve months without the direct help of the international, and especially the European, proletariat, and without a revolutionary movement of the colonial peoples. The only reason the Austro-



Kinnock and Thatcher, here seen paying homage to past imperialist wars at Cenotaph, November 1986, are united in their commitment to anti-Soviet war drive.

German military powers did not carry their attack upon Soviet Russia through to the end was that they felt behind their back the hot breath of the revolution.... 'The fundamental line of the international policy of the Soviets rested on the fact that this or that commercial, diplomatic or military bargain of the Soviet government with the imperialists, inevitable in the nature of the case, should in no case limit or weaken the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist country, for in the last analysis the safety of the workers' state itself could be guaranteed only by the growth of the world revolution.' (Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, 1937)

Trotsky called for a proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union to restore direct workers' rule over the centralised planned economy. Now more than ever, such a revolu-

tioning out. Had Soviet trade unions demonstratively extended the hand of solidarity to the ILA longshoremen during their recent strike against the bosses' takebacks, for instance, that would have been worth more than a thousand treaties.

Just before getting on the plane to Reykjavik, Reagan took heart in the comments of what he called the 'great American' Robert E Lee, who 'knew the extremes of hope and despair'. Lee hoped to save the dying institution of chattel slavery, but his Confederate army was smashed in the Civil War. Reagan hopes to save capitalist wage slavery, but the working class must finish the Civil War with proletarian revolution, under the programme of Lenin and Trotsky. That is the aim of the Spartacist League.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 414, 24 October 1986

Syria...

(Continued from page 1)

posedly, Hindawi hands his girlfriend, Ann Murphy, whom he's got pregnant and promises to marry (in Israel!), a brown suitcase (which during the trial changes its colour to blue) containing a plastique bomb, and a detonator (disguised as a pocket calculator) timed to explode somewhere over the Swiss Alps en route to Israel. After she is left holding the bag, as it were, Hindawi runs to the Syrian embassy, meets with the ambassador, no less, and is spirited away to a safe house.

Fearing that the Syrians are going to do him in, he bolts and holes up in a London hotel where he is conveniently arrested by Scotland Yard, who it turns out had been trailing him for almost

tion of the Labour misleaders was to try and outdo Thatcher in 'anti-terrorist' rhetoric. The 25 October *Guardian* reported Donald Anderson, Labour's deputy spokesman for foreign affairs, saying 'they enthusiastically applauded the sentence and shared the government's outrage at the role of Syrian officials', while supposed 'left' Ian Mikardo pointedly said 'the Soviet Union had more influence over the Syrians than any other government'.

Thatcher had less success with her NATO allies than her domestic 'opposition'. Washington withdrew its ambassador from Damascus and announced empty 'sanctions', such as a ban on ticket sales for Syrian airlines, which don't fly to the US anyway. And, after some arm-twisting, the Common Market countries fell into line as well, though flatly refusing to break relations with Syria. Greece dissented,

in conjunction with certain elements close to Assad who seek his overthrow. Things of this nature can be infinitely complex.' When de Borchgrave claimed that British intelligence (who are 'pretty good with electronic surveillance') knew of a meeting between Hindawi and the Syrian ambassador, Chirac replied: 'Nothing is easier than to fake that kind of evidence without government leaders knowing about the real plot.' He added that 'I am always suspicious of this sort of affair, especially when it fits into a certain policy. First it was Libya, and now it's Syria...'

This was already enough to set Washington and London on their ears, but the trenchant critique of Reagan/Thatcher's Near East policies by the right-wing French prime minister was too much even to report. When de Borchgrave claimed that the US and even French intelligence had demonstrated the existence of an 'international terror network ... linked to Eastern secret services', Chirac dismissed the 'Soviet connection' out of hand: 'Your services and our own are worthless. Moreover, they are all penetrated.... They've always been penetrated.' Asked his opinion about the 14 April US air strike against Libya, Chirac replied: 'Totally, completely counter-productive ... the Americans with their farcical air raid merely retarded the destabilization of Qaddafi's regime.' 'You are saying the U.S. does not have the will to act', commented de Borchgrave. 'That is self-evident', Chirac responded.

Replying to a barb from de Borchgrave, Chirac said that France supported Washington in Central America, because 'this region was of vital interest to the U.S.', but complained the Americans were not reciprocating in Africa, where they tried to muscle in on French operations in Chad. Appealing for 'prudence' in the Near East in order to 'prevent the stampede of fundamentalism throughout the region', he said, 'the West must not ... allow itself to be deflected by a few bombs going off in the streets of their capitals':

'But Britain continues to sell arms to Iran, and now we hear the U.S. does too, and they don't even bother to conceal what they are doing. So much for Western solidarity.... Britain wants us all to sever relations with Syria because of some obscure bomb plot that misfired. Do they really think that people will then say, "Bravo, they've got balls"?'

In the subsequent brouhaha, right-wing Labourite Denis Healey asked why this should come out in a Moonie newspaper. Arnaud de Borchgrave, you see, is a long-time journalistic operative 'witting' in the ways of US intelligence agencies. Chirac clearly intended the published article based on an off-the-record interview to reflect his general views, while his more bluntly put goodies would be passed on directly to the White House. But the *Washington Times* editor had his own axe to grind, in particular getting back at the French for refusing to allow Britain-based US F-111s to take the direct route for their Libya strike.

The Western allies are still united on 'the basics', namely the drive to 'roll back Communism' and ultimately reconquer the Soviet-bloc

bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states for capitalism. But here we have the imperialist contradictions exposed to the light of day - with the United States desperately struggling to recover hegemony after its resounding defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese peasants and workers a decade ago, while France, still smarting over Dien Bien Phu and the battle of Algiers, is trying to rebuild a sphere of influence in the Levant.

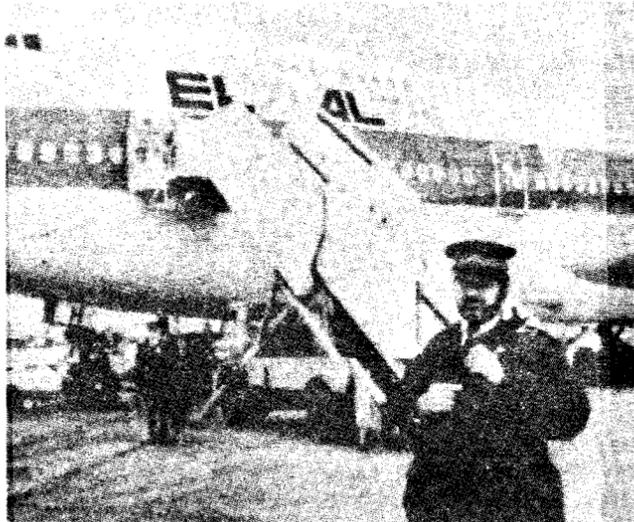
BRING DOWN THATCHER! DEFEND THE SOVIET UNION!

Meanwhile Britain's fate as a second-rate imperialist power was sealed thirty years ago this month over Suez, when Britain's revanchist invasion in alliance with Israel and France was aborted at the behest of US president Eisenhower. The 25 October *Guardian* observed that 'Mrs Thatcher's commitment to fighting terrorism is so deep that she was bound to take the most drastic action, short of a declaration of war! No doubt the Iron Bitch would if she could. But Thatcher's appetite for blood runs far ahead of Britain's military firepower. It's one thing to order the cold-blooded murder of several hundred young Argentine sailors aboard the *Belgrano*, quite another to tackle Syria's tough anti-aircraft defences. The same *Guardian* article noted, 'Militarily, the US recognises that Syria would not be a push-over; the last time the US tangled with Syrian anti-aircraft missile batteries, it lost two aircraft, and the Rev Jesse Jackson had to go to Damascus to retrieve a captured American pilot.'

Thatcher's Britain marches in lockstep with Reagan's America towards thermonuclear World War III against the Soviet degenerated workers state. Every day, in every way, Kinnock makes it clear that Labour in power will mean more of the same, whatever misgivings the White House may have about a Kinnock Labour government. Meanwhile, the Benn/Scargill Labour 'left' offers nothing but utopian 'Little England socialism' and futile 'disarmament' schemes, while in the real world pushing Judas Kinnock as the 'great white hope'. The only true hope for the proletariat lies in disarming the real terrorists through workers revolution. As for the supposed Syrian plot, we find, buried next to a *Times* (11 November) article on Chirac's interview, the laconic remark: 'The father of Nezar Hindawi, jailed in Britain for trying to blow up an El Al airliner, was sentenced to death in his absence by Jordan for spying for Israel....' ■



AP Photos



Gamma

Palestinian Nezar Hindawi, Irish girlfriend Ann Murphy and El Al plane. Imperialists can't agree on what the 'real story' is.

two months. Meanwhile, his brother, Ahmed Hazi, is implicated by West Berlin police in the March bombing of an obscure German-Arab friendship association. (For a while they tried to link Hazi to the 5 April bombing of La Belle disco, the West Berlin club frequented by black American soldiers and Turkish workers, which was the pretext for Reagan's terror-bombing of Libya.) Hindawi writes to a cousin in Italy, telling him to 'persuade the Syrians to arrange for Britain to release him, perhaps by kidnapping Britons in Beirut' (*Jerusalem Post* [International edition], 8 November). But the letter is intercepted by Italian police, and the cousin is in custody on charges of involvement in last year's *Achille Lauro* cruise liner hijacking. If you believe this....

In sentencing Hindawi, the putatively 'impartial' Old Bailey judge declared, 'This was a well-planned, well-organised crime which involved many others than yourself, some of them in high places' (*Guardian*, 25 October). The Syrian ambassador replied that the plot was indeed 'well-planned', but directed against Syria and himself by American and Israeli intelligence. The Foreign Office claimed 'conclusive' proof of his personal involvement, yet never presented it in court. Though claiming its crew members were involved in the plot, Britain stopped short of banning Syrian Arab Airlines - for fear of losing lucrative British Airways overflying rights over Syrian airspace!

And the British media (BBC 'independence' notwithstanding) and political establishment swallowed it hook, line and sinker. The reac-

however, comparing the anti-Syrian campaign to the anti-Soviet propaganda barrage over the shooting down of the South Korean airliner which overflew key Soviet military installations in September 1983. The Greek stand against sanctions will be proved right, said the deputy foreign minister, just as KAL 007 (Reagan's anti-Soviet war provocation) 'was proved to have been conducting espionage' (*New York Times*, 16 November).

CHIRAC SPILLS THE BEANS

In the midst of all this, even as Reagan's 'Teheragate' affair was blowing White House credibility to kingdom come, came the Chirac revelations. Paris first tried to deny the report, disputing the 'interpretation' given to the French prime minister's remarks. But after the ultrarightist *Washington Times* published the full transcript of the pithy interview, Chirac conceded its accuracy. No wonder Hotel Matignon, the prime minister's office, was embarrassed. This is how the imperialists talk *entre nous*. On the El Al plot, Chirac had told the paper's editor in chief Arnaud de Borchgrave:

'But let's take the Syrian affair. I spoke to both [West German chancellor Helmut] Kohl and [foreign minister] Hans-Dietrich Genscher about it. I don't go as far as they do, but their thesis is that the [Nezar] Hindawi plot was a provocation designed to embarrass Syria and destabilize the Assad regime. Who was behind it? Probably people connected with the Israeli Mossad in

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What are they doing with 200 A-bombs?

Zionist madmen target Russia

On 9 November the Israeli cabinet issued a terse statement, without further details, that one Mordechai Vanunu was being held somewhere in Israel. Later, police and prison authorities were quoted as saying that 'the suspect' was not in a regular jail or detention centre. The *Guardian* (10 November) reported:

'Mr Vanunu is expected to face a secret trial in which neither the precise charge nor the final outcome will be made public on the grounds of national security.'

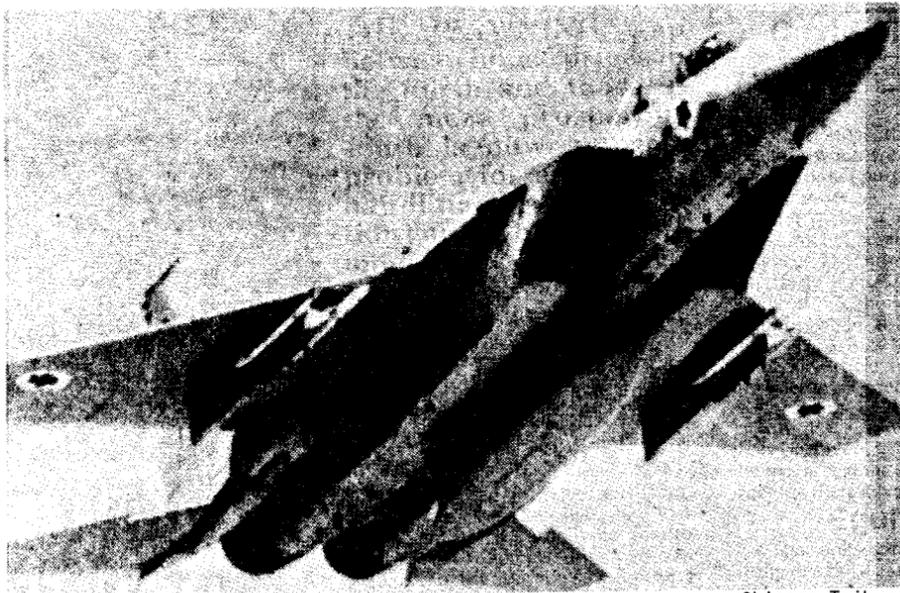
Mordechai Vanunu is a 31-year-old technician employed for nearly ten years at Israel's Dimona nuclear facility. His 'crime' against 'national security'? He was the source for a blockbuster expose splashed across the front page of the *Sunday Times* (5 October) under the headline: 'Revealed: the secrets of Israel's nuclear arsenal'. The *Sunday Times* article trumpeted that it was 'the first direct evidence that Israel has the bomb'. More to the point, it has *many, many bombs*.

Vanunu had been dismissed along with 180 others in a cutback a year ago and subsequently left Israel, appearing in London in late September to sell his story (reportedly for \$456,000). Shortly after he finished his business with the *Sunday Times* on 30 September, Vanunu dropped from sight. There were reports he had been kidnapped by the Mossad (the Israeli CIA) in Britain, or alternatively lured onto a yacht in the Mediterranean, and secretly brought back to Israel. In any case, this Deep Throat seems to have been silenced.

It's hardly new news that Israel has the bomb. As far back as 1974, the CIA had noted in a memorandum that 'Israel already has produced nuclear weapons' (*New York Times*, 29 October). Indeed, a public United Nations report last year estimated Israel's nuclear bomb capability at '15 to 20 warheads'. The real bombshell in the *Sunday Times* expose was the revelation that the plutonium production at Dimona has been 40 kilograms a year, a figure far above all previous estimates. This means that 'at least 100 and as many as 200 nuclear weapons of varying destructive power have been assembled' by Israel.

Two hundred nuclear weapons? This would make tiny Israel the world's sixth-largest nuclear power after the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. And it means they've probably got more nukes per capita than anyone. The article also presents evidence that the Israelis might have thermonuclear H-bombs, far more destructive than A-bombs. How did they get them, and what do they intend to do with this arsenal? A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play. Anyhow, the Jerusalem regime has always managed to get away with dropping murderous conventional bombs on peoples it didn't like, from Iraq to Tunisia.

What's going on here? Vanunu's story raises plenty of questions, and



Chicago Tribune

Israel-US alliance aimed at Soviet Union. American F-15, above, used by Israelis in 500-mile bombing raid on Tunisia last year.

Rupert Murdoch's scab paper is no paragon of accuracy (they bought the bogus Hitler diaries, for instance). But 200 nukes would mean the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have a much bigger target in mind: *Russia*. Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets? (They're already in league with the White House in secretly supplying the Iranian ayatollahs with American arms.) Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The Zionist madmen could very easily – and perhaps deliberately – trip over the trip wire for World War III.

SECRETS OF DIMONA

In the late 1950s, Israel with the help of the French government (her ally in the Suez War against Egypt) began construction of an alleged 'textile' plant in the Negev desert near the town of Dimona. When an American U-2 spy plane discovered in 1960 that the Dimona plant was really a nuclear reactor, Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion swore that it would be used only for 'peaceful' purposes, and even agreed to allow international inspectors into the plant to verify his claims. Over the years stories circulated about the Israeli nuclear 'bomb in the basement'. Supposedly it was 'only a screwdriver away' from being operational. Now it appears that they have been turning those screws all along.

According to Vanunu, alongside the 'peaceful' reactor at Dimona there is a building known as 'Machon 2' whose two innocuous floors above ground serve to hide a six-level concrete underground bunker. Here, spent fuel rods from the reactor are processed in order to separate out the vital plutonium for making A-bombs. False walls hid the elevators to the secret underground factory from the prying eyes of international inspectors. Vanunu gave the *Sunday Times* more than 60 photographs of the ultra-secret bunker, one showing a component of lithium deuteride (for a thermonuclear bomb with the force of 'hundreds' of kilotons). His account was double- and triple-checked by nuclear scientists

in Britain and the US.

The article noted that one would expect 'bigger gaps' in the knowledge of 'a mere technician', but this might be explained by the fact that he worked at Dimona for nearly a decade. How come he was left alone to photograph the entire secret complex (there are no people in his photos)? The *Sunday Times* explanation was that British control room technicians are often free to roam around nuclear plants alone to 'follow up alarms'. Reputable scientists said it would have been possible to secretly upgrade the original Dimona reactor from 26 megawatts capacity to the 150 megawatts needed to produce so much plutonium. But other questions remain – eg, why did the usually efficient Shin Beth (the Israeli FBI) let Vanunu out of the country shortly after his dismissal, and how did he smuggle out his film?

The story has its bizarre aspects. We are told that while working at Dimona, Vanunu 'became a member of the Israeli Communist Party and was active in pro-Palestinian demonstrations' (*New York*

Anglican church (where Vanunu was converting to Christianity), who persuaded him to tell his story to the press. Guerrero wanted money, but Vanunu told *Newsweek*, 'I'm doing it for peace.'

Not surprisingly, the *New York Times* (29 October) reports 'there is a school of thought among military analysts in Israel that suggests the entire Vanunu affair is a ruse by Israeli intelligence'. Israeli military planners openly talk about the 'next war', the one against Syria. The *Economist* (15 November) speculates that Vanunu's story 'could have been intended to serve as a deterrent to any attack on Israel the Syrians may have been thinking about'. But an Israeli disinformation scheme is unlikely in the extreme because the information is terribly damaging to Israel. This sounds like the Mossad trying to cover an egregious security breach.

THE AMERICAN CONNECTION

One thing is certain: the Israelis didn't develop their nuclear weapons by themselves – they had help from key imperialist allies. The French provided the initial nuclear infrastructure, and then the US came in, with secret help from the West Germans. In 1979, according to CBS News, Israel tested a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic 'with help and cooperation of the South African government' (quoted in Israel Shahak, *Israel's Global Role* [1982]). In the mid-1960s the US Atomic Energy Commission discovered several hundred pounds of enriched uranium missing from the inventory of a Pennsylvania company headed by one Zalman Shapiro who, according to a 1977 expose in *Rolling Stone* magazine, was supplying Israel with uranium; President Johnson, however, ordered an official cover-up.

Last year reports surfaced that Israel had purchased 800 nuclear bomb triggers from an American firm; US officials had not asked to



Photos of Israeli nuclear bomb factory beneath Negev desert from *Sunday Times*, 5 October 1986.

Times, 10 November). Also he was reportedly 'modeling naked for drawing classes at Beersheba University', in a small desert town where most of the Arabs are pro-Zionist Bedouins. A girlfriend says he 'volunteered to be laid off'. He then went to Australia, the story goes, where he met a Colombian journalist named Oscar Guerrero, oddly working as a handyman at an

inspect the sites where these krytrons were in use since 'such a request could be construed by the Israelis as an affront to their national sovereignty' (*New York Times*, 16 May 1985). And this past week it was revealed that Department of Energy records document a 1963 shipment to Israel of four metric tons of heavy water –

continued on page 10

Israel...

(Continued from page 9)

a key ingredient in running the nuclear reactor at Dimona. (NATO ally Norway supplied another 20 tons.) American complicity clearly goes way back.

To be sure, the Zionists' local ambitions sometimes clash with US strategic interests. In the first days of the 1973 October war, when it looked like Israel might actually suffer a defeat by Arab armies, 'Israel's Jericho surface-to-surface missiles were armed with nuclear warheads in a frantic three days of activity centred around Dimona' (Colonel William V Kennedy, *Intelligence Warfare* [1983]). The Kremlin reportedly responded by preparing to send nuclear warheads for Egyptian missiles, whereupon the US, at the height of Nixon's Watergate crisis, put its strategic forces on red alert.

So what would the Zionists do with 200 nuclear bombs? Israel Shahak, the courageous Israeli civil libertarian, has translated the following hair-raising musings of Shlomo Aharonson, a prominent supporter of 'liberal' Zionist Ezer Weizman (the former Israeli air force chief and then war minister in the Likud government):

'A sufficient amount of atom bombs ... can hit hard all the Arab capitals, and tear down the Aswan Dam. Another amount can hit other cities and oil installations. Thermonuclear bombs (H-bombs) can destroy territorial aims, including concentrations of Palestinians in Lebanon....

'There are a hundred targets in the Arab world, the destruction of which will change the face of the area to the extent of not being recognized....' (*Ha'aretz*, 14 November 1980)

And Israel won't suffer from the fallout?! Yet even in this crazed scenario, what are the *other* hundred nukes for? A writer in the Histadrut 'union' newspaper last year vituperated:

'The Soviet regime is the principal source of international terrorism.... Syria is the root of terrorism in the Middle East, especially against the State of Israel. The western world in general and Israel in particular must cut off the head of this cancer, if necessary by force.' (*Davar*, 1 July 1985)

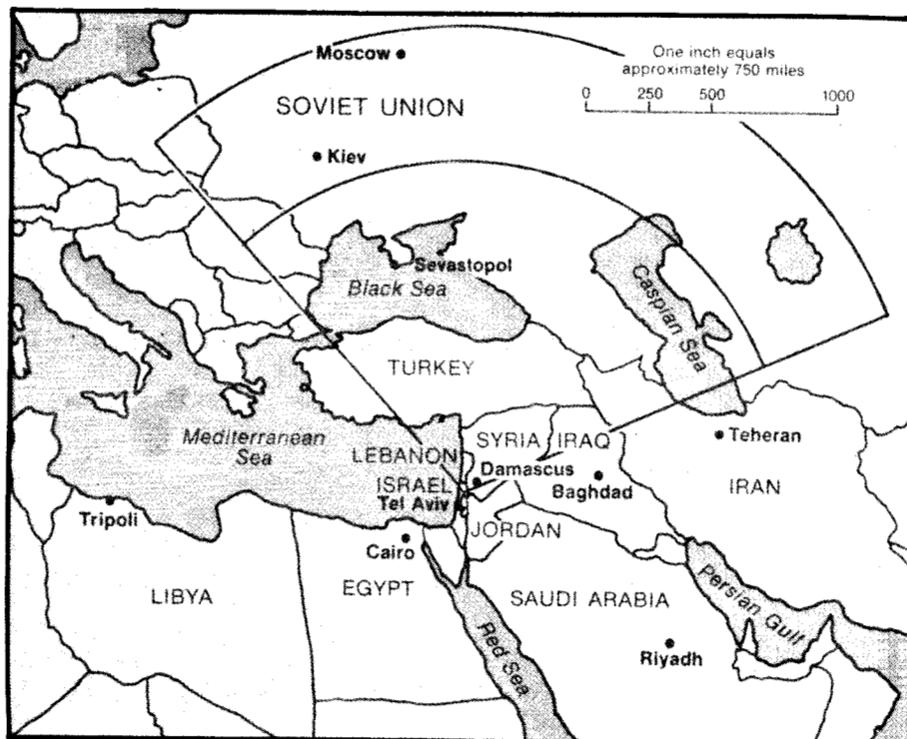
War with Syria is openly projected in the Israeli establishment. And the nuclear delivery systems are in place. The 'nuclear capable' Jericho-2 surface-to-surface missiles, with a range of 700 kilometres (about 435 miles), have reportedly been deployed in the Negev and on the occupied Golan Heights overlooking Syria. Israeli Kfir and F-4 Phantom fighter planes can also reportedly deliver nuclear bombs. But what if it's no 'six-day war'? If worse comes to worst, it looks like the Zionist generals may be preparing to attack the Soviet Union, and let the Americans pay the price. This may be crazy, but crazy is what they are.

TARGET RUSSIA?

At first glance, the Soviet Union may appear to be beyond the reach of the Israelis. The delivery of a large number of nuclear bombs onto Soviet territory would require long-range planes or missiles. One should note, however, that the

Israelis did manage to send up to eight F-15s on a 1500-mile bombing run on Tunis in October 1985, apparently by a complicated midair refuelling procedure (with the likely connivance of the US Sixth Fleet). Curiously, the Lavi fighter-bomber now being developed by Israel with about one billion dollars of American money could fill the bill. The plane incorporates Israel's

the bureaucratic Stalinist degeneration, is the prime target of the Western imperialists. The Zionists have sought to make themselves the instrument of one imperialism after another, from the British Balfour Declaration to Shamir's offer to Hitler to build a fascist 'New Order' in Palestine to the Israeli rulers' chosen role as point men for the anti-Soviet war drive.



Israelis target Russia: new Lavi fighter-bomber could nuke Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. With refuelling, they could reach Moscow.

'unique battle experience and the latest electronic gadgetry to help elude a new generation' of Soviet surface-to-air missiles (*Washington Post*, 6 August).

Most striking is the combat radius of the plane: 1150 nautical miles 'for air-to-ground missions' (*Aviation Week*, 28 July). This reaches far beyond the Arab states. It is, in fact, more than enough to reach Soviet Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol, and go as far as the Ukraine. With refuelling, they could hit Moscow too. Two prototypes of the Lavi now are being tested, and Israel plans to begin production of 300 planes in 1990. Its high cost (\$1.7 billion, mostly American money and technology) indicates that the Reaganites clearly have a big stake in this American plane. And with the *Sunday Times* expose, we have to ask: are the Israeli bombs a US reserve arsenal for a 'lightning war' (*Blitzkrieg*) on the Soviet Union?

This also adds a more sinister dimension to Israel's campaign to 'Free Soviet Jewry'. For years, they've sought to milk Russia of some of its most highly trained technical personnel (10,000 engineers, 3800 doctors and dentists, 7000 students and 1200 scientists from 1971 to 1984). The USSR is the last repository of Jews whom Israel could conceivably drag to the 'promised land', especially since New York Jews long ago discovered what a hellhole/deathtrap Israel is and limit their support to dollars for Israel Bonds. (Soviet Jews who get conned into leaving Russia for Israel quickly decide to move on to New York, and some of the latter are now moving back to the Soviet Union, where they can at least get a job and free medical care.) *Is Israel now trying to get all the Jews out before an anti-Soviet holocaust is unleashed?*

The legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, even following

In fact it was the Israelis who first invented the slander about the Soviet Union as the 'source' of all 'terrorism', a theme which became the hallmark of the Reagan administration.

SMASH ANTI-SOVIET WAR AXIS!

The Israelis have taken on the dirty work of providing arms and training for Reagan's anti-Soviet terrorist scum around the world, from the Somozaist 'contras' in Nicaragua to the apartheid racists of South Africa. And Israel has become well integrated into Reagan's nuclear first-strike plans: the two countries recently conducted joint military manoeuvres and Israel has agreed to allow 'pre-positioning' of US military supplies on its soil, as well as cooperating in Reagan's 'Star Wars' space weapons scheme. As one Israeli observer perceptively noted:

'The Americans pay us because they want to keep a plane-carrier with 4 million inhabitants in [a] place with extraordinary strategic value, near to the USSR, near to East Europe, near to the oil fields.' (P Sever in *Al Hamishmar*, 29 April)

The Zionists are dangerous madmen who are fully capable of pushing the button. But their big brothers in Washington are also war crazy. We don't know how many nuclear weapons the Israelis have, but it's an open secret that the US has over 25,000 ready to hit the Soviet bloc. And while Reagan hallucinates about 'Star Wars', it's official US policy to 'decapitate' the Soviet leadership and 'prevail' in a 'limited nuclear exchange'. It will take world proletarian revolution to thwart the plans of these nuclear nuts for a thermonuclear Apocalypse Now.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 416, 21 November 1986

Sanctions...

(Continued from page 12)

African coal was undermining his job, but went on to draw the racist logic of this argument and 'explain' that there were already too many blacks in this country taking jobs! And to top it off the site of this 'solidarity' demonstration was notorious among dockers as a scab wharf, sufficiently so that a promised contingent of Goole TGWU dockers were noticeably absent. A Doncaster miner subsequently told *Workers Hammer* that among the participants on this unsavoury demonstration were outright scabs during the miners strike who happen to be members of Anti Apartheid Movement.

The Spartacist League warned miners during the strike that Scargill's call for import controls to 'save the British coal industry' plays the bosses' game, pitting worker against worker in the scramble for a dwindling number of jobs. Import controls is a favourite call of the Labour 'lefts'. Thus they do their bit to line up British workers with their 'own' ruling class, against the working class in other countries. It has nothing to do with internationalism, not to speak of fighting apartheid. Indeed this protectionist poison is distinctly reminiscent of the fascist slogan, 'British jobs for British workers'. And while the likes of Douglass mobilised miners to travel from Yorkshire pit villages to 'march against apartheid', those villages have their own version of apartheid - 'No travellers' signs barring gypsies from almost every pub and club. And worse, the fake lefts hold meetings at these 'apartheid' pubs. It was exactly this sort of division and backwardness in the working class which the miners strike served to break down. The Labourites' nationalist/protectionist schemes reinforce such garbage and are intended to bury the powerful class lessons of the miners strike.

But for the centrist Workers Power (WP) this demonstration was a wet dream come true. We wonder if any of their salesmen were at all perturbed to be on a march based on racist protectionism. The 'left wing' of a pro-sanctions popular front which stretches to the queen, WP's real concern is not with the revolutionary overthrow of apartheid by the black proletariat but with putting Labour back in Number Ten to manage the British capitalist state. Like the Tories and Reagan, the Labour Party wants to keep South Africa safe for the 'free world'. The sanctimonious appeals for sanctions mean in the real world that some sharp speculators turn a good profit on the world market. The latest example of that is the announcement by Barclays Bank that it is 'disinvesting' from South Africa, met with hosannas by the liberal-reformist Anti Apartheid Movement, for whom this 'victory' is the acme of seventeen years' effort. But all that is happening is that a lot of rands are moving from one column of the ledger sheet to another at inflated values.

The racist British rulers posture as somehow morally superior to the Pretoria butchers. Considering that it was Britain which, emerging victorious from the Boer War at the turn of the century, maintained and tailored that slave society for its own imperialist

aims, the hypocrisy is staggering. As for the black South African masses, sanctions and disinvestment mean increased misery, if they mean anything at all.

Miners in this country owe a real debt to the embattled South African miners who supported them during their strike. But demanding that South African coal be banned (by Thatcher, Kinnock or the unions) is more like a death sentence than an act of solidarity. As the General Motors workers are learning only too well, sanctions and 'disinvestment' mean smashing the unions in South Africa, they mean a massive increase in unemployment, they mean smashing the social base upon which the South African unions exist - in short they mean attacking the organised power of the South African proletariat. The apartheid state in South Africa must be *smashed* through workers revolution. South Africa desperately needs a Bolshevik party to lead the workers and oppressed to take state power in their own hands, just as here the proletariat must be led by an authentic communist vanguard dedicated to smashing British capitalism. ■

South Africa ...

(Continued from page 12)

former subsidiary.

Smith obscenely justified GM's 60-year history of superexploitation of South African black labour: 'We believe our efforts to promote social progress and racial equality justified our being there'. He was talking about a 'code of ethics' devised by the Reverend Leon Sullivan, black Philadelphia clergyman and General Motors board member, in which American companies doing business in South Africa were supposed to improve housing, health care and other social services for black workers. Well, so much for the 'Sullivan Principles', smashed up on the bedrock of capitalist profits.

The ruthless drive for capitalist profits routinely kills black workers just as surely as if they had been executed. In September, 177 miners were killed when poisonous gas from a fire filled a mine shaft. Only last week another six black miners were crushed to death when a lift cable snapped, sending a cage and tons of cable plunging half a mile to the bottom of the shaft. How could this happen? Clearly no inspection, no testing, no back-up safety devices. Whether South Africa's mines and factories are owned by Americans, British or Afrikaners, the lives of the superexploited black workers will be held cheap.

The announcement by General Motors and IBM that they are selling off their South African operations has been hailed by liberals and reformists as a great triumph for their divestment campaign. Similarly with the US Congress' recent override of Reagan's veto of sanctions against South Africa. Behind all the divestment/sanctions business is the attempt to imbue US imperialism - the greatest exploiter and oppressor on the face of the planet - and its British ally with a 'moral mission' in the world. As revolutionary socialists, the only 'divestment' we fight for is the divestment of the Anglo-American capitalists and their South African junior partners by the working class in power.

In South Africa a number of black unions have been equivocal about the effects of divestment. Alec Erwin, former organiser for FOSATU, now merged into the giant COSATU black union federation, explained that his organisation opposed the withdrawal of assets from South Africa 'because we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labour of South African workers...'. Nonetheless, black unionists have in large part supported sanctions due to the ideological hold of petty-bourgeois nationalism on the black trade-union movement. Revolutionaries must fight to win black anti-apartheid fighters instead to the programme of *proletarian internationalism*.

American and British car workers' best defence of their striking black union brothers in South Africa is militant labour action against the car company magnates at home. South African unionists have shown the way forward for real international solidarity: in February 3M workers there struck in solidarity with locked-out 3M workers in Freehold New Jersey. From Durban to Detroit, workers to power! Not imperialist 'sanctions' and capitalist 'divestment' fraud, but expropriation of capitalism by a victorious workers revolution. To paraphrase Marx, apartheid has created in a six-million strong black, coloured and Indian proletariat its own gravedigger. The wealth of South Africa belongs not to the capitalists, be they Wall Street, Frankfurt and London bankers or Johannesburg industrialists - but to the toilers belong the fruits of their labour! ■

Kinnock...

(Continued from page 4)

living for the British working people is below those of southern European countries like Italy and Spain! The Iron Bitch puts her boot in whenever and wherever she can. The Labour Party offers more of the same. We communists stand uniquely against the servile Labourite orientation of the rest of the British left. We seek to forge a programmatically and organisationally qualitatively different kind of party - a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard which will serve as the general staff of the working class. Such a party would offer an alternative to that broad swathe of British society alienated from the Kinnocks and their 'left' lapdogs. It will be an instrument for the seizure of state power by the working class, which necessarily means a struggle to break the British workers from their illusions in Labour.

That a specimen like Kinnock could be embraced by so-called leftists (and even self-proclaimed 'revolutionaries') underlines the desperate need for such a party in Britain, drawing to its ranks those with the revolutionary fibre to reject social democracy in all its treacherous forms. It will take a socialist revolution modelled on the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 to win even the minimum programme for the workers and oppressed of this country: Abolish the monarchy, licensing laws, House of Lords and established church! Forward to a soviet Britain as part of the socialist united states of Europe! ■

Strikebreaking mercenaries in the US coal fields

Volunteering for hire abroad in Reagan's worldwide crusade against communism can be a risky business, as Eugene Hasenfus might testify. But professional strikebreaking in the US is a lucrative and growing business. During the bitter 15-month battle between the United Mine Workers and the AT Massey Coal Company, imperialism's dogs of war flocked into West Virginia and Kentucky to enlist for some big-time union-busting.

In addition to the usual services rendered free of charge by the cops, Massey spent millions of dollars to train and arm a private army of scabherders. The company surrounded its mines with miles of chain link fence, with cement observation posts manned by uniformed guards with cameras, M16s and reportedly machine guns. Massey also deployed helicopters, armored personnel carriers and an armored locomotive nicknamed the 'Bull Moose Special'. The September issue of *Soldier of Fortune*, in an article entitled 'Guerrilla War in the Hills - Mercs Come to Appalachia', gives an insider's view of the operation.

Apparently Massey fired Pinkerton and contracted with Vance International to handle its 'security'. Vance is headed

by Chuck Vance, a former Secret Service agent who later married Gerald Ford's daughter. No doubt utilizing his 'contacts', Vance selected his gun-toting scabherders:

'One Massey mine at Oceana had 30 Vance guards under the direction of a retired Special Forces captain. Each unit had at least one or two Green Beret veterans assigned, sources said, and several veterans of Rhodesia, Central America and the Middle East - soldiers of fortune and veterans of foreign armies - were sprinkled among the Vance ranks.'

Imperialism's mercenaries in dirty, losing colonial wars come back home to make the US 'free' of unions. American miners should take note: the anti-Soviet war drive means war on workers at home. Same enemy, same fight - workers of the world unite! ■

NOTICE TO OUR READERS

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GM disinvestment leads to mass sackings

South African workers fight for their jobs

South African black car workers have struck General Motors in the wake of GM's announcement that it was 'divesting' itself of its operations there. Following a meeting with GM's managing director Robert White on 29 October, some 2000 workers staged a sit-in at the company's two plants in Port Elizabeth. Called by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU) and joined by members of the Motor Assembly and Component Workers of South Africa, the strike effectively shut down GM's production in Port Elizabeth.

Now that 'divestment' is here, the first effect is that the workers are fighting for their jobs. While GM says no jobs will be lost through the sale of its operations to a South African outfit, the workers rightly don't trust such 'assurances'. There is, moreover, no guarantee the new owners will recognise the union. The union is also demanding payment of pension funds, and severance pay of one month for each year worked for GM upon its withdrawal. In the face of the strikers' militancy, the company is reportedly hardlining it, trying to get the apartheid rulers to declare the strike illegal.

In an exceptional display of class solidarity cutting across racial lines, white workers initially downed tools along with black workers (*Weekly Mail*, 31 October-6 November). The bosses' answer was to call out riot cops and troops to evict the workers. Some 567 militants were sacked; in the face of continued strike action, GM has announced that it will hire scabs and resume production 'with or without the unions'. And on 17 November, cops viciously attacked

the Port Elizabeth strikers with snarling dogs and whips. Simultaneously the largest American manufacturer announced a sweeping programme for domestic disinvestment: it will shut nine automotive assembly and stamping plants outright and partially close two more, terminating 29,000 workers. The massive cutbacks in GM's American operations, the most sweeping in its 78-year history, will result in an anticipated 120,000 layoffs, including workers in related industries.

GM's brutal treatment of its South African unions exposes the liberal lie that divestment schemes and pressure from American and British corporations will liberate the black masses from apartheid slavery. From South Africa to America, GM attacks unions and lays off workers in pursuit of only one goal: higher profits. If ever a situation cried out for militant, joint labour action from Port Elizabeth to Detroit to shut down a bloodsucking capitalist giant and seize the plants, this is it. But the American United Auto Workers misleaders do nothing but appeal to the Democratic-controlled Congress to bail out the bosses by passing chauvinist protectionist legislation limiting foreign car imports, the same 'strategy' pursued by the Labourite reformists in Britain.

In an Op-Ed column in the *New York Times* (30 October), General Motors' chairman of the board Roger B Smith said GM was quitting South Africa, deploring Botha's efforts to end apartheid as 'too little too late'. But the bottom line is the dollar sign. 'The basic problem', Smith said, 'one which all corporations must pay attention to - is the fact



The Independent

Port Elizabeth GM strikers confront scabs. South African workers need to forge a Bolshevik party to smash apartheid slavery.

Smash apartheid! Workers to power!

that our South African operations have been losing money for several years'. In any case, GM's 'divestment' does not mean it is pulling out of South Africa. GM cars that are

assembled in South African plants will still be in the showrooms, and the company said it will continue to sell automotive components to its
continued on page 11

'Sanctions' mean racist protectionism

Even as militant car workers were striking in Port Elizabeth, South Africa to defend their jobs and union against the effects of General Motors' recently announced 'divestment', a couple of hundred demonstrators marched from Gunness Wharf at Scunthorpe demanding 'Ban South African coal'. The demonstration, called by Hatfield Main NUM and Doncaster

Anti Apartheid Movement, was billed by pro-Scargill Labourite Dave Douglass of Hatfield Main NUM as a 'Solidarity rally with South African miners'. Nothing could have been further from the truth!

During their heroic year-long strike, miners got a solid lesson in proletarian internationalism, as workers from around the world

(particularly the Soviet trade unions) rallied to their aid. But the 'left' reformists who head the NUM are committed to the reactionary utopia of 'saving' bankrupt British capitalist industry. Down the line this march was just one more traditional Labour/TUC 'left' appeal for racist/protectionist import controls - and a particularly gross one at that. Some of the small number of miners who turned out may well have been impelled by genuine solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle. But others told us they were there because a ban on South African coal would 'protect' their jobs.

One not only argued that South
continued on page 10



Workers Hammer

Protectionist march in Scunthorpe, 8 November.