

## Cop-lover Kinnock: enemy of the people

# Thatcher's racist police rampage

The courts and government have declared open season for police terror against workers and the oppressed. Already Thatcher's Britain 1987 looks like this:

- On 15 January Insp Douglas Lovelock, whose near-fatal shooting of middle-aged black mother Cherry Groce triggered the 1985 inner city revolt in Brixton, was acquitted at the Old Bailey of "malicious wounding". Stunned by the verdict, Mrs Groce's mother declared she had lost whatever faith she once had in British "justice" and the Black People's Campaign for Justice organised a picket of Brixton police station chanting "British courts, racist courts".

- Meanwhile in another courtroom six young men face charges of murder, affray and "riotous assembly" stemming from the death of one of the army of riot-clad cops who invaded Tottenham's Broadwater Farm estate in October 1985. This frame-up trial could lead to life imprisonment for the defendants.

- On Saturday, 24 January police again ran riot, tearing into a 20,000-strong demonstration called to mark the first anniversary of the Wapping printers strike. Charging on horseback and lashing out with truncheons, the cops injured over a hundred demonstrators as well as some press photographers and bystanders. The next day Home Sec-



Howard Jones

**Police riot at Wapping (left). Victim of racist cop terror Cherry Groce (right) paralysed for life but trigger-happy cop Lovelock walks free.**

retary Douglas Hurd announced new police powers against public protests and assemblies.

The stage is being set for an ominous, orchestrated increase in police and government bonapartism, exercised through stepped-up state

repression and implemented with the connivance of the Labour Party. With devastated mining villages, elderly people freezing to death, minority communities under assault by marauding racists, the ruling class of this country turns ever more



Independent

towards naked force aimed at intimidating a bitter population into submission. Police Federation chairman Leslie Curtis warned all who would protest against this government: "let it be understood

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## Shut down the City! No sellout deals!

# Victory to Telecom strikers!

In the first national all-out strike in the history of the National Communications Union (NCU), striking British Telecom engineers have the power to win. On Monday, 26 January 110,000 engineers went out. They'd had it with BT's union-busting demands on overtime, its massive suspensions and other high-handed provocations. BT is hardlining. The strikers have got to hardline it.

That means shutting BT down hard and fast and no sellout deals!

In early January BT offered a paltry 5.02 per cent pay increase and demanded in return a series of give-backs on working conditions. BT managers have been training with American phone companies and want to emulate the notorious "productivity" schemes of Ma Bell. Since 1981 - before BT was priv-

atised - 25,000 jobs have gone. BT wants to get rid of another 24,000, it wants longer hours and more labour "discipline" from those still working. The company's "offer" would destroy the Shorter Working Week Agreement. When the union instituted a work-to-rule and overtime ban on 12 January, the company retaliated by demanding that selected workers sign a pledge to

work as management instructed, suspending the hundreds who refused. BT is out to break the union.

The privatisation of BT has meant the unbridled pursuit of profit. Last year BT made a post-tax profit of £1067 million and has profits of £640 million in the first six months of this financial year. The company has concentrated on

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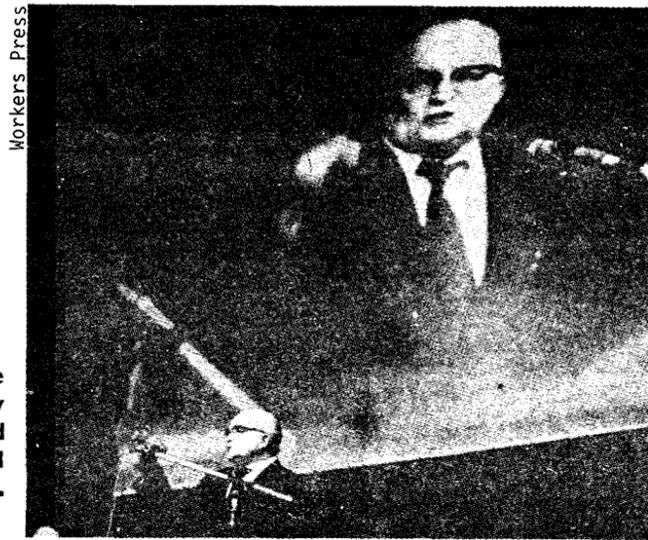
# Healy Healyites: the Kinnock connection?

Our *Workers Hammer* supplement headlined "Down with Judas Kinnock!" has gored some oxes. Among them are the post-implosion remnants of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP).

The Healyite *Newsline* (12 December 1986) darkly hints at a "mysterious difficulty" in the Spartacist supplement. To be sure this "mystery" has nothing to do with our denunciation of "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition", Kinnock's Labour Party. The Healyites will be

voting Labour like the rest of what passes for the British left, so there's not a word about the political content of the Spartacist supplement. But, as if to prove that Healy's interminable lectures on "cognition" have worked, *Newsline* spotted that the first print run of our supplement carried one photograph of the SL/US picket against Kinnock in America and the second run carried another. The former was a photo carried on the international press services; we printed the one immediately

Life-sized little Gerry Healy (foreground) dwarfed by egomaniacal projection.



available to us from Murdoch's *Times*. The second run carries a *Workers Vanguard* photo, ie, one we received from our American comrades. We liked it better.

*Newsline's* touching concern over our photo credits raises the question: who are they on the take from now? For the Healy Healyites "principle" is in the same philosophical category as "commodity". We are hardly dealing with confused militants who don't understand why a consumer boycott of Murdoch's *Times* won't change the fact that the Wapping printworkers strike has been defeated. We're dealing

with a cult of political bandits who set up 21 Iraqi Communists for murder. Could it be they're not on with Qaddafi? Kinnock, maybe? But he certainly doesn't need the bad press of having anything to do with Healy & Co.

There's one mystery to ponder. What is no mystery is that we touched a raw nerve: the very English Healyites are also very Labourite. And, while we're talking about "mysterious difficulties", how about *Newsline* explaining why the names C Redgrave and G Healy no longer appear in the editorial board box of the Healyites' *Marxist Review*? ■

## An insensitive headline

In *Workers Hammer* no 84 (December 1986/January 1987), we ran on our front page the headline "Kinnock: Thatcher in drag!" An attempt to highlight the fact that Kinnock is no alternative to the Iron Bitch, the headline was, however, tasteless. It could be taken as insensitive or offensive to homosexuals. Our intention was honourable, but the execution was dim.



TROTSKY

### On the Chartists

In his pamphlet "Where is Britain going?", written on the eve of the 1926 general strike, Trotsky contrasted two traditions in the history of the British workers movement. Against the grovelling parliamentarist reformism of the Labour Party of MacDonald and Webb, he upheld as "the real national tradition of the British labour movement" the revolutionary-insurrectionist Chartists of the 1830s and 1840s.



LENIN

The era of Chartism is immortal in that over the course of a decade it gives us in condensed and diagrammatic form the whole gamut of proletarian struggle – from petitions in parliament to armed insurrection. All the fundamental problems of the class movement of the proletariat – the inter-relationship between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity, the role of universal suffrage, trade unions and co-operation, the significance of the general strike and its relation to armed insurrection, even the inter-relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry – were not only crystallised out of the progress of the Chartist mass movement but found in it their principled answer. Theoretically this answer was far from always irreproachable in its basis, the conclusions were not always fully drawn and in all the movement as a whole and its theoretical expression there was much that was immature and unfinished. Nonetheless the revolutionary slogans and methods of Chartism are even today, if critically dissected, infinitely higher than the sickly sweet eclecticism of the MacDonalds and the economic obtuseness of the Webbs. To use a hazardous comparison then, it can be said that the Chartist movement resembles a prelude which contains in an undeveloped form the musical theme of the whole opera. In this sense the British working class can and must see in Chartism not only its past but also its future.

– Leon Trotsky, "Where is Britain going?" (1925)

## WORKERS HAMMER

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## Free Mike Hicks!

On 5 December Mike Hicks, a prominent leader of the Wapping printworkers locked out by vicious union-buster Murdoch, was sentenced to jail for twelve months. With this harshest and longest reprisal to date against the Wapping workers, the bosses court has vindictively singled out Hicks – an avowed communist and leading supporter of *Morning Star*. Murdoch and the state are out for blood, literally. Thus, mounted cops and cops on foot rampaged against the 20,000-strong anniversary march at Wapping on Saturday, 24 January.

Just four days before, on 20 January, Hicks lost his appeal against his conviction and sentence. Charged with shoving a loudhailer in the face of a cop, Hicks was jailed on the flimsiest, patently contradictory "evidence". Adding insult to injury, the judge pontificated that Hicks was a "disgrace" to the union. The disgrace is that while Hicks languishes behind bars, his colleagues in SOGAT and the Communist Campaign Group call for more of the same impotent Saturday demonstrations and lobbies of the TUC tops who knifed the printworkers' fight. Rather than using the class-struggle tactics necessary to bust Murdoch's union-busting, the strike has been run in pure Kinnock style with union officials acting as agents for Murdoch and the courts, distributing scabby warnings to pickets not to try to stop lorries.

Since his conviction, Hicks has been transferred to four different prisons and is currently in Camphill



Morning Star

### Jailed printworkers' leader.

Jail on the Isle of Wight. From his prison cell, Hicks sent a message in which he described the loss of his appeal as "vindictive and vicious as well as a class verdict. It sums up the nature of the British state which serves the class interests of the Murdochs of this world." It does indeed. However, the strategy of *Morning Star* and the Communist Campaign Group has been to channel militants' opposition to the sell-out bureaucrats back into the TUC/union tops' policy of defeat. London SOGAT (of which Hicks is an official) tried to take on the national leadership by hauling them to court – the same courts which have jailed Hicks. They have gone along with the defeatist strategy of consumer boycotts. The bitter fruit of playing by Kinnock's rules is the victimisation of Mike Hicks and other Wapping pickets, the defeat of the printworkers' struggle. Drop the charges! Free Mike Hicks and all jailed Wapping militants! ■

# Returning Sakharov

For over a decade Andrei Sakharov has been Western imperialism's most prized and praised Soviet "dissident". And for good reason. He has repeatedly called on the capitalist world to use economic and political blackmail against the USSR. This man, who played a key role in developing the Soviet H-bomb, has repeatedly encouraged NATO militarists to build up their nuclear arsenal. Far more respectable and influential than the crazed Slavic chauvinist and tsarist Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov's has been the most strident Russian voice in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. In 1984, after he publicly endorsed Reagan's drive for nuclear first-strike capability, we called for Sakharov and his accomplice and wife, Yelena Bonner, to be tried as traitors to the Soviet Union and the heritage of the October Revolution.

Gorbachev seems to have found another way. The new Soviet leader did an end run around the prominent pro-imperialist dissident by lifting his internal exile at Gorky and pardoning Bonner, earlier convicted of anti-Soviet activity. Gorbachev, who spoke with Sakharov personally by phone, may actually have turned him with honour — that is, away from his patrons in Washington. Back in Moscow and speaking on American TV, Sakharov, while reading a list of nine political prisoners he wanted freed, declared, "I have great respect for Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev", and took a shot at Reagan's Star Wars plans: "I think that a potential enemy with

highly developed technology can always find a means to overcome the space defences, and it is much easier and cheaper."

"Has Sakharov sold out?" asked columnist Lars-Erik Nelson (*Washington Post*, 2 January). No doubt the White House is feeling betrayed by their favourite Soviet dissident, though these days they have rather more pressing things to worry about. So now maybe Sakharov will tell Ms Bonner to keep her mouth shut. (When she went to Boston in 1985, after an inter-



Mikhail Gorbachev

national hullabaloo over her need for advanced medical treatment for cancer, the doctors asked her why she didn't stop smoking five

packs of cigarettes a day. "She appears to smoke more than the entire city of Pittsburgh", said one.)

## THE TRAITORS SAKHAROV AT GORKY

When in December 1979 the Soviet Army intervened in Afghanistan to crush the CIA-backed counter-revolution of mullahs, landlords, tribalists and bandits, US imperialism went ape. Jimmy Carter slapped a grain embargo on Russia, pulled the US team out of the Moscow Olympics and openly threatened military action against the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf. Sakharov not only endorsed these policies but called for even stronger Western actions on behalf of the Afghan contras, Islamic fundamentalists who shoot school-teachers for teaching young girls how to read. For this Sakharov was hailed in the West as a great champion of "human rights".

That provocation finally caused the Kremlin leaders to send Sakharov off to internal exile in Gorky. This did not, however, stop his anti-Soviet agitation. He kept up a barrage of articles, letters and messages which Bonner delivered to the American embassy in Moscow and to the Western media. In the summer of 1983 he published an open letter in the prestigious US journal *Foreign Affairs* advocating the development of the MX missile and the deployment of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in West Europe. "If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles



Jasmin/Gamma-Liaison

## Reagan's favourite Soviet "dissident" Andrei Sakharov comes out against Star Wars.

to alter this situation", he wrote, "then perhaps this is what the West must do." Thus, Sakharov lined up with the Reaganite warmongers against not only the Soviet Union but also against the bulk of American liberals and West European social democrats. Lars-Erik Nelson now admits that "Sakharov's letter was close to treason."

Despite this the Kremlin rulers treated him with kid gloves. He and Bonner lived at a level far above the average Soviet worker or collective farmer. There could be no question of allowing Sakharov to emigrate to the West. As father of the Soviet H-bomb, Sakharov possesses intimate knowledge of Soviet military defences which has not necessarily decayed over time. And given his oft-stated political loyalties, he would certainly have blabbed everything he knew when face to face with the CIA on "free world" soil. Concluding our article "Try the traitors Sakharov!" (*Spartacist Britain* no 59, July 1984), we suggested a "modest proposal": that Sakharov might be traded for the father of the American H-bomb, Edward Teller. Today Sakharov

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# Honour Kim Philby - Hate Neil Kinnock

There are traitors and there are traitors. Neil Kinnock is a traitor to the British working class. Kim Philby is a traitor to the capitalist ruling class. Kinnock betrayed the heroic miners strike; Philby was in the business of shafting the imperialists. Thus our comrades of the SL/US protesting against Kinnock's tour there last November raised the slogan "Honor Kim Philby! Hate Neil Kinnock!"

When the Philby affair blew up in the sixties the Labour government made strenuous efforts to cover up this embarrassment to their capitalist masters. Cool, competent Philby was after all the head of British operations against the Soviet Union and a Russian spy! For thirty years out of political conviction Kim Philby served on active duty as a Soviet Intelligence Officer. At university his first friends and the men who weaned him to the principles of socialism were examiners like Harry Dawes and Jim

Lees — men who had worked at the coalface, been through the bitter defeat of 1926 and then broken into the elite educational bastion of Cambridge. The pathetic failure of the MacDonald Labour government, the economic slump, mass unemployment and the threat of fascism struck Philby and many of his contemporaries powerfully. He saw in the words of Strachey "the mingled impotence and treachery of social democracy in action". He saw then what a Kinnock Labour government would be today.

Educated at Westminster and Cambridge, Philby took the duplicity, cynicism and stiff upper lip venality of the British bourgeoisie and used it against them. He rose to be head of section IX of SIS counter-intelligence (whose target was Soviet and Communist intelligence activities). Philby really did a job on them. That's gratifying to any partisan of the proletariat. However, the fundamental weakness of



Press Association

## Kim Philby, Soviet Intelligence Officer.

British capitalism lies not in Soviet molehills (hysterical ruling class preoccupations notwithstanding) but with capitalism which on these isles has reached a particularly putrid and decadent decline. The

whole system along with its Official Secrets Act, Prevention of Terrorism Act and murderous spy agencies must be thrown into the rubbish bin of history through proletarian revolution.

The recent furore over the British government's attempts to suppress Peter Wright's memoirs in an Australian court is but one of the crises that have afflicted the Thatcher government since the miners strike. Much of what Wright's book reportedly contains has already been leaked (with the connivance of the government and the security services). But the Tory government wants to impose silence on anybody who might reveal the nefarious "secrets" of the bourgeois state from Sarah Tisdall to the *New Statesman* to disgruntled retired secret policemen. Wright belongs to the "young Turk" school of the 1950s anti-communist witchhunters traumatised by the Burgess/Maclean (and later Philby) revelations who will see a "KGB agent" in just about anybody who disagrees with them. He thinks that "The present state of Britain is in part due to the penetration of the Establishment by the Russians" (*Guardian*, 9 December). Wright's allegation that security chief Roger Hollis was a Soviet agent reflects the more general preoccupation with the fifth, sixth, nth man — a kind of ruling class "we were betrayed" explanation for the decline of British imperialism.

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# WH supplement a hit

In December the Spartacist League/Britain rushed out a supplement to *Workers Hammer*, following demonstrations by our comrades of the Spartacist League/US against Judas Kinnock. Kinnock toured the US to underwhelming response in his attempt to assure the bourgeoisie there of the Labour Party's loyalty to NATO. Over 19,000 copies of the *WH* supplement were distributed, mainly in mining communities, campuses and minority communities – ie to those who have plenty of reason to despise Kinnock. And 84 subscriptions were sold in the course of the work – both renewals and first-time subs. Most of the remaining supplements have been distributed to striking British Telecom engineers and students returning from holiday.

Our denunciation of Kinnock as "Thatcher's Poodle" was well received particularly among the miners. Many militant NUM members vividly recall their pitched battles against Thatcher's thugs in blue and the backstabbing, "violence"-baiting role of Labour.

During the 1984-85 miners strike, Spartacists won respect the hard way: we earned it through our programmatic clarity and gut solidarity with the workers whose strike threatened to bring Thatcher down. We had a programme to win. And we're still there with our opposition to herding every dissident element of British society to the polls for Kinnock.

Political differentiation among those who want to go the Labour route and those who can't forget Kinnock's treachery has taken place since the strike. Many miners are demoralised and bitter; in the aftermath of the defeat of their heroic struggle, scores of pits have been closed and they have been thrown on the scrap heap. In South Wales, we distributed over 2000 copies of the supplement with the aid of NUM members who took them door to door in the devastated villages.

There are those who enthusiastically agreed with our position on Kinnock, those who felt deeply contradicted about it and those

(including most of the Labourite/centrist swamp of the British "far left") who hated it. We're certainly known for uniquely upholding the Bolshevik programme that says no to voting for Kinnock. One of our supporters at the London School of Economics reported: "I've spotted many students stopping and reading the supplement in the corridor, desperately trying to open it up to continue reading the articles on the inside pages.... I can't walk down the corridor now at LSE without someone stopping me and commenting on the supplement...." Another Spartacist remarked after distributing the supplement at a Wapping demonstration: "A lot of them [ostensible revolutionary organisations] were really amazed, shocked by it, in particular the Trotskyoid left, ie how can anyone really say and do this, demonstrate in the US against the leader of our Labour Party! ... they were pretty upset." After a discussion with a young Communist Party member, a comrade reported that the CPer "wanted to commiserate about how he had to tell workers in his plant

to vote for Kinnock, even though he hates Kinnock. ('You have to vote for someone in order to get rid of Thatcher.') He wanted to be able to say Kinnock betrayed the miners strike but he couldn't maintain the consequences...."

In the inner city areas of London and Birmingham, with substantial concentrations of minorities, and in the general Sheffield area, the supplement struck a chord. With good reason, blacks, Asians and Irish despise Kinnock's Labour Party. During a distribution in London, our comrades got lost and "asked for directions from three young black guys who ended up taking a bundle of ten supplements, bought a *Workers Vanguard* and one of them said he thought our line 'Remember the Miners Strike and Down with Kinnock' was 'just plain sensible, just plain sensible!'" After reading the supplement and asked what he thought about voting for Kinnock, another man replied vehemently: "Vote for Kinnock? You are kidding – I am Irish!"

We thank all those who contributed to making the distribution of our supplement a success. *Workers Hammer* is now embarking upon a subscription drive and we look forward to expanding and regularising our readership following the supplement distribution. Join us! ■

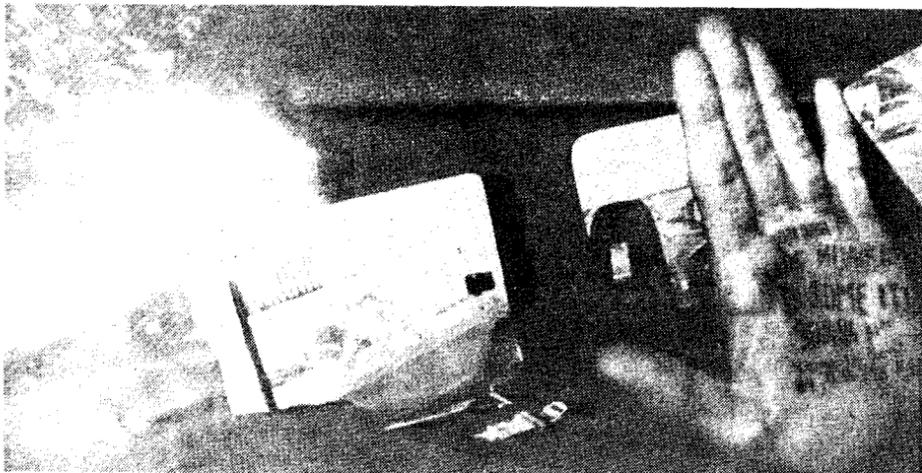
## Free Mordechai Vanunu!

Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli technician whose revelation of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal made headlines around the world, is in Israel facing a possible death sentence on charges of aiding an enemy in wartime, "aggravated espionage" and disclosing state secrets. All court proceedings are being held in strict secrecy as the case of "Attorney General v X". If Vanunu is sentenced to death, it would be the first legal execution in Israel since Eichmann! The Partisan Defense Committee has called for an urgent international campaign of protest and publicity around this case. A PDC telegram to the Israeli embassy in Washington demands that Mordechai Vanunu be freed and that the charges against him be dropped.

Employed for ten years as a technician in Israel's Dimona nuclear power plant, Vanunu disclosed to Rupert Murdoch's *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986) that the Dimona facility is actually a plutonium factory which has enabled Israel to become the world's sixth largest nuclear power. Before Vanunu's revelations, it was widely believed that Israel had a nuclear arsenal of perhaps 15 to 20 warheads. His disclosure of an Israeli nuclear force of 100 to 200 bombs created an international sensation. As we noted in *Workers Hammer* no 84 (December 1986/January 1987):

"A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play.... Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets?... 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."

Vanunu disappeared from London



Mordechai Vanunu exposes Mossad kidnapping.

on 30 September, shortly after being interviewed by the newspaper. On 9 November Jerusalem confirmed that he was under detention in Israel but refused to say how he had been captured. Appearing briefly in public after a court hearing on 21 December, Vanunu dramatically flashed before photographers a message written on his hand, revealing that he was hijacked 30 September in Rome after taking a British Airways flight from London. While the Israelis (along with their American financiers) routinely flout the sovereignty of other countries, the virtual certainty that the Mossad (Israeli CIA) violated British and/or Italian sovereignty in seizing Vanunu has caused diplomatic embarrassment for the Israeli government at a time when it is, among other things, trying strenuously to woo the Vatican.

A nuclear arsenal of the size described by Vanunu means that Israel has a bigger target than the likes of Syria in mind. Israel is suspected of providing nuclear weapons technology to racist South Africa. (Pretoria is presently expanding its military facilities on

Marion Island, permitting it to test nuclear weapons in the Indian Antarctic Basin.) An even more sinister danger is Israel's role as the key anti-Soviet ally of US imperialism in the Near East. Israel has already announced it is joining the US in developing "Star Wars" technology with its aim of an anti-Soviet first strike. And those 200 nukes could be intended as a sucker punch from the south, to provoke Moscow into an action that would draw American "retaliation". The Zionist rulers, who have their own ambitions

with a bunker mentality to boot, may be preparing to plunge humanity into a thermonuclear holocaust on their own timetable.

French prime minister Chirac recently stated that the Mossad was probably behind the London bomb plot against their own El Al airliner, to create a pretext for war with Syria, Moscow's principal military client in the Near East. Nixon/Kissinger almost launched nuclear war against the Soviet Union over the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Today Israel's arsenal is a nuclear trigger for World War III, in which the entire country would be annihilated within minutes. For the actions of the Zionist warmongers have placed Israel's nuclear arsenal high on the Soviet target list. This is a horrible confirmation of Trotsky's warning that the Zionist project of creating a "Jewish state" – necessarily a garrison state founded on the brutal oppression of another nation, the Palestinians – could only result in a deathtrap for Jews.

Mordechai Vanunu's courageous revelations must serve as a warning to working and oppressed people throughout the world, and not least in Israel, of the urgent necessity to disarm the Zionist nuclear terrorists and their American backers through socialist revolution.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 419, 9 January 1987

## Cops raid BBC Scotland

On 29 January/1 February the BBC in Glasgow was raided by the Special Branch. All material connected to the Zircon spy satellite and to the BBC series the "Secret Society" was seized under Section 2 of the Official Secrets Act. This outrage carries more than a whiff of bonapartism. It follows the invasion of journalist Duncan Campbell's home and the *New Statesman* offices, all in search of "secrets" widely known. As Campbell said it was "an act of revenge by the Government" – and of intimidation. Campbell was also "detained" under Callaghan's Labour government in 1977 for publicising government "secrets". Hands off Campbell, the BBC and *New Statesman*!

## Class traitor, race-hater, anti-Soviet scab

# Down with Judas Kinnock!

Neil Kinnock, the all-purpose scab, didn't exactly get the red carpet treatment from the US imperialists. Not only were Reagan and the Democrats embroiled in the 'Irangate' affair which threatens to bring yet another American presidency to an ignominious end, but even Kinnock's Labour Party is suspect as insufficiently rabidly anti-Soviet. It was precisely his eagerness to allay such fears that took Kinnock across the Atlantic where he tirelessly reiterated his party's loyalty to NATO. The Labour traitor may not have gotten the reception he desired but he did get the reception he deserved from the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League/US. In Boston and Washington, DC Kinnock was met with spirited picket lines which scored him for the certified enemy of the working class that he is. The Spartacist statement, printed below, made clear that any support to Kinnock is *class treason*.

Speaking at Harvard University's nefarious thinktank for the Pentagon – the Kennedy School of Government – Kinnock left no doubt of the sincerity of his previous statement 'I am a reactionary'. At that 2 December gathering, Kinnock delivered



John Harris (IFL)

Miners battle Thatcher's cops (left). SL/US protests bloody Thatcher's poodle Kinnock, Harvard 2 December.

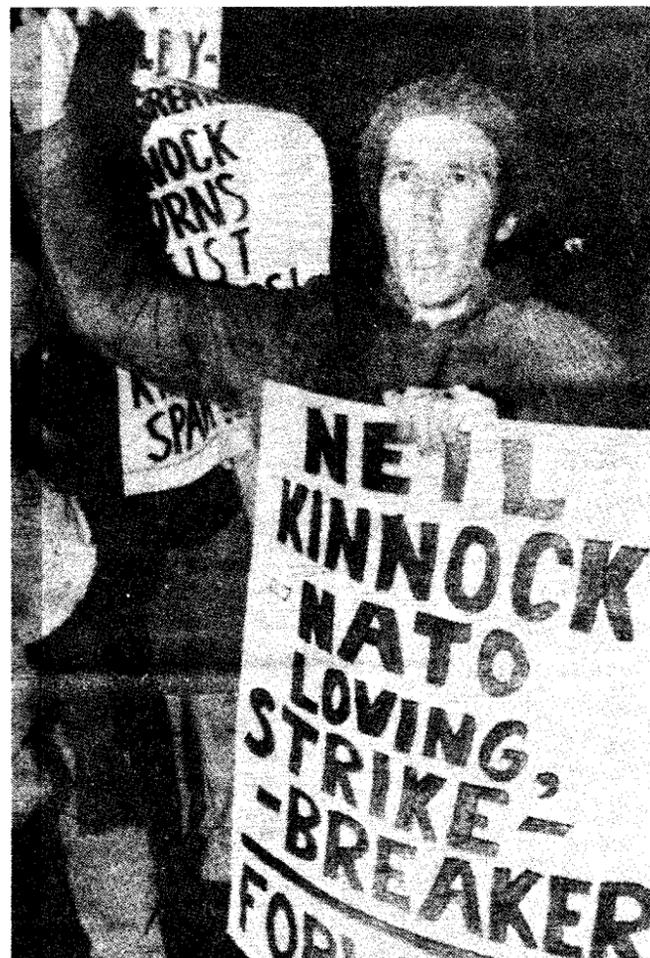
an anti-Soviet tirade against Gorbachev and went on to emphasise that his differences with Thatcher were a matter of 'efficiency': 'I am not accusing her of being a warmonger, but someone not using these

resources in the most credible way.' Kinnock was referring to the resources of Britain's share in the NATO nuclear arsenal of death. Spartacist pickets proclaimed: 'Kinnock stabbed British miners,

salutes anti-Soviet warmongers!' 'Drive CIA fifth column out of Labour Party!' and 'Judas Kinnock and Ratfink Reagan!'

Kinnock got the same treatment

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Times

## Thatcher's poodle tours US



Evening Standard

Neil Kinnock, NATO toady.

### Spartacists protest Kinnock

The following is a press release issued by the Spartacist League of the United States on 28 November 1986.

The Spartacist League, US section of the international Spartacist tendency, is picketing British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock during his current American tour. Demonstrations are planned in the coming week for Boston and Washington, DC. Today the SL/US

issued the following statement:

In the mining villages of England, Scotland and Wales they call him 'Judas' Kinnock. This scabherder, red-baiter and class traitor worked overtime to break the heroic 12-month-long British miners strike. When 'Iron Lady' Thatcher launched her legions of police strikebreakers against the coal miners, Kinnock condemned the *strikers* for defending their picket lines. Now, with

an eye on the polls, he's coming to America to let Reagan and the Democrats know they've got nothing to worry about from Her Majesty's Labour Party. There's not a chance this pro-NATO, anti-Soviet yellow 'socialist' will keep American nuclear subs out of Britain. Maggie Thatcher may be 'Reagan's Poodle', but Neil Kinnock wants to show he's housebroken, too.

Kinnock says he's 'very comfortable' in America – and in the circles he travels in there are a lot of people who think just like him. He'll be stopping off at the *continued on page 6*

# From the coalfields

9 December 1986

During the 84-85 miners strike, comrades in the SL/US and the Partisan Defense Committee collected \$23,000 for the struggling miners and their families here in the UK and are still helping the sacked and jailed miners. That's the kind of international solidarity they showed in our battle against Thatcher and her hordes of trained terrorists in blue who rampaged through the towns and villages in Scotland, England and Wales. So in appreciation, I have purchased a medallion to commemorate the miners strike and I will be sending it to the PDC and the American working class as we can never repay nor forget.

Likewise, nor can we forget treachery as was shown by Judas Kinnock during the miners strike when he gave his full consent to those 'lovely boys in blue' to maim and kill our lads on the picket line. And now this traitor Kinnock, along with his supporters are trying to bury the memory of the strike. But they will never do that for there are too many that will remember him for what he stands for. What is needed is a Trotskyist programme for permanent revolution, the programme of the international Spartacist tendency.

- Hail the PDC!
- Hate Kinnock - enemy of the working class and oppressed!

Wally R

## Partisan Defense Committee:

# Internationalist solidarity with heroic British miners

Two years after the bitter 1984-85 miners strike, miners and their allies remember who stood with them and who stood on the other side with Thatcher. Two strikers, David Jones and Joe Green, were murdered during the martial-law imposed in the coalfields. As the letter from brother Wally R (see right, this page) makes clear, these martyred proletarians will live forever among their class brothers and sisters and the traitors will never be forgotten. Especially Judas Kinnock.

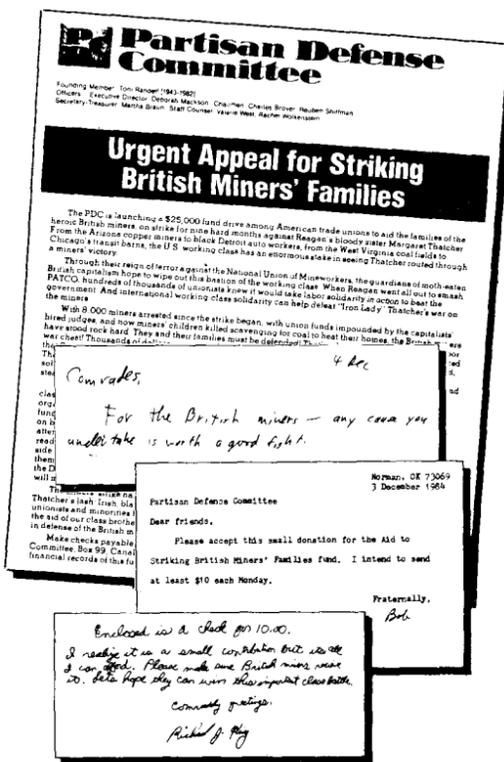
During the strike, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) - a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League - sought to galvanise support from workers in the US and internationally during the PDC 'Aid to Striking Miners' Families' fund drive which raised over \$23,000. Today, the PDC continues to send stipends to the jailed NUM members Dean Hancock, Russell Shankland and Terry French. These heroic class-war prisoners languish in prison for defending their union, their livelihoods, their families against the Tory union-busting onslaught. And Thatcher's Labour lackey, Neil Kinnock, would like to throw away the keys to their cells.

The PDC's defence of these miners and of all those persecuted by the capitalist state for their battle against the exploita-



James P Cannon, founder of International Labor Defense. PDC continues ILD tradition.

tion and oppression endemic to this rotten system takes its inspiration from the International Labor Defense, founded by James P Cannon. This year, the PDC has revived another tradition from the ILD: a special holiday fund appeal. As comrade Cannon wrote, such a working-class effort is aimed at 'transforming the hypocritical spirit of Christmas into the spirit of solidarity with the class-war fighters behind bars' (*Daily Worker*, 17 October 1927). From American Black



Panther leader Geronimo Pratt to the imprisoned miners, today's class-war prisoners must not be forgotten! We urge our readers to support and contribute to the PDC's work.

For more information and to receive the PDC's newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, PO Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013, USA. Workers of the world unite - there is nothing to lose but your chains!

## US protest ...

(continued from page 5)

Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, dubbed by the Pentagon an 'intellectual strategic reserve'. Kinnock's Labour Party mentors like Denis Healey have beaten a well-worn path to the CIA over the past several decades, helping to wreck left-led unions across Europe. Former Labour prime minister - now a Lord - Harold Wilson went 'all the way' with LBJ's dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Last month Kinnock made his anti-Communist pilgrimage to the Berlin Wall to listen to British officers

brief him on how the city could be 'defended...as it was in the final days of the Hitler regime' against the victorious Red Army. Perhaps Kinnock was trying to make up for missing Reagan's grotesque homage to the Hitlerite SS killers at Bitburg. Cold Warriors and class traitors - there's an integral connection: when miners' leader Arthur Scargill correctly denounced Polish Solidarnosc as anti-socialist, the Labourite tops (instigated by Gerry Healy's political bandits) witchhunted him on the eve of the miners strike. Then they strangled the urgently needed industrial solidarity which could have brought down the hated Tory bitch.

Kinnock is here to tell American rulers not to be too upset over Lab-

our's paper 'no-nuke' resolutions. British capitalism is too decrepit to afford a credible nuclear arsenal anyway, so Kinnock wants to throw more NATO 'non-nuclear' forces against the Soviet bloc. The British armed forces, dispatched to Northern Ireland by a Labour government, didn't need nukes to do their dirty work there, or to sink the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, wantonly killing more than 300 sailors on board, in bloody Thatcher's Falklands/Malvinas adventure. Maggie's war was supported by the Labour Party maggots of rotting British imperialism.

Neil Kinnock is a certified enemy of socialism. With dozens of coal pits closed down and 100,000 miners out of work, with hundreds of trade unionists fired and some still in jail, this Labourite scabherd is a disgrace to every Welsh miner's son. And just last week he endorsed police terror against black people in Britain by laying a wreath at the grave of Blakelock the Cop, killed when London police brutally occupied the West Indian ghetto of Tottenham. Kinnock truly fits Jack London's description of the scab, the lowest of creatures 'with a corkscrew soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue'.

Genuine Trotskyists - as opposed to Ted Grant's wimpy 'Militant'

group in England - say no support to labour traitor Kinnock. Slogans to be raised by Spartacist demonstrations will include:

- Judas Kinnock and Ratfink Reagan
- Strikebreaker Kinnock mourns racist killer cops
- Kinnock stabbed British miners, salutes anti-Soviet warmongers
- Kinnock is bloody Thatcher's poodle! Remember the *Belgrano*!
- Honor Kim Philby - Hate Neil Kinnock!
- Drive CIA fifth column out of Labour Party!
- Abolish the monarchy, House of Lords, the established church and licensing hours!
- Free IRA prisoners! British troops out of Northern Ireland!
- Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!
- Workers to Power! For a Socialist United States of Europe!

## WORKERS HAMMER

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# Judas Kinnock...

(continued from page 5)

when he appeared two days later in Washington, DC. There, while addressing the National Press Club, Kinnock 'renewed his commitment to coupling an end to Britain's nuclear role and the closing of American nuclear bases with a pledge to spend the money saved on fostering conventional NATO strength' (*Guardian*, 5 December). Indeed, the more 'rational' imperialist mass murderers, including some who carried out the dirty genocidal war against the Vietnamese people, may understand that Kinnock has a point. As Peter Kellner wrote in an article entitled 'Kinnock's chance to triumph in America' (*Independent*, 1 December):

'In military terms, cruise is a side-show. America's most valuable installations in Britain are not those with nuclear warheads at all. The true British jewels in America's nuclear crown are at Fylingdales, Menwith Hills and High Wycombe. At Fylingdales the Americans are introducing a new, powerful phased-array radar system to provide Washington with its earliest information of any Russian missile attack. Menwith Hill contains the ground control for America's intelligence-gathering Sigint satellites. At High Wycombe a vast underground complex is being built... which will operate as Nato's European command centre ...'

Kinnock thinks he can do Thatcher's job as the US' best ally in global counterrevolutionary terror—only better. One of the chants for the anti-Kinnock protests put it: 'Look who's whistling Yankee Doodle—Judas Kinnock, Thatcher's poodle!' Kinnock didn't forget Her Majesty either: 'As it happens, the biggest hit was Kinnock's rousing defence of the Royal Family. Americans, he said, to laughter and applause, might now want to find out how they too can get "a monarchy as competent as ours".' (*Observer*, 7 December)

Kinnock's NATO-loving politics internationally go hand in hand with his strikebreaking treachery at home. It was Kinnock's friends, Cold War scabherders like Frank Chapple and Eric Hammond, who—with the WRP's help—red-baited Arthur Scargill on the eve of the miners

## The Daily Telegraph

Meanwhile, a seemingly mad-cap group of Kinnock-haters, the Spartacus League, based in New York, has denounced him as "a certified enemy of socialism."

"Maggie Thatcher may be Reagan's poodle, but Neil Kinnock wants to show he's housebroken, too," they say.

Quoting from Jack London, a woman with an initially charming manner, who rang me to ask if I wanted to know more about the League, said: "Kinnock has a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain and a backbone of glue." Then she hung up.

As Mr Kinnock spoke, the cries of protesters could be heard chanting slogans, some too bizarre even for Hollywood: "Honour Kim Philby — Hate Neil Kinnock"; "Strike Breaker, Castrater, Down with Judas Kinnock"; and "Self-Determination for the Celtic fringe".

Leaflets which they handed out in the rain warned Mr Kinnock they would be demonstrating against him in Washington. The Spartacist League declared: "Genuine Trotskyists — as opposed to Ted Grant's wimpy 'Militant' group in England — say no support to Labor traitor Kinnock."

## THE INDEPENDENT

## THE GUARDIAN

Inside the JFK School a liberal audience asked sympathetic questions. But two ex-Washington insiders temporarily exiled in academe were on hand to pick holes for the cameras. "How likely is it really that a Labour government would spend more on conventional defence?" asked Richard Haas, late of the Reagan State Department. Outside, the Trotskyite Spartacist League was denouncing Mr Kinnock as a "strike breaker" and CIA stooge. It is a very narrow ledge he sits on: pro-Nato, anti-nuclear.

# 'Kneel' Kinnock gets the reception he deserves in US

strike for his correct attack on Polish Solidarnosc as 'anti-socialist'. This was the signal for Thatcher's declaration of war against the miners and the prelude to the TUC rights' open scabherding throughout the strike while the so-called 'lefts' like Todd, Buckton and Knapp sabotaged the necessary spreading of the strike to transport and rail workers. It was Kinnock who screamed in tandem with Thatcher denouncing heroic miners defending their picket lines as 'violent' even as they faced massive state violence.

In the largest class battle in decades, Kinnock acted as Thatcher's henchman against every worker, every oppressed minority in the country. British society was sharply polarised as women, Irish, blacks, Asians, homosexuals rallied to the miners' cause as their own. And it was their own, posing the possibility of bringing Thatcher's vicious Tory regime down. It is probably no accident that his first stop in the US was Atlanta where the racist Kinnock posed as a liberal and paid tribute to Martin Luther King, martyred

liberal misleader of the civil rights movement. Kinnock's popularity among blacks and other minorities is deservedly lacking in this country. A less hypocritical gesture would have been for him to give salutations to the New York police department or to the racist Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Our principled class stand against Kinnock is in stark contrast to the whole of the 'left' who, from Arthur Scargill, Tony Benn and Bernie Grant to the sundry fake 'revolutionaries', are bound by a syphilitic chain to voting for Kinnock's Labour Party in the next elections. Like Kinnock, the 'lefts' seek to bury the lessons of the miners strike and have already busied themselves on the campaign trail for Labour.

While much of the Labourite 'left' claims to despise Kinnock all to pieces, nonetheless groupings like Workers Power, the Socialist Workers Party (whose members scabbed during the miners strike), and supposedly pro-Moscow *Morning Star* call for a vote to him. The SWP's

*Socialist Worker* captures this wretched position. In its 26 July issue, *Socialist Worker* waxes eloquent about being the meanest anti-Kinnock socialists on the block, admitting the likelihood that 'the Labour government will be forced to attack the working class as hard as, if not harder than, the Tories have done'. But, says the SWP, 'we are realists' and since the 'vast majority' of workers 'misguidedly' will vote Labour...the SWP will vote Labour as well! So much for any pretence of revolutionary leadership. But for these virulently anti-Soviet opportunist lapdogs for Kinnock and his ilk, that question was resolved in the negative long ago when they abandoned Trotskyism for a 'third camp' (read: pro-imperialist) position on the Korean War. *Morning Star's* supposed pro-Soviet stance is shown to be thoroughly hollow through its support to the NATO-loving scab. As for the quintessential centrists of Workers Power, they mutter: 'But of course it is no good waiting until Kinnock is in Number Ten—if he gets to Number Ten. Real demands for pro-working class actions cannot be left until election day' (*Workers Power*, December 1986/January 1987). Their conclusion: 'mobilise' all the harder to put the Kinnock gang in Number Ten.

### WORKERS AND THE OPPRESSED NEED A BOLSHEVIK PARTY

As the SL/US statement explained: 'genuine Trotskyists—as opposed to Ted Grant's wimpy 'Militant' group in England—say no support to labor traitor Kinnock'. Britain is indeed the living proof that capitalism in its decay cannot be reformed. Our task is to forge a genuine Bolshevik party, to split the workers and oppressed from the stranglehold of both the Labour rights and 'lefts'. Kinnock and his left tails are obstacles to the construction of such a party and must be defeated through sharp political combat aimed at winning to our communist banner the advanced detachment of the proletariat. ■

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## WORKERS HAMMER

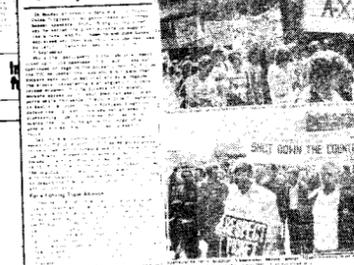
### Thatcher's racist reign

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### Ratfink Reagan

While much of the Labourite 'left' claims to despise Kinnock all to pieces, nonetheless groupings like Workers Power, the Socialist Workers Party (whose members scabbed during the miners strike), and supposedly pro-Moscow *Morning Star* call for a vote to him. The SWP's

### Lish Labour Traitor Tours U.S.



# Mass protests force Chirac to climb down

## Student strikes rock France

On 10 December over half a million people demonstrated in Paris against the right-wing government of prime minister Jacques Chirac. Visible in the crowd were significant trade union contingents.

Over the last couple of weeks, French universities and schools have exploded in a massive student struggle in which hundreds of thousands of demonstrators have come up against both police and fascist attacks. On 27 November, one million students took to the streets against the proposed Devaquet law which would sharply increase class privilege in education. More than 200,000 students demonstrated in Paris in front of the National Assembly. Suddenly, the May 1968 New Left student revolt which sparked a general strike and pre-revolutionary situation, scaring the capitalist rulers (and the reformists) out of their wits, was on everybody's lips. Could this be a new '68?

Now the government has received a royal slap in the face. After the police murder of a student of Algerian origins, Malik Ousseline, on the night of 5 December, and three days of violent clashes between the notorious CRS riot police and the students, Chirac announced the withdrawal of the Devaquet law. And then he cancelled the January session of Parliament, called to discuss an anti-immigrant bill. The government backed down because it was terrified by the call the CGT trade union federation issued for a protest strike on 10 December.

After the debacle of the discredited popular-front government of Socialist Party (PS) president Francois Mitterrand, and the ascent of the present right-wing regime, the country is markedly unstable. The working class has been subjected to vicious 'austerity' and mass redundancies, while its sizeable immigrant component longs to fight back against government roundups, deportations and the rampages of extralegal racist terror. Fascist groups under demagogues like Le Pen have grown ominously.

The government lives in fear of the working class. And the racist, anti-communist witchhunt against 'foreign agitators' launched by Chirac and minister of the interior Pasqua, has blown up in their faces. In a leaflet issued on 30 November, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF, French sister section of the Spartacist League) explained: 'The reaction wants to buy time, but it is preparing its revenge.' After the murder of Malik, only the fear of a social explosion has stayed the hand of Pasqua's killer cops. *Disband the CRS and the Other Paramilitary Corps of the Bonapartist State! For Mass Mobilisation of the Working Class to Crush the Fascist Scum!* Among the students, currently led by aspiring student bureaucrats in

the main associated with the PS, the idea of an 'apolitical' student revolt has been pushed and for a while found currency. The comrades of the LTF have argued forcefully against this stupid lie. At Nanterre, in meetings on 26 November, the student bureaucrats actually tried to bring in speakers from the UNI, the Gaullists' campus shock troops, notorious for their CIA funding. Our French comrades vigorously and mainly successfully opposed these attempts to provide a platform for a fascist front group.

On one occasion the support of Daniel Cohn-Bendit, one of the old famous names from May '68, was enlisted against the LTF. Cohn-Bendit smeared the LTF as 'red fascists' - to New Left leftovers like him, the communists of the LTF and not the fascist menace are what students have to watch out for. Nicknamed 'Danny the Red' in '68, Cohn-Bendit today is more like



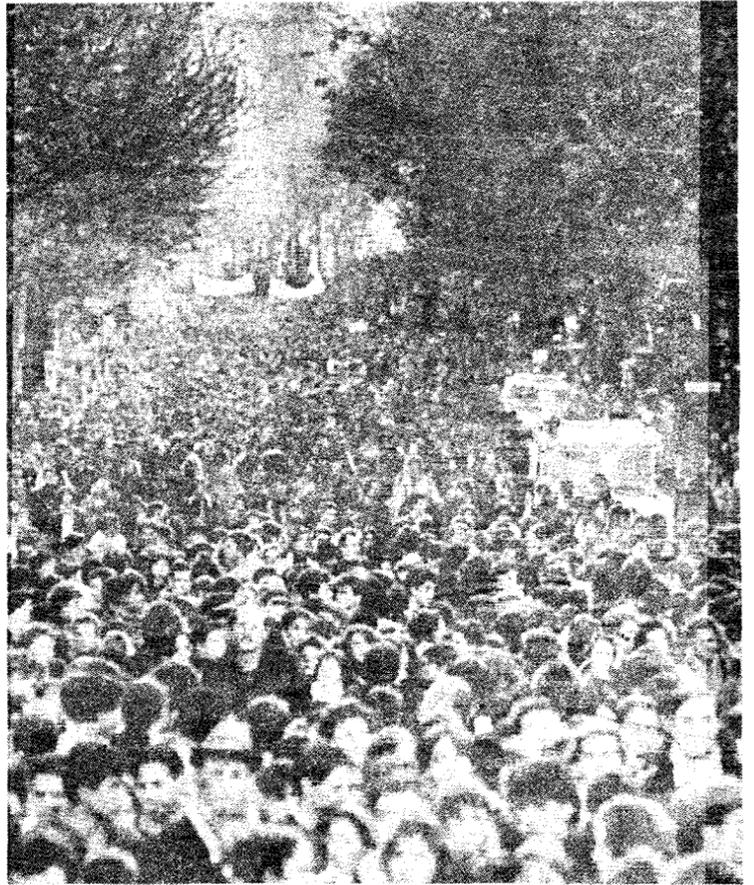
SI/Fourmentrau

**France, May 1968: Student revolt ignites historic general strike.**

'Danny the Yellow', said the LTF leaflet. The LTF also wrote that the PS and Cohn-Bendit 'share the UNI's enthusiasm for the medieval Afghan mullahs and the company-union clerical nationalists of Polish Solidarnosc, and concentrate their fire against the Spartacists whose intervention in the student assemblies cuts against the anti-Soviet consensus. No platform for fascist thugs - drive them off campus!'

Now that the student demonstrations have received the same shock treatment previously reserved for the immigrants, the notion of 'apolitical struggle' is rapidly fading away. As an LTF student militant put it in an interview published in

Paris, 5 December: massive student demonstration against Chirac during anti-government upheaval.



Independent

a special *Le Bolchevik* supplement (of which 1300 copies were sold in Paris Wednesday): 'when people get clubbed by the police they start thinking about the bourgeois state'. Another comrade described the change of mood among students:

'Some students at the beginning heckled us; but subsequently they have approached us saying: "After all, you were right, the strike committee is rotten, they are all manoeuvrers, they want something limited, we are not interested in this." And several students approached us to encourage and support us.' The *Le Bolchevik* supplement pointed the way forward: 'The old slogan of May '68 is now more urgent than ever: "Ce n'est qu'un debut, continuons le combat!" ["It's only the beginning, continue the struggle!"] Wednesday's protest strike gives the working class an opportunity to show its might, assemble its forces and organise itself to fight against this nightmare of unemployment, cop terror and anti-Soviet war preparations .... Against the government plans of social reaction, racist terror and policing of the population, "normal" trade union struggle is not enough: a real general strike is needed to stop the factories, the ports, the airports, all transport throughout France .... Such a strike would inevitably pose the question of power and the need to put an end to the economic chaos of capitalism by placing in power a real workers government.'

**'CE N'EST QU'UN DEBUT, CONTINUONS LE COMBAT!'**

France in May '68 stood on the brink of a revolutionary situation. The crucial aspect then was not the barricades in the student Latin Quarter - which sparked the whole situation - but the ten million workers on strike to smash the Gaullist regime. However, the disparate anti-capitalist sentiment was not translated into organs of dual power mainly because of the opposition of the French CP leaders, who did everything to stifle and straitjacket the movement. In the absence of a revolutionary leadership the traditional reformist misleaders of the

working class (PS and PCF) were able to channel the movement into the popular front Union of the Left.

Now, as then, the crying need is for a Bolshevik vanguard party to act as a tribune of the people, mobilising all the oppressed around the working class. Such a party, armed with the programme of the seizure of power and the socialist reconstruction of France - and all Europe - will be forged in the struggle against the attempt of the social democrats of the PS and the reformists of the French Communist Party to open up a new cycle of popular fronts, class-collaborationist governments which pave the road for reaction.

Students looking to break out of the university 'ivory tower' to join in an effective fight against class privilege, social regimentation, racial/national oppression and war need a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead a workers revolution against capitalism. For a new May '68 that goes all the way! ■

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# Police rampage...

(continued from page 1)

that the greater the violence used by those who challenge the rule of law, the greater must be the degree of force that those whose duty it is to uphold the law must use to meet that challenge" (*Guardian*, 30 January). And, right on cue, Neil Kinnock denounced the victims of the Wapping cop riot, stating that the protesters "deserve to be treated as outcasts". This is the same "violence"-baiting, cop-loving rubbish Kinnock peddled against the miners heroic year-long strike in 1984-85.

## RACIST "JUSTICE"

Lovelock is guilty as hell. He should be languishing in jail, with the keys thrown into the Thames. Instead he's back on the beat while his victim Cherry Groce is paralysed for life. The cop who killed five-year-old John Shorthouse in his bed in Birmingham 18 months ago, also acquitted, recently got a promotion to sergeant. No doubt Lovelock looks forward to being honoured in the same way.

The cops surrounded and smashed their way into the Groce house with a sledgehammer, then moved in for the kill. At the trial Lovelock claimed it was all a terrible "accident", that his finger had "tensed" on the trigger. But forensic experts testified that it took more than 9 pounds of pressure to squeeze the trigger. Lovelock testified that he began to fire at a "dark shape" which came towards him. But Mrs Groce said she never even heard the police shout a warning before they burst in. The first thing she saw was Lovelock crouching with a gun aimed at her heart. Only after she had been shot did she realise that these were cops, not robbers.

The cops claimed they invaded the Groce household in search of her son Michael, who they alleged had shot at police during a robbery. This was a blatant fabrication; in his subsequent trial Michael Groce was cleared of all charges. The cops may well have been out for the son's blood, but not finding him at home they got who they could: his mother. Summing up for the jury of ten whites and two blacks, the judge directed that "In particular you must not feel that because of the terrible injury suffered by Mrs Groce someone ought to be held responsible" (*Guardian*, 15 January). The jury obliged and Lovelock smilingly walked free.

The Broadwater Farm show trial is more racist injustice from the other side. The same bourgeois press that portrayed Lovelock as "victim of a tragedy" is filled with lurid stories of armed black gangs hacking away with machetes at the body of PC Blakelock. What self-serving rubbish! The real story is that residents at the Farm - black, white and Asian - tried to defend themselves against an orgy of police violence that began when the cops killed another black woman, Cynthia Jarrett. Thatcher and her cops are out for revenge because at Broadwater Farm Estate the cops, for once, came up one short. If they have their way, the young Broadwater Farm defendants - four of whom are black - will be crucified as an "example" to all those who would struggle against racist state terror. Drop all the charges! Free all victims of the cops' Broadwater Farm dragnet!



Guardian

Protesters outside Old Bailey, 15 September 1986.

So rampant have been the incidents of trigger-happy police attacks that even sections of the bourgeoisie have been forced to acknowledge this. "Accidental[!] shootings by armed police in Britain in which unarmed people are shot are a hallmark of the eighties" admitted the liberal *Guardian* (16 January). A Home Office Working Party has called for a reduction in the number of police authorised to use firearms - a cynical sop to public opinion along the lines of the "racism awareness" courses instituted within the police forces.

The current trials not only give a green light to the cops, but also to the racist and fascist scum out of uniform. Attacks on blacks and Asians are escalating: in 1985 the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants estimated there were around 20,000 such attacks. A current report indicates that one occurs somewhere in the country every 26 minutes. Areas like Newham in East London are virtually under siege from gangs of white racist youths. In Canning Town Asians have been brutally beaten and stabbed; a black shop owner and his friends have been hit with petrol bombs several times. On New Years Eve a bottle attack by a white racist gang left Trevor Ferguson, a black man who had just left a multiracial social, blinded in one eye. To sweep the race terrorists off the streets, it is necessary to mobilise the power of the integrated labour movement. For integrated workers defence guards to smash racist attacks! For the right to armed self-defence!

## STATE REPRESSION, LABOURITE TREACHERY

From Orgreave 1984 to Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham 1985 to Wapping 1987, the myth of the friendly British bobby has been well and truly ripped to shreds. That the cops are an armed fist of the bosses state machine is now widely understood. And not only by blacks and Asians but also by other sections of the British working class. The miners strike in particular tore apart the illusion of the supposed "neutrality" of the capitalist state to reveal phalanxes of hired strikebreakers in blue. When the cops went on the 24 January Wapping rampage, militant workers taunted them with cries of "Blakelock, Blakelock!"

Clearly there is a basis for linking the fight against racist oppression with the social muscle of the working class. To forge such a bond

necessarily means a political struggle against the Labour traitors who line up with Thatcher, her cops and courts against the oppressed. The rulers of British capitalism in decline, seeking ever sharper regimentation for the anti-Soviet war drive, are impelled to calculated acts of violence against the population. Thus they set up provocations - like in Brixton, Tottenham and Wapping - and after the cops bloody some heads, the state enacts new repressive laws. As the *Carib-*

*bean Times* (30 January) noted in its editorial, there are "difficulties in obtaining justice for anyone outside of Britain's establishment mainstream, those in the ever widening ranks of Thatcher's 'enemy within'". It continues: "The hysterical press coverage, the police tactics and the 'confessions' all invite comparisons with certain trials in previous years of Irish people...."

To prove his credentials as a possible successor to Thatcher in Number Ten, Neil Kinnock must render himself ever more servile and unspeakable. When Kinnock visited the heavily black St Pauls area of Bristol last year after the cops' militarised "anti-drugs" invasion of the ghetto, he was confronted by enraged community leader Kuumba Balogun. "We are under siege", said Balogun. Kinnock said he could "understand" the "resentment" but "we need to have police operations to crack down on drug dealers".

Then Kinnock visited Newport to place a red rose - the new Labour Party symbol - in memory of Welsh Chartist leader John Frost. Kinnock was apparently intrigued to discover that the Chartists had used the same symbol but as the *Caribbean Times* (24 October 1986) wrote, "John Frost had led an insurrection of armed workers, something that would be anathema to Kinnock." To say the least. Kinnock made a point of laying a wreath at PC Blake-

continued on page 10

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## Police rampage ...

(continued from page 9)

lock's memorial, laying to rest any doubt as to his loyalty to Thatcher's boot boys.

Meanwhile, Kinnock's "left" accomplices – the likes of Tony Benn and sundry fake-revolutionists – chatter on about the need for "democratic accountability" or "community control" of the cops. Such schemes feed the illusion that the capitalist state can be reformed into an instrument which serves the interests of the oppressed. Today the chief task the "lefts" have set themselves is that of recruiting sergeants for a Kinnock victory at the polls. That means consciously demobilising social struggle and promoting the dead end of parliamentarist reform.

While most of the "far left" push pro-Labour poison, a significant section of the black population isn't buying it. A 21 January meeting of the Black People's Campaign for Justice (BPCFJ) on the Tottenham show trials saw speaker after speaker denounce not only Kinnock but local black leader and Labour councillor Bernie Grant as well. Such outrage must be channelled into building a revolutionary alternative to Labour: a Bolshevik vanguard party. The strategy pushed by organisations like the BPCFJ and Black Unity and Freedom Party – for better organised "uprisings" separated from a perspective of working-class struggle – is a recipe for disaster. In South Africa, the African National Congress' policy to "make the townships ungovernable" is ultimately suicidal. In Britain where blacks and Asians together comprise less than 5 per cent of the population, a perspective of isolated minority "uprisings" is absurd. Both scenarios are based on despair of a class solution. And however heroic, community resistance by itself will not win against the racist state or the increasing fascist menace.

On 27 November 1982 the Spartacist League/US initiated the successful Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the fascist Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington DC. The substantial union endorsement for this anti-Klan action helped to keep the cops on their good behaviour, as 5000 mostly black workers and youth turned out to keep the Klan swine off the streets of their city. That is the kind of integrated class struggle needed here today.

The spectre of the working class and oppressed in joint struggle sends shivers down the spines of the racist rulers. Abroad and "at home" they have perfected the technique of "divide and rule". Even though it was finally defeated by the treachery of the right and "left" Labourite bureaucrats, the miners strike polarised British society and posed the question of which class will rule. This was even more the case because the miners had allies among all the oppressed. The missing ingredient was a revolutionary leadership.

A Bolshevik party of the kind that led the Russian Revolution in 1917 and established the world's first workers state is desperately needed. Such a party would draw on the best traditions of the international workers movement, from the British Chartists to Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International. It will be built through splitting Labour's working-class base from the mis-

leaders right and "left" and linking that power to the fight for all the oppressed. Only when state power has been wrested from the vicious capitalist rulers will there be true proletarian justice and vengeance for the Cherry Groves, the Cynthia Jarretts and the John Shorthouses. ■

## France ...

(continued from page 12)

potence, the government was not able to profit from the situation. But next time, the fascist bands may well be able to offer themselves to the bourgeoisie as a solution. For a second round of strikes, the workers must set up defence squads, based on the unions and including immigrant workers to defend themselves and smash the fascist scum.

After the shock of the workers' mobilisations, the government is navigating with a single oar. Will Chirac last until 1988? The ship of the majority is taking on water from all directions, and the rats are already preparing to jump overboard in case of a shipwreck. Mitterrand's Socialist Party is shamelessly looking for takers in the swamp of the UDF. The spectacle of hysterical agitation by the SP and various bourgeois politicians only throws into relief the lack of revolutionary leadership capable of giving a swift kick to this anthill.

### PCF SICK OVER COLD WAR

Chirac tried to frighten the "little man" by agitating him with the spectre of the Communist Party (PCF). In fact, after having tried to break the railway strike in the name of defending the passengers, the PCF-controlled CGT leadership belatedly jumped on the bandwagon. In practice, the CGT leadership worked towards a series of separate and parallel strikes in the public sector. In the electrical industry there was not even an occupation of the centres, which left the bosses to decide where to apply the black-outs and profit from the resulting reaction.

The importance of an industry like electricity to the life of the country means that every serious strike poses point blank the question of



Haillet/L'Express

### Mitterrand and Chirac

workers control over production. Power generation and distribution must be controlled in such a way as to continue to furnish – free – supplies to the working population, to paralyse big industry and the state machinery. The same goes for post office and telephone. But the reformist leaders of the PCF and CGT are viscerally hostile to any form of organisation which potentially raises questions of extraparliamentary workers power. Against the Euro-stalinists' pipedream that nationalised industries under capitalism can

be peacefully transformed into socialism, we agree with Lenin: the bourgeois state must be smashed by proletarian revolution.

The only political solution the Euro-stalinists know is a new reincarnation of the Union of the Left, a new popular-frontist coalition of class collaboration. Workers still remember the participation of the PCF in the Mitterrand/Mauroy government which organised – in the name of the workers! – an offensive against them. The attempt by the PCF to refurbish its tarnished credentials as "militant" came up against the scepticism and defiance of many who had seen their strikes betrayed on the altar of the popular front.

The PCF is cornered between its allegiance to its "own" bourgeoisie and its refusal to break all links with Moscow, an act which could mark the PCF's dissolution into the social democracy. Militants of the PCF and CGT who want to prepare for another round of struggle against this government must break with the deadly trap of popular frontism. The PCF is no place for a communist.

Uniquely on the left, the Ligue Trotskyste has stood firm against illusions in the popular front, campaigning against a vote to the "Socialist" strikebreaker Mitterrand even in 1981 when such illusions were at their height. Today, a second round of struggle against capitalist austerity is inevitable. The key is forging a revolutionary vanguard to, in Trotsky's words, "help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist programme of the revolution" (*Transitional Programme*). ■

## Sakharov ...

(continued from page 3)

himself recognises emigration to the West "is impossible because of my secret work" (*New York Times*, 24 December 1986).

### SAKHAROV AND THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

For now, Sakharov seems willing to play the role of loyal opposition to Gorbachev, whose reforms he welcomes. At his Moscow press conference he stated: "I think a great change for the better is taking place in the area of openness... I am glad we have these changes, but I think they should go deeper". Gorbachev has appealed to Sakharov to resume "doing patriotic work", and the *Guardian* (24 December 1986) speculates: "What Gorbachev seems to be banking on is the hope that, in the dissidents of the Brezhnev era, Gorbachev may have found a kind of loyal opposition".

In Stalin's day the only loyal opposition was a corpse, and Sakharov would simply have been shot the first time he opened his mouth. But Stalinism, a system of bureaucratic rule based on collectivised property, is not synonymous with the person of Joseph Stalin. He was a truly evil man, a paranoid psychopath who killed millions of people, including Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms and the cream of Russia's communists. It has taken over three decades for the Soviet Union to get in Gorbachev a Stalinist not personally tainted by Stalin's bloody reign.

Nonetheless, the Kremlin bureau-



1977: Sakharov waves letter from US president Jimmy Carter.

cracy remains profoundly hostile to workers democracy and fearful of genuine proletarian justice. We strongly condemn the Stalinist practice of depriving dissidents, oppositionists and emigres of their Soviet citizenship. If they are deemed guilty of crimes, they should be so charged and given a fair, public trial. By resorting to administrative measures like denying opponents their citizenship, the bureaucracy shows its contempt of Soviet legality and distrust of the masses.

Fearing Trotsky's still considerable popularity and authority among the advanced workers, in 1929 Stalin had secretly and forcibly deported the man who, along with Lenin, led the Bolshevik Revolution. A few years later he stripped Trotsky and his wife, Natalia Sedova, of their Soviet citizenship – a then unprecedented act. And in 1940 Stalin had Trotsky assassinated. Following Khrushchev's 1956 secret speech denouncing some of Stalin's crimes, the Trotskyist movement supported Natalia Sedova's call to restore her Soviet citizenship. Insofar as the Soviet Union has modified Stalin's legacy by permitting some emigrants to return, including from the US, and regain their Soviet citizenship, the homeland of the October Revolution has reaped a propaganda bonanza while inflicting a stinging indictment on the "Free World".

In the US today we are fighting the government's efforts to deny citizenship to Margaret Randall, an American writer of leftist sympathies who lived for some years in Latin America. The latest newsletter of the Partisan Defense Committee states:

"Citizenship is an inalienable birthright of the bourgeois revolution. A person may choose to deny his or her citizenship, then decide to take it up again. It is the choice of the individual – not the state. But as the case of Margaret Randall shows, the U.S. government wields the denial of citizenship like an axe, hoping to intimidate all citizens. Even the Soviet Union, which certainly needs to defend itself against a gaggle of U.S. imperialist-inspired 'dissidents', today denies citizenship as a political reflex. This is contrary to the historic traditions of the Bolshevik Revolution which proclaimed the right of citizenship for all workers living in Russian territory." (*Class-Struggle Defense Notes* no 3, December 1986)

Sakharov has represented those elements in the Soviet petty-bourgeois elite who became capitulators to Western imperialism. Now it appears that Gorbachev has rather elegantly levered Sakharov away from his previous role as the pre-eminent Soviet participant in the Western Cold War propaganda

machine. But as long as the Soviet Union remains confronted by hostile capitalist powers more economically advanced than itself, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its intellectual periphery will spawn more Sakharovs. The only road to ending the terrible danger of nuclear holocaust is to return to the programme of Lenin and Trotsky. Not appeasement of imperialism, but international proletarian revolution to sweep away the bloodsuckers on Wall Street and in the Common Market, and the NATO militarists who serve them.

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## Philby ...

(continued from page 3)

Of course, the imperialists' spies have never exempted the left, workers movement and even the Labour Party from their fond attentions. The forged Zinoviev letter used to whip up anti-red hysteria and to assist in the defeat of the Labour Party in 1925 is a case in point. So is the plotting against Wilson's Labour government (involving Airey Neave and Prince Charles' favourite uncle, Lord Mountbatten - whose respective exits from the machinations of bourgeois rule came courtesy of the Irish Republicans). Nevertheless Kinnock and his cronies jumped on Wright's bandwagon. Kinnock vowed to treat any briefing "with total secrecy, absolute secrecy, and complete probity" (*Times*, 3 December 1986). That means complicity with his capitalist masters on other fronts: the phonetapping of the miners strike headquarters, the murderous undercover operations in Ireland and now the secret spy satellite scandal in which Kinnock has outdone himself. Supporting the government's suppression of Duncan Campbell's expose on BBC and its attempts to block circulation of Campbell's article in the *New Statesman*, "Mr Kinnock turned Prime Minister's question time in the Commons into a battle to prove which was the better patriot, and the stronger guardian of national security" (*Guardian*, 23 January). Indeed, in the Labour traitor's own words: "The Government was right to seek to take action to prevent publication, wrong to fail to ensure that all the angles were covered". The satellite itself is due to be positioned over the Soviet Union, part of Britain's contribution to the anti-Soviet war drive.

Kim Philby recognised that the side of the working class and the defence of the Soviet Union are interlinked. Espionage is one of the necessary defensive measures carried out by the Soviet degenerated workers state but the information is only as good as the use it is put to. Philby came to realise that "much was going wrong in the Soviet Union" but like the heroic Soviet spies Leopold Trepper (head of the "Red Orchestra" network in Nazi-occupied Europe) and Richard Sorge in Japan, Philby continued his crucial work. These men did not wage a revolutionary struggle like the martyrs of the Trotskyist Left Opposition, but they contributed much to the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism. Much of their work was wasted by Stalin's bureaucratic regime. Pursuing the traitorous policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism (in this case the Hitler-Stalin pact) Stalin ignored the warnings by his agents of Hitler's

impending attack against Russia.

As revolutionary Trotskyists we understand that the defence of the Soviet Union and all those states where capitalism has been overthrown means fighting for a political revolution against the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic caste, returning to the revolutionary internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky. For their years of courageous, exhausting work and sacrifice we salute Soviet spies like Kim Philby. ■

## Telecom ...

(continued from page 1)

modernising its service to big business and especially the City. It refused the union's offer to cooperate over "emergency cover", because BT has its own idea what a "priority" is. As far as it's concerned, a worker's mum can freeze to death for want of adequate heating and no phone to summon aid as long as the City profiteers can speculate.

But with no exchanges linking the City to Tokyo, Frankfurt and Wall Street, not only would BT be out of business, Thatcher would have her back up against a wall too. The right-wing Golding leadership of the NCU has dithered and prevaricated in the face of massive assaults on the union. But their timid Labourite blather couldn't stop this strike. It's a question of how to win it - and that won't be by letting the daily 25,000 faults accumulate while outside contractors from Plessey and Marconi as well as other BT unions keep working.

Michael Bett, the managing director for Inland Communications acknowledges that the system could be brought down by throwing a few switches. The engineers know the critical junction points. The exchanges - particularly the crucial international ones - should be occupied. Canadian phone workers in British Columbia did just that in 1981, rigging buckets of water over sensitive computer equipment in case anyone got any foolish ideas about storming the exchanges.

Mass picket lines that nobody crosses must be built - screw Norman Tebbit's "legal" six man limit - make the exchanges genuine "scab free zones". Pull the plug on the billing systems, declare free phone service for the public and it wouldn't hurt to shut down the lines to Fortress Wapping and GCHQ either. The clerical workers - who struck for three days in solidarity at the end of January - should be out! So should the operators and others organised by the Union of Communications Workers. All out! For one industrial union throughout BT! The 69 per cent vote for industrial action and threats of further action from some sections of the middle managers in the Society of Telecom Executives shows that many of them have no appetite to play a scab role.

As for BT's threats to increase working hours and impose overtime - how about *shorter hours, a substantial pay increase with full index-linked rises, thirty hours work for forty hours pay!* There are thousands of unemployed workers and youth, particularly among the black and Asian communities, who need work. Organise the non-union telecommunications workers at companies like Mercury! The scandal-ridden City coupon clippers lording it over everyone aren't very

popular right now and no one loves British Telecom. Demand the *expropriation of BT without a penny in compensation!* Open the books while you're at it and expose the extent of the bosses' theft.

Such class-struggle tactics are anathema to Golding & Co, whom BT has counted on in its war on the NCU. Golding and his "moderate" majority got into power on the basis of the defeat of the 1983 privatisation fight. That fight was

Telecom strikers in London. BT workers: use "power behind the button"!



aborted by the Labourite misleaders in order not to jeopardise Michael Foot's electoral chances. Golding & Co have not opposed management's "efficiency" changes. Infamous for his role in witchhunting the Militant group in the Labour Party, Golding belongs to that school of trade union bureaucrat that led the scab Nottinghamshire operation during the miners strike. Beware a knifing by Golding and the Labour chieftains - rumours of a sellout in the making have already begun circulating.

As if to prove that BT workers can trust him as far as they can throw him, Golding responded to having his phone tapped by complaining that the tapping was "inept" but understandable: "I can't pretend that telecommunications is not strategically important" he said, adding that "Mrs Thatcher, as head of our security services, should have her attention drawn to the drop in standards of phone-tapping because of the strike" (*Observer*, 1 February)! Precisely because the BT workers are placed in a strategically important industry, they can inflict plenty of damage. Zircon spy satellites are not too far removed from the Telecom workers struggle. The telecommunications system is tied into the elaborate electronic spy system. Remember the unions at GCHQ were smashed in order to maintain "security" over such projects. Just as the miners were labelled the "enemy within" by Thatcher and her poodle Judas Kinnock, so too will Telecom trade unionists if they use their muscle, their "power behind the button" as NCU placards put it.

That will mean a confrontation with the strikebreaking Iron Bitch in Number 10. The recent cop riot at Wapping was an implicit threat against the BT strikers, a tactic of intimidation aimed far wider than against the defeated printworkers. But Thatcher's boot boys are hated by large sections of the population. Mass pickets and occupations must be backed up with contingents from the ranks of the whole union movement - especially the battle-hardened miners and their allies in the inner cities of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow. They'll help see to it that the job gets done properly. The NCU can make this a fight for all

embattled sectors in Thatcher's Britain; if it does so its supporters will be legion.

Judas Kinnock won't be among them. Such a confrontation is the last thing this super-patriot wants. Ditto for Golding (who is, if anything, to Kinnock's right). Meanwhile the NCU Broad Left, including Ted Grant's wimpy Militant group, confines itself to impotent "pressuring" of the national leadership. Typically, while the NCU

executive was "standing by" in the hope of a new BT offer (ie doing nothing), the Labourite Socialist Workers Party advocated the same pressure "to force the NEC to lead a fight".

The tail of the tail of the Labourite "far left", Workers Power, sagely noted that "Over recent [!] years the T.U.C. has had an appalling record in building solidarity.... The lesson is that T.U.C. and L.P. leaders have to be forced to take action by the rank and file themselves" (WP leaflet, 22 January). No, comrades, that's not the lesson. Ask the miners. The lesson is that only by *breaking* the stranglehold of the TUC/Labour traitors and forging an alternative class-struggle leadership can the necessary fights be waged. Otherwise, even the most combative and heroic strikes - like that of the miners - will be defeated by the "enemy within" the labour movement, "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition". While all the fake-revolutionaries call for democratically-elected strike committees to run the strike, they fail to raise the key point: that this must be inextricably linked to a *political* fight within the union against the capitulatory, anti-struggle Golding bureaucracy.

During the depression Roosevelt promised the American people a chicken in every pot. British capitalism is so decrepit and venal that it can only offer the fool's paradise of being a nation of coupon clippers. In return for driving down their living conditions BT tried to bribe its workers with a few shares in the company. When that didn't work, the company's gloves came off. The telecommunications system should be run as a public service, but nationalisation under capitalism - especially decaying British capitalism - is no answer. Nationalisation didn't save coal miners' jobs and a Kinnock Labour government certainly won't either. Only a workers government which expropriates the bourgeoisie and institutes a planned economy can meet the needs of working people and the oppressed. The road to a revolutionary workers government lies through the construction of a Trotskyist party which can lead labour's struggles to victory rather than bowing to capitalist legalism. Not another Wapping but a workers victory! BT workers: strike to win! ■

# Class struggle derails French regime

The following article is adapted from *Le Bolchevik* (no 70, February 1987), newspaper of the *Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF)*, section of the international *Spartacist* tendency.

During the first two weeks of January, until the last SNCF rail depot went back to work on the 15th, the eyes of workers around the world were turned towards France. Electricity and underground workers had followed the example of the railwaymen, who had been on strike since 18 December. PTT post office and telephone employees were pushing to join the movement. The seamen's strike was in its fourth week. Coming right after the massive student mobilisations, this was the most important social struggle in the twenty years since the pre-revolutionary situation in May '68.

From the beginning of the strikes, we underlined what was at stake: "The government's entire anti-working class austerity policy is thrown into question by the SNCF strike, starting in the nationalised public sector, then in all of industry. On the agenda is a general strike against the Mitterrand/Chirac government's attacks on workers, immigrants and youth" (*Le Bolchevik*, January 1987).

British, American and West German workers well understood that if their French class brothers could win this showdown against the revanchist Chirac government, their capacity to fight "their" bourgeoisie would be greatly reinforced. Mitterrand/Chirac, like their "own" governments, want to break and bring to heel the working class for the imperialists' war drive against the Soviet Union. The strike wave plunged the French government into a profound paralysis, alarming both the French bourgeoisie and its imperialist partners.

Chirac assumed the reins of power last March precisely on the basis of an oath to the bourgeoisie that he would impose reactionary policies all down the line. Today he goes from retreats to slaps in the face. The Devaquet and Monory laws in education (which provoked the student demonstrations); the Seguin "amendment" on the "flexibility" of working hours; the racist, anti-immigrant nationality code – all are in the dustbin for now. This "cohabitation" government – uniting "Socialist" president Mitterrand with Gaullist prime minister Chirac – is based essentially on a consensus around an anti-Soviet foreign policy, as in Chad. But it is in fact incapable of carrying out its task



Marseilles: Striking railwaymen march past stranded train. Times

of regimenting the population, the indispensable condition for the imperialists' anti-Soviet war preparations. *France is the weak link among the anti-Soviet NATO governments.*

## RAILWAYMEN v MITTERRAND/CHIRAC

The beacon at the head of the mobilisations was the railwaymen, and they dealt a serious blow to the government even though their strike finished in a draw. They went back with heads held high, ready to go out again at the first attempt of the SNCF bosses to carry out disciplinary reprisals. Their strike was a strike against governmental policy. As soon as it spread, Chirac launched a political counter-offensive. So the back-to-work decision was in a sense a retreat in good order, more or less conscious on the part of the strikers, who sensed that they did not have the means – strategy, programme, leadership – to pick up this gauntlet.

The bureaucrats of the "Socialist" CFDT and the CIA-funded FO unions functioned as anti-'68 advisers for the government. The "Communist" CGT leadership at first put on the brake with both feet, then tried to jump into the driver's seat, without of course providing a perspective to win. Nor did the two railwaymen's coordinating committees set up during the strike provide the necessary tools. The committee based on the Paris Gare du Nord confined itself for a long time to a drivers' craft framework and almost until the end counted only on its own militancy. Only in the final days, especially the "Antenne" at Gare du Nord began to understand the political stakes. On the

other hand, the so-called National Interprofessional Coordinating Committee, under the bureaucratic control of the fake-Trotskyist Lutte Ouvriere (LO), deliberately refused to go beyond what it had decided would be the level of consciousness of the workers. LO reduced a strike which was entering on the political terrain to an economic battle, strictly about wages ("700 francs for everyone!").

The situation demanded a leadership capable of extending the strike and facing the political issues at stake. *Ligue Trotskyiste* militants in the post office distributed a leaflet calling for solidarity with the railwaymen and for the preparation of a general strike of the public sector:

"We should send massive delegations to reinforce the picket lines in the train stations. Class solidarity actions are imperative; those PTT employees who work on the trains and in the stations, for example, must immediately join the strike. They must refuse to load the mail on the trains or on any other means of transport found to replace them."

The organisation of mass pickets by strike committees (elected and recallable at any time) was the touchstone of the strike: to stop everything from moving, to rally those who hesitated, to protect the strike against the cops and scabs and extend it. A class-struggle leadership would have put on the agenda the general strike – which would have immediately posed the question of joining with other sections of industry.

Especially key are the immigrant workers – strategically placed in the motor industry and the Paris

underground, and a specific target of Chirac's reactionary social programme. Immigrant workers were in the vanguard of the struggle under Mitterrand's "Union of the Left" government. In the recent strike, this meant extending a bridge towards the contract services which employ a majority of immigrants – a workforce outside the public employee statutes and without rights. One industry, one union! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! Such class-struggle leadership can only be provided by a revolutionary party, a Trotskyist party. The need for such a leadership is the principal lesson of the strike wave.

## CHIRAC POWERLESS

In the absence of such leadership, the government understood the political stakes of the strike better and more rapidly than the strikers themselves. But if Chirac was able to reverse the tide of the strikes by not giving in on the essentials, he also displayed his weakness.

When Chirac launched his campaign against "destabilisation", the reactionaries seized on the hysteria of the petty bourgeoisie against the electricity workers strike, hoping to construct a mass base. Indeed, the bosses applied electrical cuts at the expense of shopkeepers and small businessmen (and in residential areas), sparing industry. Layers of the petty bourgeoisie mobilised against the electricity workers: gun shots were fired against strikers. Chirac's Gaullist RPR and the UDF of former president Giscard d'Estaing tried to organise them, with Le Pen's fascist National Front in their wake.

That the government was obliged to organise street demonstrations instead of breaking the strike with its own means is proof of its impotence. The scanty 10,000 demonstrators in Paris on 12 January were a far cry from the success Chirac & Co had expected. This government nervously keeps an eye on the 30 National Front deputies in the National Assembly and it is vulnerable to pressure from the streets. The several thousand demonstrators behind Le Pen on 12 January were consciously there to protest against the "weakness" of the government. In Marseilles on 10 January, the fascists even dominated the joint demonstration with the RPR.

The strikes deployed sufficient power to get the reactionaries excited, but not enough to intimidate, polarise and/or win over the petty bourgeoisie. As a result of its im-

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