

Election campaign 1987

Thatcher, Kinnock whip up racist reaction

Free victims of Broadwater Farm frame-up!

Police sieges of minority communities, officially-sanctioned racist cop executions, frame-up trials, confessions extracted under "interrogation": the techniques of state repression "normally" used in Northern Ireland – or even South Africa – are coming home to Thatcher's Britain. With the elections looming, the message from the Tories, the Alliance and the Labour Party to blacks and Asians is: drop dead.

In this reactionary climate, the Broadwater Farm show trials have come to their ignominious end. Three young men have been sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Blakelock – the cop who expired during the 1985 police riot in Tottenham. There is no evidence whatsoever; the convictions were made because the state will have its vengeance for Blakelock. As we noted in February, the government's intention from the outset was to crucify the Broadwater Farm defendants as an "example" to



Monique Blanchet (Report)

John Sturrock (Report)

Racism in Britain under Tory and Labour — Winston Silcott's father protests Broadwater Farm show trial (left); police rampage in Southall under Labour government, 1979.

all those who would struggle against racist state terror.

Engin Raghip and Mark Braithwaite were convicted on the basis of so-called "admissions" made in police custody and later retracted. Winston Silcott, vilified in the gutter press as a "monster", was convicted on less than nothing. He never "confessed" to

anything at anytime. Of the original six defendants (two of whom were white) three were acquitted because even the star chamber court found their "confessions" inadmissible. One of these defendants had a mental age of seven years, was held for three days with no solicitor present, stripped to his underwear.

The brutal police invasion of Broadwater Farm Estate took place in 1985 following the cop killing of Cynthia Jarrett, a black woman. Residents at the Farm – black, white and Asian – tried to defend themselves against an orgy of police violence in the wake of Cynthia Jarrett's death. The cops, for

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As Kinnock meets Bonzo...

Thatcher stages anti-Soviet show

Judas Kinnock in Washington and then Iron Lady Thatcher in Moscow. Both small change. As the *Guardian's* (18 March) perceptive Moscow correspondent Martin Walker noted of Thatcher's trip, the Russians "recognise the difference between the organ grinder and the monkey". The bourgeois press in Britain was full of the tale of two trips – trashing Kinnock and going ga-ga about Thatcher. On the one hand servility before the leading counter-revolutionary power in the world at a time when it is in disarray. On the other, provocative counter-revolutionary grandstanding within the Soviet workers state tolerated by misleaders who think they can appease imperialism's bloodlust.

Thatcher's visit to Moscow was the occasion for an orgy of patriotic blather about the supposed important role that Britain plays in the world – and was clearly for domestic (electoral) consumption. The Tory bitch flaunted her support of nuclear weaponry and demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Her visit to an Orthodox monastery was a pointed affirmation of her intentions. The Russian Orthodox Church was a bastion of tsarism and would, if it only could, like to play a role similar to that of the Catholic Church in Poland, ie an organiser of capitalist restorationist reaction.

Thatcher called, of course, for a linkage between "human rights" and

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Guardian



"Tsarina" Thatcher and Great Russian friends.

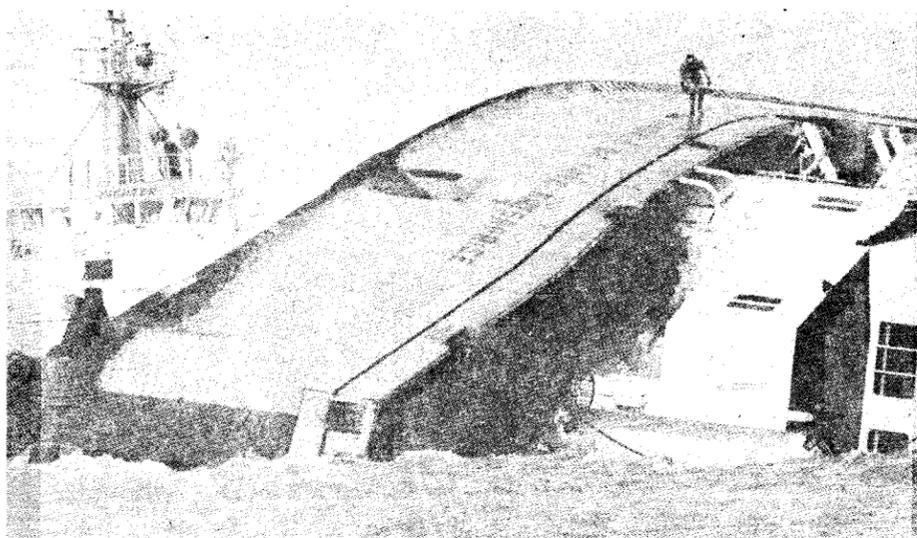
Free enterprise sinks Free Enterprise

In the worst marine disaster in British peacetime history since the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1912, nearly 200 crew members and passengers went down with the car ferry *Herald of Free Enterprise* when it capsized on 6 March just outside Belgium's Zeebrugge harbour. A month after the sinking, salvage crews are still finding bodies and the death toll is still climbing.

A catastrophe—but no accident. Rather it was the horrible outcome of utilising a notoriously unsafe ship design and then disregarding one of the most elementary procedures of maritime safety: ship openings and ports must be secured watertight before leaving dockside. Early on the shipowner, Townsend Thoresen, tried to claim that "somehow" the bow-loading "doors burst open". But as survivors have testified and a preliminary inquiry affirmed, the ferry accelerated across the outer harbour before the crew on the lower vehicle deck could close the apparently jammed doors. The ship became a giant scoop and rapidly

destabilised as water poured in and surged to the port side. Within a minute the vessel capized, making it impossible to launch life rafts. After the fact, port officials have acknowledged that leaving the docks without securing loading doors is *standard operating procedure* for companies out to make more money by cutting turnaround times.

According to one report the Zeebrugge docks are among the lowest in the Channel; water is pumped into the forward ballast tanks to facilitate loading cars and trucks. The inquiry confirmed that the ferry left "slightly trimmed down by the bow, which would accentuate the scooping effect of the bow". That more people weren't killed is testimony to the heroic rescue efforts of the crew. Half of the 84 crew members perished, many because of over-exposure. As one seaman interviewed at the headquarters of the National Union of Seamen in Dover noted: "It was the cold water that killed them.... They died because they stayed behind to help others" (*Guardian*,



Sunday Times

Capsized ferry *Herald of Free Enterprise*. Passengers and crew members were killed by decrepit British capitalism.

11 March).

Within a day of the disaster marine engineers confirmed what is widely known: the ferry design, utilised for faster loading—ie to cut costs—is notoriously unsafe. Incredibly, as the *Guardian* (9 March) observed, they have the same fatal design flaw as the *Titanic*:

"It is right that we should recall the worst and most famous mercantile disaster of them all now, because it was that which imposed a fundamental principle on steel-ship construction: that watertight bulkheads (steel walls) should extend crosswise at intervals from the bottom of the hull to the upper deck. The "unsinkable" *Titanic* had such bulkheads, but they did not rise high enough. Roll-on, roll-off (ro-ro) ships are the first major commercial type to ignore this axiom.... If water ever penetrates these box-like compartments in any quantity, it can cause a fatal list and the ro-ro rolls over in a

few moments."

A 1980 report by the UN's International Maritime Council noted that these ro-ro vessels suffer twice the number of losses as other ships; over the last twenty years, 35 of them have capsized.

So why are ships launched with construction decidedly worse than that which was proven deadly dangerous and unseaworthy almost 75 years ago? The answer is encapsulated in the names of Townsend Thoresen's major ferries: the *Herald of Free Enterprise*, *Spirit of Free Enterprise* and *Pride of Free Enterprise*. And now the Thatcher government has come up with a new and macabre use for the ro-ro's: to refit them as prison ships to pen black and Asian immigrants refused entry into the country. Such is the private profit motive and the decaying system of capitalism.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 424, 20 March 1987



TROTSKY

Workers revolution to disarm the imperialists

Besieged by imperialism and civil war, the young Soviet republic appealed for revolutionary action by the international proletariat. In March 1919 the Third International was founded, and two weeks later the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a programme drafted by Lenin which stated:



LENIN

The resistance of the exploiters, which grows simultaneously with the intensification of the onslaught of the proletariat, and is particularly intensified by the victory of the proletariat in individual countries, and the international solidarity and organisation of the bourgeoisie inevitably cause the combination of civil war in individual countries and revolutionary wars between the proletarian countries and bourgeois countries fighting to retain the rule of capital. In view of the class character of such wars, the distinction drawn between defensive and offensive wars becomes utterly meaningless.

By and large, this development of international civil war, a process which has been taking place with exceptional rapidity before our very eyes since the end of 1918 is the legitimate product of the class struggle under capitalism and a legitimate step towards the victory of the international proletarian revolution.

For this reason, the R.C.P. emphatically rejects the hope of disarmament under capitalism as the reactionary philistine illusion of petty-bourgeois democrats, even though they call themselves socialists and Social-Democrats, and in opposition to this and all similar slogans which actually play into the hands of the bourgeoisie, it advances the slogan of arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie, the slogan of completely and ruthlessly suppressing the resistance of the exploiters, the slogan of fighting until victory over the bourgeoisie of the whole world is achieved both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars.

—VI Lenin, "Draft Programme of the R.C.P.(B.)" (March 1919)

WORKERS HAMMER



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WH subscription drive final totals

Congratulations to all comrades on the successful completion of the spring 1987 *Workers Hammer* subscription drive. After 11 weeks, we were able to modestly exceed the national quota of 680 points. As well as working the coalfields in Yorkshire, the Midlands and Kent, regional teams hit South Wales and Scotland. Sub teams concentrated in black and Asian communities in London and the West Midlands and a supporter in London Transport sold an impressive 35 points to co-workers. Comrade Lynne from Sheffield is the national winner with 57½ points; runners up are Mike (55) and Catherine (38) from London. We welcome our new readers and resubscribers.

Local	Quota (in points)	Final Totals	%
Birmingham	130	141.25	109%
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Sheffield	200	204.50	102%
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National Total	680	713	105%

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WH anti-Kinnock line rattles Morning Star

Between the Lines ★ Morning Star

— From *Morning Star*, 20 December 1986

UNITY of the labour and trade union movement is crucial if the Tories are to be defeated and a Labour government elected.

When necessary, however, this paper has never been afraid to criticise Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, especially when we consider him to be moving away from the democratically decided policies of his party.

Not everyone agrees with this principled approach, as evident from the monthly paper of the Spartacist League (who they?)

In a rather less than fraternal critique, their four-page "journal" refers to Mr. Kinnock as a "class traitor," and "all-purpose scab," "Thatcher's poodle" and a "certified enemy of Socialism."

The diatribe against the Labour leader ends with a usual list of

transitional demands and slogans.

These include some unusual and unique slogans — "Judas Kinnock and Ratfink Reagan" and "Honour Kim Philby — Hate Neil Kinnock."

The Spart list of capitalist targets to be abolished includes obvious candidates the monarchy and the House of Lords.

Tagged on however is the League's attempt to win the masses — "Abolish the licensing hours."

This bizarre approach to political cut and thrust is guaranteed to raise a laugh, but it can't be lightly dismissed, and there are two important questions.

Who stands to gain from maximum division and chaos in the movement and who helps to organise the disruptive tactics of the Spartacist League?

The obvious answers shouldn't stretch the intelligence.

— Rummager

The people who produce *Morning Star* have a problem. These leaders of the Communist Party ex-minority (now organised in the Communist Campaign Group — CCG) want desperately to cement "unity" with the Labour Party/TUC chieftains. Yet a lot of *Morning Star* supporters thought they broke from the wretched Eurocommunists in order to up-

hold class struggle against the bosses at home and defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism abroad. And when they see Neil Kinnock spitting on the miners strike, or hear him singing the praises of NATO and Polish Solidarnosc, the two tasks seem a mite contradictory.

When we produced our special *Workers Hammer* supplement head-

lined "Down with Judas Kinnock!" last December, we encountered a lot of interest from *Morning Star* readers and supporters. So *Morning Star* responded with a polemic, signed "Rummager" (reproduced on this page). "Rummager" admits what WH says "can't be lightly dismissed", but manages to eschew political arguments in favour of a typical Stalinist cop-baiting conclusion about "maximum division" and "disruptive tactics". He does, however, thoughtfully reproduce some of the slogans of our anti-Kinnock protests in the US.

According to "Rummager", these demands are of three types: the "obvious", the "bizarre" and the "unusual and unique". If abolition of the monarchy and House of Lords are such "obvious" calls, why do we see them so seldom in the pages of *Morning*

Star? And the idea that abolition of the licensing laws is "bizarre" is ... well, bizarre. Karl Marx and the Chartists both fought against such laws more than 130 years ago, and the present laws were instituted during World War I in order to discipline the working class for war production through industrial speed-up. These laws epitomise the sickening Labourite Methodist moralism which oppresses women in particular and is integral to capitalist rule in this country. Part of the "political cut and thrust" of our supplement was to emphasise that such basic democratic demands as these can today only definitively be won through working-class revolution.

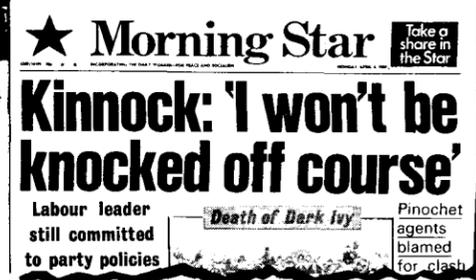
"Rummager" dubs our "Honour Kim Philby — Hate Neil Kinnock" slogan "unusual and unique". Is this a sort of backhand compliment? Heroic Soviet spy Philby did a lot more for defence of the USSR against imperialism than the last 60-odd years of "Her Majesty's Communist Party", with its perpetual chase after anti-Soviet Labour Party politicians. *Morning Star* supporters should ponder why *Workers Hammer* is consistently the only paper which champions defence of the Soviet Union where it counts — from "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" and "Stop Solidarnosc counterrevolution" to our timely exposure of the KAL 007 anti-Soviet provocation.

Then there's the "Judas Kinnock" slogan, at which "Rummager" seeks to poke some fun. *Morning Star* readers in the coalfields will recall that this "unique" expression was first raised, not by WH, but by miners fed up with the Labour leader's

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— 19 April 1984



— 6 April 1987

Still hailing Judas Kinnock: *Morning Star*'s "unity" with Russia-hating Labourite scab — treacherous and absurd.

Hatfield Main NUM

Fight anti-communist ban!

Officers of the Hatfield Main NUM branch in Dunscroft, South Yorkshire are attempting to invoke an anti-communist ban of *Workers Hammer*. At a recent pit sale Spartacist supporters were told by coalminers that they had been instructed by branch officials that it was "against union policy" to buy our newspaper. Subsequently, branch delegate Dave Douglass confirmed that this was indeed "union policy". Earlier, at a public meeting on February 20 held to discuss the NUM elections, Douglass singled out Spartacist comrades for exclusion. Representatives of other left groups were admitted, including Tony Cliff's SWP — whose members openly crossed NUM picket lines during the strike — and the Northite offshoot of the Healy WRP — notorious for setting up the NUM for a massive red-baiting job by the Fleet Street press.

These despicable exclusionary tactics take place under pressure of the elections, and are in the service of Neil Kinnock and the

Labour Party. They were apparently triggered by an article in the December/January issue of *Workers Hammer*. The article was critical of a demonstration supported by the Hatfield Main NUM which called for a ban on imports of South African coal. Last month we published a letter from branch officials which falsely claimed that we had called them "liars, racialsists and fascistic" along with a lengthy reply of our own (see WH no 86, March 1987). The reply restated our opposition to open-ended trade sanctions against South Africa, a strategy premised on a futile attempt to pressure the racist imperialist powers into doing away with apartheid.

Massive disinvestment by foreign capitalists has done nothing to help the South African black masses — if anything, its impact has been to weaken the black proletariat through increased sackings. ("Boycott everything South African" can be reactionary as well as utopian; we listen to Paul Simon's *Graceland* and don't

think that should be banned, either.) We noted further that the demand raised at the demonstration to boycott *only* coal (and not, for example, South African strategic minerals) necessarily had a protectionist component, appealing to British miners on the reactionary basis of gaining jobs at the expense of South African miners.

Finally, we stressed that it was hardly a coincidence that "sanctions" have been championed by the likes of Neil Kinnock as a fig leaf to cover up his racist, anti-working class programme. From stabbing the miners strike in the back to laying

wreaths at the graves of killer cops who rampage through the ghettos to ardently supporting NATO, Kinnock has proven himself a traitor to the interests of workers and oppressed both here and abroad. The so-called Labour "lefts" prettify and apologise for this traitor in order to channel the anger and discontent of militants into voting Labour.

Now, as election time rolls around, Kinnock resorts more and more to purging anyone who speaks out against his rotten policies. Regrettably, the Hatfield NUM leaders are

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Kinnock's poodles in election heat

There is opportunism and there is opportunism. Always short-sighted in the historical long run, sometimes it can be suicidally stupid in the short run too. Such is certainly the case with the pathetic prostration of the fake-revolutionary "left" before the electoral campaign of Labour's Neil Kinnock.

Kinnock is a scab, a racist swine, an anti-Soviet "patriot" and a self-proclaimed reactionary. To say the least, he's not rousing the working class or tapping the discontent of the poor, unemployed, youth and minorities. Quite the opposite. Yet the more poorly this traitor to the working class does in opinion polls, the more the pro-Labour left cries out for a Labour victory. That's what's loony about the "loony left" - they all long to see Kinnock in Downing Street.

Meanwhile, from the coalfields to black and Asian inner-city communities to the vulnerable gay population there are plenty of people with no earthly reason to and no intention of casting their vote for the Kinnock gang. Our *Workers Hammer* supplement, headlined "Down with Judas Kinnock!", met with a good response in all these areas. To mobilise the many who stand outside and to the left of Kinnock, Hattersley et al, those who correctly see no choice in the current election farce - now would be an opportunity to stand a revolutionary class-struggle candidate *against* Kinnock and his henchmen. Not least because the Labour leader is standing proudly, if ineptly, on his record as a running dog for Thatcher against the miners and a NATO-loving would-be pet for US imperialism. (Who but Kinnock would make a second trip to Washington to visit the discredited Reagan just in the wake of the Contragate scandal? Poodle meets Bonzo.)

NO-ONE HERE BUT US LABOURITES

But the Labourite "socialists" repeat their message with mind-numbing monotony. *Socialist Worker* (11 April) worries that many "might conclude that 'socialists' shouldn't really care two hoots if Labour is eclipsed as the main opposition to the Tories". They are wrong, says the SWP: "On election day, in the polling booth itself, there is no alternative to voting Labour." *Militant* (10 April) blares: "Election emergency - Labour must fight for workers" and insists, "The Tories and their Alliance understudies can be swept to defeat, if the Labour leaders completely [!] change their approach." *Socialist Organiser* (9 April) screeches: "As panic grips Kinnock's team - FIGHT TO WIN!", adding "Labour must change course - before it's too late." After 75 years of treachery, it's already more than too late.

Not to be outdone are the rightward moving centrists of *Workers Power*. This group normally likes to posture as the loyal "left" conscience

of the British fake-Trotskyist milieu. But a glance by the uninitiated at recent issues of their press would legitimately place them somewhere to the right of *Socialist Worker*. We were stifling a collective yawn after Labour lost the Greenwich by-election, when we came across WP's sage advice:

"Left phrase-mongers might say 'what does it matter?' So too might the unemployed; and the oppressed victims of racism in the inner cities say that things can't get worse. The truth is that they can. No thoughtful worker can or should remain



Spartacist supplement hammers home the truth.

indifferent to the prospect of another lease of life for Thatcher." (March 1987)

Translation: all out for Kinnock, the supposed "lesser evil". Back in December, WP gave an indication of where it was going with a front page head reading "Tories can be beaten" and underneath, in ever-so-tiny letters: "but not by Kinnock's methods." That article was rumoured to have created some problems inside the group. But since then, it's only got worse.

An "After Greenwich" editorial in the March issue ventures some criticisms of the Labour "lefts"; not just because of their "super loyalty" to Kinnock (WP prefers ordinary loyalty), but also because:

"... by not using the election period to win the support of ordinary working class voters, by putting forward policies that meet their needs, they will confirm to many workers the picture the right presents of them as behind the scenes conspirators concerned at best only with the interests of minorities."

Here we have the most vile, "colour-blind", "constituency" Labourism. What does WP mean by "ordinary working class voters" - white, male, heterosexual? As Kinnock witchhunts gay and lesbian Labour supporters, black sections in the party and the "loony left", he too proclaims he's for the "ordinary"



On the knocker for Kneel: Centrist Workers Power group rushes right as elections loom.

working man. Has WP also "nothing special" to offer to oppressed minorities? Perhaps they are too consumed with shouldering the "white man's burden" of getting Kinnock elected.

The syphilitic chain that binds the British "left" to Labour is very much connected to the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. It is no accident that *Socialist Worker* and *Socialist Organiser* emblazon on their respective mastheads: "Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism" and "For workers liberty East and West". They are Russia-hating "Little England" pimps for Labour.

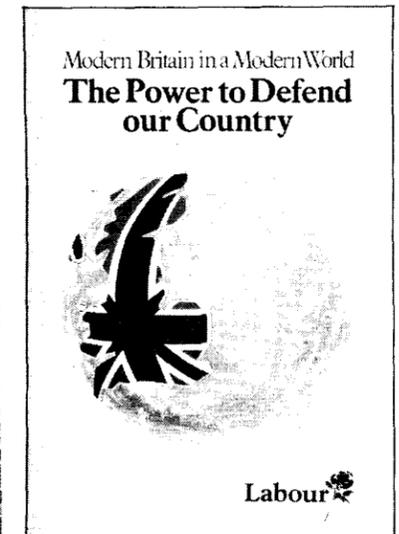
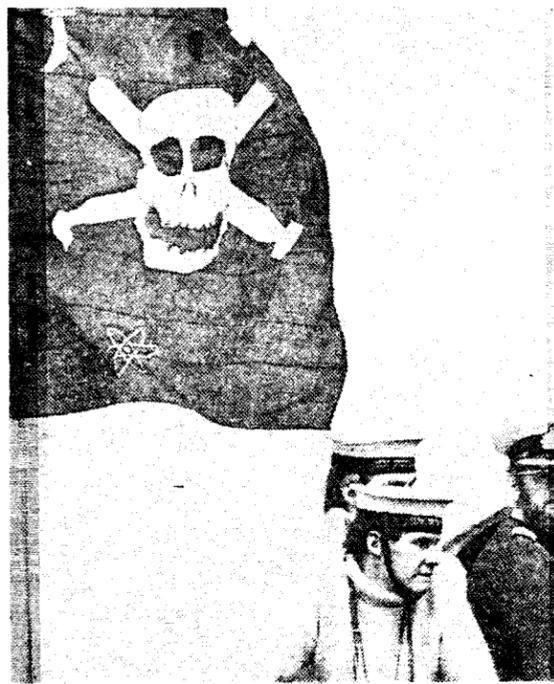
When in late 1979 Workers Power changed their formal line from defeatism to defencism on the Russian question, we insisted that they draw the hard programmatic conclusions. They didn't. In Afghanistan, WP continued to denounce the Soviet intervention. The key issue was Poland, where WP joined hands with the imperialists and social democrats everywhere to champion counter-revolutionary Solidarnose' bid for capitalist restoration. And WP was always internally heterogeneous on the Russian question. Thus Political Committee member and clone windbag Keith Hassell's advocacy of a defeat for the Red Army in Afghanistan. Now the chickens are coming home to roost.

"Trying to outpace Thatcher as John Bull will be a complete failure. Labour tried that to its cost at the time of the Falklands/Malvinas War and helped her to her record election victory, opening the way to her attack on the miners. Labour's patriotism always looks a shoddy second best."

We beg to differ, comrades! Labour's patriotism is solid as a rock. The vaunted Labour Party brochure "The Power to Defend our Country" argues for strengthened conventional forces as a more rational division of resources among the imperialists, a means to maintain a strong NATO. It boasts that "NATO was formed forty years ago when Britain had a Labour government. And it was a Labour foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, whose energy and drive were instrumental in creating the system of collective security based on NATO...." According to this tract, Thatcher's crime has been to erode "national defence":

"... the present government is presiding over a serious decline in the strength of all our armed forces. Had the invasion of the Falklands by the Argentine junta come even six months later than it did, it is doubtful that we could have regained the islands."

It is not Labour's patriotism but WP's anti-imperialism and Soviet de-



Sailors on sub that sunk the Belgrano. Labour cheered Thatcher's bloody Falklands/Malvinas war.

Today any self-respecting Soviet defencist would gag at *Workers Power*. For example, their February front-page article entitled "Kinnock's patriot game" advises the Labour leader that:

fencism which is coming a shoddy second best. *Workers Power's* article on Kinnock's defence policy concludes with the slogans: "not a penny for the conventional or nuclear de- continued on page 11

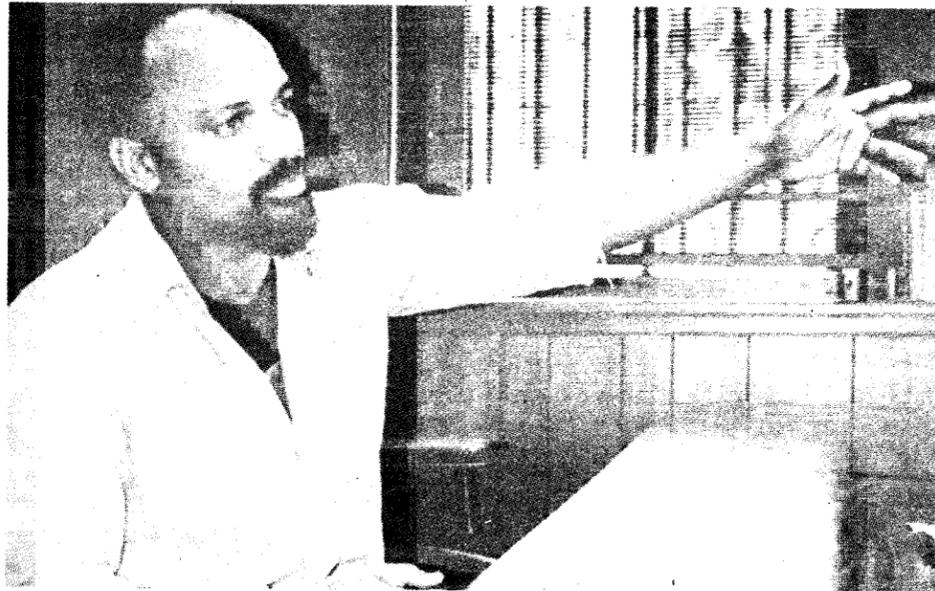
America's foremost class-war prisoner

Free Geronimo Pratt!

America's foremost class war prisoner, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, has been imprisoned for over 16 years, *eight in solitary confinement*. A leader of the Black Panther Party, Pratt was framed up for a crime he did not and could not have committed. He is a victim of the US secret police – the FBI's – murderous COINTELPRO campaign which targeted the Panthers and other black militants for physical extermination in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He is still fighting tenaciously for his freedom and the cause of black liberation.

After Pratt escaped assassination in a police/FBI assault on the Los Angeles Panther headquarters in 1969, he was framed up for the murder of a woman in Los Angeles. At the time, Pratt was in Oakland, California – 400 miles away. Suppressed government evidence would prove that fact and Pratt's innocence. Even a former FBI agent admitted simply that Geronimo Pratt had been set up. Like African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Pratt remains unbroken and has consistently refused parole based on admission of guilt.

The fight to free Geronimo Pratt has been actively taken up by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. All on the side of class justice, the trade union movement internationally, minorities and socialists must rally to demand freedom now for Geronimo Pratt! On 5 May,



Former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt in San Quentin prison, March 1985.

at his disposal. Geronimo Pratt must not fight alone!

On 21 February, over 200 trade union members, black and Hispanic activists, students and socialists demonstrated at Oakland's City Hall Plaza Park to Free Geronimo Pratt. Called by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Bay Area Labor Black League, the demonstration's wide support is a measure of the importance of this case. The rally was endorsed by over 60 unions. Phone workers from Communication Workers of America Local 9410 came with a union banner. Messages of support poured in from arrested

in workers' demands for Justice shows a degree of recognition that really frightens the manipulators of labor as they are helpless when faced with the raw awesome power of the worker... My freedom would be a victory and a statement that to be a militant fighter for black liberation is not to be a criminal."

Radio, television and newspaper media covered the demonstration and Spartacist spokesman Don Alexander was interviewed on a local black radio station the night before the rally. Of particular interest was the coverage by Radio Moscow. The Soviet Union has come to Pratt's defence against the vicious frame-up which put him in jail. On 24 February, the Soviet radio broadcast reported:

"In Oakland, California a demonstration has been held in support of a demand to free Geronimo Pratt and other political prisoners in the United States. A rally after the demonstration pointed out Geronimo Pratt, a leader of the Black Panther organisation, had been in jail for 16 years now, suffering for his political views. He was imprisoned on frame-up charges."

Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Janet McCullough John highlighted the fact that Geronimo Pratt's "freedom must be the cause of all who fight against oppression, not only because of the justice of his case and the crime of his continued imprisonment but for the memory of his fallen comrades – like Bunchy Carter in Los Angeles, like Bobby Hutton, gunned down here in Oakland at the age of 15.... Class struggle defense means using the power of the working class. It means labor action." The fight for Pratt's freedom takes place now in a climate of escalating racist mobilisations in the United States. Not only will justice be served by his freedom, but it will be an anti-racist victory for all the oppressed and exploited.

Spartacist League/US spokesman Don Alexander noted that the Black Panther Party inspired young militants because of their rejection of craven "Uncle Tom" politics. However, as "black nationalists, they

despaired of mobilizing the tremendous power of the organised, integrated labor movement, they were unable to link the struggle in the ghetto to the factories, to the power of the working class.... We, the Spartacist League, call for black liberation through socialist revolution."

While lacking a proletarian perspective, the Panthers were smashed by the US rulers because they were militant, committed fighters for black rights. The crimes of the FBI and police against these militants will not be avenged this side of victorious proletarian revolution. But winning Geronimo Pratt's freedom will be a step toward that goal and in human terms an enormous victory against bloody capitalist repression.

BUILD THE PDC'S CAMPAIGN TO FREE GERONIMO PRATT

The Partisan Defense Committee stands in the tradition of the International Labor Defense under the leadership of James P Cannon from 1925-28. The ILD based itself on the elementary principle: "an injury to one is an injury to all." During the miners strike, the PDC's appeal for "Aid to Striking British Miners' Families" raised \$23,000 and today it continues to send stipends on behalf of jailed miners Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland to the Miners Solidarity Fund. During the bitter 12-month long miners strike blacks and Asians were among the miners' foremost allies. Today workers organisations in this country have an obligation to join the fight for Geronimo Pratt's freedom.

Former Black Panther Bobby Seale has urged a letter-writing campaign on Pratt's behalf and more than 500 people have responded to the PDC's appeal to submit letters to the Court of Appeals and the California Parole Board demanding Pratt's release. As Karen Allen, one of the organisers of the 21 February rally told the audience of her visit to Geronimo Pratt in prison the day before:

"In the last few moments, you see his eyes, knowing that he's locked up – you're leaving, but he's not. You finally walk out of the prison and you know that man has got to be free, he's got to be outside organising with us. So he thanks all of you for your efforts. Let's keep fighting!"



Oakland, California, 21 February: Rally initiated by Partisan Defense Committee demands "Freedom now for Geronimo Pratt!"

Pratt's case comes up again before the California State Parole Board. He has recently won a hearing before the Federal Court of Appeals for a new trial.

Broad international support for this case is urgently necessary. The US racist state wants to keep Pratt behind bars. Its calculated destruction of the Black Panther Party was a stark example of state terrorism: Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were murdered in a pre-dawn raid as they slept. Pratt was sent to prison to rot. Instead, he has fought back with all the resources

Watsonville Strikers Committee member Chavelo Moreno, Bay Area transit union President Hank White, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 Business Agent Joseph Lindsay, veteran socialist and fighter for black liberation Richard Fraser, the Ujamaa Society of Atlanta University. Among the over 100 endorsers of the rally were former Black Panther leaders Bobby Seale, Bobby Rush and Kathleen Cleaver.

From San Quentin prison Geronimo Pratt sent this greeting:

"The fact of you coming together

We urge *Workers Hammer* readers to take up this case. Send letters and telegrams demanding freedom for Geronimo Pratt to: 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, US Courthouse, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94102, USA and California State Parole Board, District Parole Office, 759 South Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94110, USA. To continue this urgent fight, write to the Partisan Defense Committee, PO Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, USA.



Israeli soldiers terrorise Arab youth on occupied West Bank.

AFP

Unholy alliance of Israel, Syria, Shi'ite Amal



Shi'ite Amal slaughters Palestinians in West Beirut.

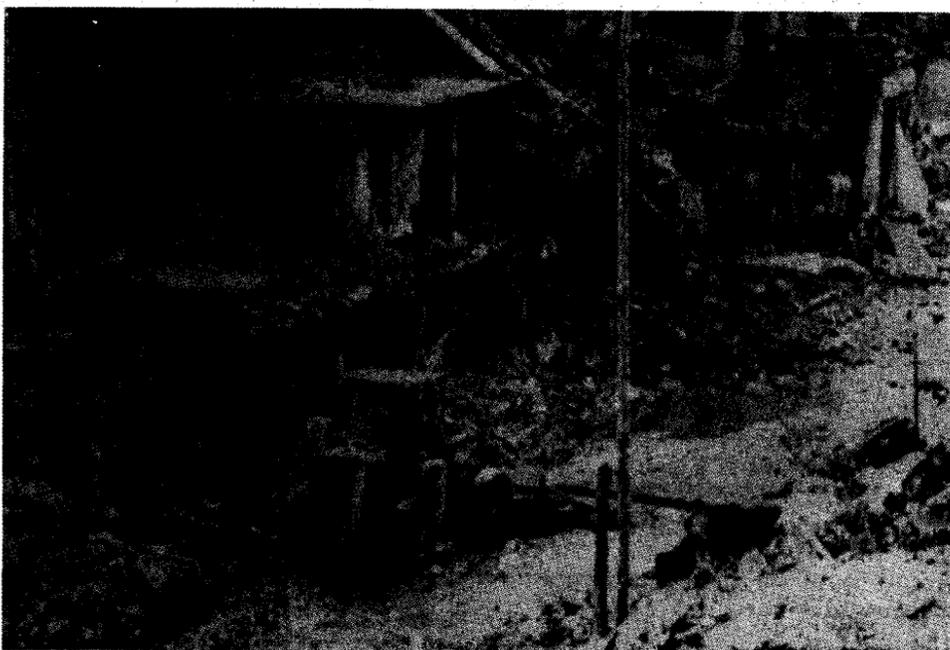
AFP

Palestinians under siege

For decades the Palestinian resistance has been hailed by Arab nationalists and their left cheerleaders around the world as the vanguard of the "Arab Revolution" against Zionism and imperialism. In reality, all the Arab governments - feudal monarchies or "radical" military regimes, pro-Western or Soviet client states - have betrayed the dispossessed Palestinian people and sought to crush their armed militants: the 1970 Black September massacre by Jordan's King Hussein; the 1976 siege of Tel Zaatar by Lebanese Christian Maronites backed by Ba'athist Syria; the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, when the entire Arab world stood by while the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) faced alone the full might of the Zionist war machine. Today, once again, the bloody events in both Lebanon and the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza highlight the unholy alliance of Western imperialism, Zionism and the Arab rulers against the Palestinian people.

During the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, imperialist-war criminal Henry Kissinger gloated:

"No Arab government has given more than verbal support to the embattled Palestinians, and even that lacked the traditional passion. Even Syria stood by passively until its own forces were directly attacked, and made a separate cease-fire while the PLO was being



Palestinian camp of Shatila in West Beirut - scene of Zionist genocide in 1982 - reduced to a few hundred square yards of rubble by Amal artillery.

AP

systematically destroyed." (*Washington Post*, 16 June 1982)

However, the Palestinian forces in Lebanon have since managed to regroup and grow, in part due to the Zionist state's savage repression in the West Bank and Gaza and continuing expulsion of Palestinians from their homeland. An estimated half of the 12,000 PLO commandos driven out of Lebanon in 1982 have since slipped back. However, the Shi'ite Amal, the main beneficiary to date of the Israeli invasion and subsequent pullback, is determined to prevent the restoration of Palestinian armed force in Lebanon. As a result there has been the grotesque spectacle of Shi'ites pounding the Palestinian camps with artillery fire and trying to starve them out, while Israel bombs them from the air and sea. And now Syria has sent its army into West Beirut to break the power of the PLO.

Amid the squalid communalist bloodletting in Lebanon, the struggle of the Palestinians for national justice is the one continuing social struggle which can legitimately claim the support of the world proletariat. Revolutionaries must support the Palestinian fighters defending the besieged camps. But backing the Palestinian cause does not mean political support for the PLO, whose petty-bourgeois nationalism has produced defeat after defeat for the Palestinian people. During the Israeli siege of Beirut in 1982, Arafat even called on the imperialist elite guard - the US marines, French legionnaires and Italian commandos - to disarm and

escort out of Lebanon the PLO's own fighters, leaving the Palestinian masses defenceless before the Israeli butchers and their Christian Maronite jackals. The Sabra/Shatila massacre, reminiscent of the Nazi Holocaust, was the direct result of Arafat's betrayal. Today, it is the Shi'ite Amal which is carrying on the Zionists' dirty work.

"WAR OF THE CAMPS" AND "WAR OF THE ALLIES"

The "war of the camps" began last September when Amal renewed its siege of Rashadiyah, a Palestinian camp near Tyre in southern Lebanon. The PLO fought back effectively, overrunning the Amal stronghold of Maghdusheh overlooking Sidon and carving out a six-square-mile "liberated zone" outside this strategic port of southern Lebanon, only 35 miles from the Israeli border. However, Amal, with its greater population base among Lebanon's 1.1 million Shi'ite Muslims, has placed a stranglehold around Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon and West Beirut. Besieged for five months, the 22,000 refugees at Rashadiyah have been forced to eat cats, dogs, donkeys. Even the grass is gone. Young Palestinian children who try to slip out to pick green plants are killed by Amal militiamen.

In West Beirut, the Shatila camp - where in September 1982 the Israelis organised the massacre of thousands of Palestinians by their Christian Maronite henchmen - is now reduced

to a few hundred square yards of rubble, its drinking water contaminated and typhoid running rampant. Amal's tanks stand near the mass grave where the victims of the earlier massacre are buried. Two-thirds of those killed and wounded are civilians. "The screaming of women and children is mixed with the moaning of the sick and wounded", exclaimed one Palestinian trapped in this camp of death. A woman who managed to flee the nearby Baraj al Barajinah camp recounted in horror:

"Famine is ungodly and wicked. The children were constantly screaming for food. When there was shelling I prayed to God to take us so we would not feel our hunger anymore." (*Washington Post*, 11 February)

Then, in mid-February, fighting broke out in Muslim West Beirut between Amal and the Lebanese Communist Party. The initial turf battle was followed by a wave of assassinations of top CPers (at least nine killed) and the kidnapping and murder of scores of party members. Shi'ite clerics reportedly issued religious edicts calling for the killing of all Communists in southern Lebanon. Lining up with the CP in the Beirut battles were the Druze militias of Walid Jumblatt and the pro-Khomeini Shi'ite Hezbollah (Party of God), which has itself gone after the CP in the past. This "war of the allies" pitted against each other forces which had fought together against the Maronite Christian Phalange in 1983 - becoming one more episode in the endless, shifting communalist civil war among the kaleidoscopic sectarian forces of Lebanon.

The entry of the Syrian army, 7000 strong, into West Beirut in late February will bring no respite for the starving Palestinian camps. On the contrary, while the declared purpose of the Syrian intervention was to stop the fighting between Amal and Druze forces, Damascus strongman Assad's real target is the PLO. For all his hardline rhetoric against Israel, from his 1976 Lebanese intervention (initially on the side of the Christian Maronites) to today, Assad's overriding aim has been to break up a "Fatahland" in Lebanon under the influence of PLO leader Arafat. As the astute Near East correspondent David Hirst wrote: "A new link-up between the besieged [Palestinian] camps and West Beirut was something that President Assad had to prevent at all costs" (*Guardian*, 23 February).

For good reason the PLO (now



Kara/Sipa

Syrian army intervention in West Beirut targets PLO.

headquartered in Baghdad, Iraq) denounced the Syrian move "since Syria is a basic party to the blockade of Palestinian refugee camps and the annihilation and starvation of thousands of our people there" (*New York Times*, 23 February). This was verified immediately when the first major move of the Syrian army in Beirut was to attack the Hezbollah, which for its own reasons had provided a certain buffer for the PLO camps. The only "peace" that the Syrian army will bring to Beirut is the peace of the dead. Only last December the Syrian army organised

munist party does not exist in Lebanon. The Lebanese CP is one of the oldest and relatively largest Communist parties in the Arab world. With a heavily Christian leadership and Shi'ite base, the Lebanese CP is uniquely placed to cut across the sectarian/communist divide. It is just about the only movement spanning the largely Shi'ite south Lebanon and the Christian/Sunni north, leading the trade-union movement and dominating several Christian towns before 1976. However, because of its Stalinist politics the Lebanese CP



In 1982, following Arafat's appeal, British, French, Italian and American troops disarmed PLO fighters in Beirut, leaving Palestinian masses defenceless in the face of Zionist/Phalangist terror.

the massacre of the Sunni fundamentalist Tawhid sect (a PLO ally of the moment), in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli. Today, after 12 years of all-sided communalist slaughter, a full-scale Israeli blitzkrieg and direct imperialist military intervention, Lebanon's cities look like they've experienced a small-scale nuclear war.

THE LEBANESE COCKPIT

The slaughterhouse called Lebanon is a classic product of colonial divide-and-rule policies. France, which along with Britain carved up the Ottoman Empire in the Near East after World War I, created a separate Lebanon in order to maintain a base of support among the Maronite Christian community which feared incorporation into a predominantly Muslim Greater Syria. The 1943 National Covenant imposed upon Lebanon a government in which the spoils were allotted along religious/communal lines with Christian Maronites on top and Muslims, especially Shi'ites, on the bottom. Adding fuel to the Lebanese tinderbox were the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who fled the Zionist terror by which the state of Israel was consolidated in 1948. Tens of thousands more poured into Lebanon after the 1970 Black September massacre in Jordan.

In the mid-'70s all the pressures from below finally blew apart the fragile Lebanese system, a bankers' republic whose rulers gorged themselves on oil money while keeping the masses in grinding poverty. Growing out of a series of strikes, and initially fuelled by legitimate grievances over Maronite domination, the brewing social explosion was transformed into a squalid communalist civil war by the traditional leaders of the Muslim camp, such as the hereditary chieftain of the Druze sect, Kamal Jumblatt. Had a revolutionary Marxist party stood at the head of the Lebanese Muslim and Palestinian toilers, it would have put forward a programme capable of attracting the have-nots in the Christian community, splitting and weakening the base of the fascistic Phalange and other reactionary Maronite forces. But a genuine com-

has tailed after the bourgeoisie for more than half a century, from abandoning the struggle for independence in the late 1930s and '40s to getting caught up in the maelstrom of communalism in the '70s and '80s. In the 1975-76 civil war it subordinated itself to Muslim confessionals like Jumblatt (who masquerades as the "Progressive Socialist Party") through the so-called Lebanese National Movement. And while it is the target of a Shi'ite murder campaign in Beirut and the south, in Tripoli the CP participated in the recent Syrian-engineered massacre of the Sunni Tawhid sect (which itself massacred scores of CPers three years ago).

The politics of the pro-Moscow Lebanese CP reflect the orientation of the rulers of the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Repudiating and fearing proletarian revolution in the Near East (as elsewhere), the Kremlin backs Arab nationalist regimes and movements who invariably end up at one another's throats. In fact, all of the combatants in the recent fighting in Beirut are armed with Soviet weapons! And while Moscow proclaims undying support to the Palestinian cause, it has publicly endorsed the entry of the Syrian army into West Beirut, designed to break the PLO.

FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN THE NEAR EAST!

While Amal militiamen try to starve out Palestinian camps in Lebanon, the Zionist state is escalating its reign of terror both in the Occupied Territories, seized by Israel in the 1967 war, and within Israel itself. In the West Bank last December Israeli soldiers opened fire on 200 students conducting a nonviolent protest. Two students were killed and at least eleven wounded. The following day the occupation troops struck again, murdering a 14-year-old boy, allegedly for throwing stones. A few days later a 12-year-old boy was found murdered, either by soldiers or clerical-fascist Israeli "settlers" who are issued automatic weapons by the army. The shootings were so viciously cold-blooded and obviously state-sponsored

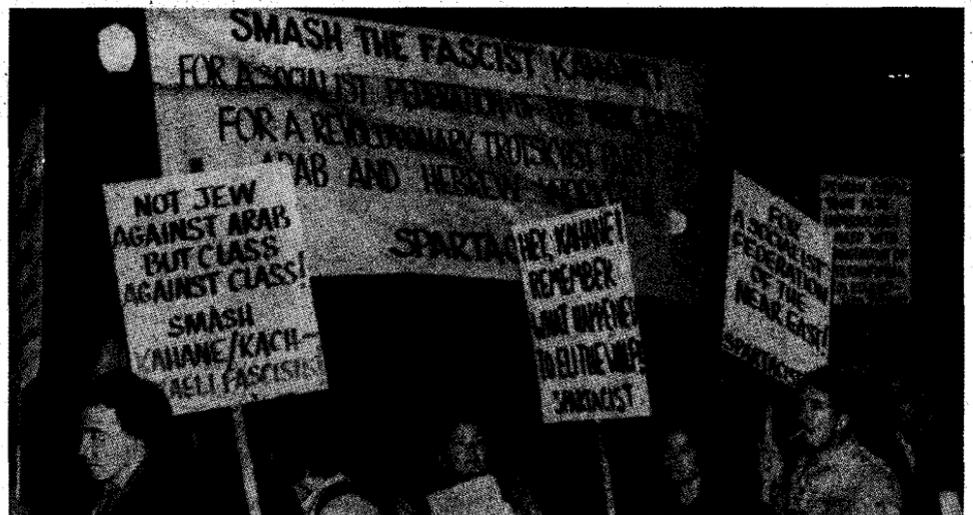
that even the UN Security Council condemned them 14-0 with the US abstaining.

West Bank protests soon spread to the occupied Gaza Strip where 550,000 Palestinians, half under the age of 15, live in an area 27 miles wide and five miles long. Here also Israeli soldiers and their "settler" auxiliaries fired at unarmed Palestinian youths, wounding many, but this did nothing to quell the spirited protests. The Palestinians in Gaza and the 700,000 on the West Bank are disenfranchised in their own land, like blacks under South African apartheid except that they have even fewer "rights". As the Zionist rulers have sought to transform Israel into a garrison state where the main industry is armaments, the "dirty" (ie, productive) work of construction, agriculture and transport is increasingly allocated to Palestinians, especially superexploited labour from the Occupied Territories.

Tens of thousands of workers are trucked in daily from these Zionist bantustans since they are not allowed to stay overnight in the "Jewish state". They pay income tax and social security, but receive no benefits—their payments go toward the costs of the military occupation! At least another 50,000, often mere children, are paid a pittance and are kept in locked huts overnight. Israeli civil rights fighter Israel Shahak, a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen death camp, noted that these Palestinian labourers are given cooked marrow to eat—the same food given to Jews in the Nazi concentration camps in the last year of the Third Reich! In an act of courageous working-class defiance of Israel's draconian martial law, in late February Gaza Palestinian carpenters (supported by Israeli trade unionists and civil rights

Israel gets \$3 billion a year from Uncle Sam, two-thirds of it in direct military grants. The revelation by Mordechai Vanunu that Israel has 100-200 nuclear warheads means that the Zionist rulers want the capacity to nuke not only every Arab capital but also Moscow and Leningrad. To justify itself and "unify" the nation, a garrison state like Israel must ever be on the brink of war. And the most likely Zionist target is Soviet-backed Syria. Meanwhile, Reagan has the US Sixth Fleet sitting off the coast of Lebanon and would very much like a military diversion. A war between Israel and Syria could rapidly escalate into nuclear world war, especially given Israel's sizable nuclear arsenal, urgently posing defence of the Soviet Union and the social gains of the October Revolution.

The Zionist state, carved out of the living body of the Palestinian Arab people, offers Jews not a haven but a deathtrap. Many Israelis do not want to live in a permanent armed camp ever on the brink of war...and not all of them can emigrate to drive taxicabs in New York City. Recently, a number of joint Palestinian Arab and Hebrew demonstrations have taken place despite increased repression on the part of the Israeli rulers. Defence of the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East requires a revolutionary struggle, with the working-class and its vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, that would smash the Zionist state, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon and sweep away the Hashemite kingdom in Jordan and bloody Ba'athist bonapartes in Syria. The right to self-determination for both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, if it is to lead to genuine



San Francisco — SL/US contingent in protest against Zionist fascist Meir Kahane.

fighters) formed a 400-strong union. As Iran/Contragate investigations show, Israel has placed itself in the forefront of the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive, doing its dirty work in the Third World. In return

national emancipation, and social progress, can only be realised in the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 424, 20 March 1987

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Racist reaction...

(Continued from page 1)

a change, came up one short. In the next weeks, 362 people were rounded up in a police dragnet. The Farm has been under police occupation for the last 18 months.

Cynthia Jarrett's son Floyd was present for the sentencing at the Old Bailey. "I went to school with Silcott", he said. "It is like killing my mother all over again" (*African Times*, 27 March).

With this overtly racist attack underway, black Labour politician Bernie Grant has led the way along with three others (all potential Labour MPs) to pledge a loyalty oath to Kinnock. Grant et al issued a blunt statement: "As parliamentary candidates our overriding interest is in getting Labour into government. Nothing can be allowed to stand in the way of this" (*Guardian*, 14 April). Grant's subservient performance shows how hollow is the illusion that a few black and Asian faces in parliament will further the fight against

told those calling simply for a public inquiry into Clinton McCurbin's killing to forget it, he denounced the protesters at Wapping, stating they deserved "to be treated as outcasts". In the unlikely event that he's elected as the next Prime Minister, Kinnock will need these cops for the same reason Thatcher needs them: to keep capitalist "order" against the struggles of the workers and oppressed. The last Labour government unleashed cop terror against anti-National Front protesters and instituted the vile racist "virginity tests" for Asian immigrant women.

In sick, racist capitalist societies such as this, the first and foremost victims of state repression are blacks, Asians, immigrants. When the miners strike posed the very real possibility of bringing Thatcher down through hard class struggle, among the miners' best allies were the inner-city minorities, particularly the youth. They could see in the miners fight a social power capable of taking on the vicious Tory government and its uniformed thugs. With the current array of electoral racism here, small wonder the Broadwater Farm Youth Association extended an invitation to Mikhail Gorbachev to visit the estate after hearing that Gorbachev criticised Thatcher for racism in Britain. And the National Front does not march in Moscow.

Irish people, too, rallied to the miners strike. They have been under the jackboot of British military occupation – most recently since Labour sent the troops in 1969. Many Irish Republicans would bitterly understand the use, for instance, of informers like Jason Cobham – bribed by the police with jobs, a flat and money to give false testimony in the Broadwater Farm show trials. And Metropolitan Police Commissioner Kenneth Newman cut his teeth in Palestine before graduating to a top cop job in Northern Ireland. As the *Caribbean Times* (27 March) noted in its lead article on Broadwater Farm "Revenge not Justice": "An obvious comparison exists with the cases of those innocent Irish people serving long sentences in British jails. They too were charged

shivers down Kinnock's spine as the spectre of the organised working class in alliance with the oppressed, fighting outside the confines of the electoral arena. That's what it will take to smash rampaging racism.

Just outrage has swept the minority communities in the wake of the Broadwater Farm show trial. Inchoate revulsion at the Labour Party is widespread. For instance, the *Black Voice*, publication of the Black Unity & Freedom Party, calls for a boycott of the elections. Its recent issue (vol 18, no 2) notes: "Most of the White Socialist, Feminist, and Black Nationalist groups have made a strategic alliance with the Labour Party. In other words – sold out." Even the Runnymede Trust report author warned that "If black people cannot influence the parties from within, and if they cannot get a response by taking their demands directly to them, their only recourse must be to despair or to take those demands on to the streets."

Despair is not a programme for victory and the numerically small black and Asian population in this country cannot by itself defend against the racist state or fascist thugs emboldened by it. Some of the most rabid Tories would no doubt like nothing better than a chance to try out the TSG against the next "uprising" provoked by cop terror.

But it wouldn't be so easy against union defence guards drawn from the integrated workforce of London Transport or car workers from the West Midlands or Ford Dagenham. Such integrated defence guards linked to the minority communities could turn the tide. To mobilise the power of the unions means waging a political struggle within them against the pro-Labour bureaucrats whose chief aim in life is to get Labour elected and eventually a seat for themselves in the House of Lords. Urgently necessary is the construction of an authentic Bolshevik party to break the working masses from the straitjacket of crawling Labour reformism, to split them from the Labour misleaders right and "left" and lead them in battle against the



Ford Dagenham workers on 1984 miners support march. For integrated union/minority mobilisation to smash racist terror!

Racist outrages have not been confined to the Broadwater Farm frame-ups:

- In January the cop Lovelock, whose near-fatal shooting of middle-aged black mother Cherry Groce left her paralysed for life and triggered the 1985 inner-city revolt in Brixton, was acquitted at the same Old Bailey;

- Not long after the Broadwater Farm convictions, a funeral procession wound its way slowly through the streets of Wolverhampton carrying the coffin of Clinton McCurbin, the young black man strangled by police on 20 February in a grisly act of racist terror. The mourning was intentionally South African-style.

Thatcher's racist boot boys have been given the green light.

Labour's Neil Kinnock already made it perfectly clear where he stood when he laid a wreath at Blakelock's grave. But Kinnock has gone much further than symbolic paeans to the cops – he is openly vying with Thatcher for votes from white racists. A recently issued report by the race relations charity Runnymede Trust examines the "return of the racist card" in the elections. Noting that the Conservatives "set the pace" with anti-immigrant hysteria, the report's author Marian Fitzgerald believed "the Labour leadership's decision to raise the public profile of its opposition to black sections movement since the Greenwich by election reflects an effort to stem a loss of white electoral support" (*Guardian*, 14 April).

Presently at least two prominent black women Labour politicians – Linda Bellos, head of the Lambeth Council and Sharon Atkin, parliamentary candidate in Nottingham East – are threatened with expulsion for attending a black sections rally. One senior member of the shadow cabinet threatened "I want these characters out and I don't even mind if we lose seats to the SDP in the process. It is an insidious disease that has been allowed to spread. It is political Aids" (*Sunday Times*, 12 April).

racist oppression. Eighteen months ago, Grant told the simple truth when he said that the cops in Tottenham had got a "bloody good hiding". But Kinnock/Hattersley et al have put the screws on for the election: now it's all the way with Kneel.

While Labour Party black sections are no answer for the oppressed, we certainly defend them against the witchhunting Labour leaders and their "left" covers like Grant. It speaks volumes about the dead-end of parliamentarism that Sharon Atkin is denounced and threatened with expulsion for the simple statement that she does "not want to be a parliamentary candidate if I cannot speak for black people". The threats against black section spokesmen are not merely grossly racist publicity stunts, but a clear warning to minorities in this country by Labour: expect more of the same from us.

FOR INTEGRATED WORKING-CLASS DEFENCE AGAINST RACIST ATTACK!

Racist reaction is part of the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive. Unable to employ, feed or house increasing numbers of workers and youth, the rulers increasingly turn to the use of naked force aimed at intimidating a bitter population into submission. Moves to bring back the noose have been temporarily defeated, but are waiting in the wings. Special units known as the Territorial Support Groups have been set up to deal with "public disorder" – Britain's version of a "third force" along the lines of the French paramilitary riot police, the CRS. The TSG were deployed against demonstrators at the Wapping anniversary protest in January, where police rioted – brutalising protesters, press, bystanders.

Kinnock has come down on the side of the cops in every major confrontation. He "violence"-baited the miners facing armies of scab-herding police, he honoured Blakelock, he



The Battle of Cable Street, 1936: Trade unionists, Jewish community defeated Mosley's fascists and cop protectors.

with crimes for which a scapegoat had to be found. They too were tried and convicted on the flimsiest of evidence in the midst of media hysteria."

The miners strike showed the potential for working-class struggle uniting broad sections of the population, breaking down traditional racial and sexual divisions. But the miners were defeated by the treachery of the same Labour traitors who embrace the cops, NATO, British imperialism in Ireland. Nothing sends

ever more vicious racist ruling class offensive.

Remember the victory against fascist scum at Cable Street in 1936 when upwards of 250,000 workers, including many Jewish and Irish workers, waged a day-long battle with thousands of police attempting to clear a path for Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. The BUF had attempted to march into the heavily Jewish East End of London. Wave after wave of charging cops

failed to break through the workers' barricades. In the end, the fascists were forced to retreat, defeated.

In 1982, over 5000 mostly black workers and youth similarly stopped a threatened Ku Klux Klan race-hate provocation in the streets of Washington, DC. A call for action was issued by the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK and significant union endorsement for the anti-Klan demonstration was decisive. The black bourgeois politicians like Washington mayor Marion Barry were implacably hostile to this show of black and proletarian determination to keep the white-hooded fascists off the streets. But southern black trade unionists were not about to sit by and watch the Klan terrorists parade through 70 per cent black Washington - for the first time since 1925. The Klan did not march; the anti-Klan protesters marched instead the route the KKK planned to march.

The Spartacist League/Britain has fought to bring the power of the union movement into the forefront against racist terror. In 1985 during the show trial of seven Asian youth from Newham, East London who defended themselves and their community against racist attack, our supporters in London Transport put forward a resolution calling for, in the event of conviction, "industrial strike action on LRT with the perspective of mobilising the labour movement London-wide in their defence and in outrage at their deliberate victimisation".

In contrast to such a class-struggle perspective, fake-revolutionary groupings gripped by election-time opportunist fever either apologise for, ignore or obscure the race question and their pal Kinnock's miserable stand. Elsewhere in this issue, we take up the example of the Workers Power group (see article, p 4). Its April issue contains an article devoted to Labour's racist record, retailed in some lurid detail. Their conclusion: "An organised fight to break Labour from this history of betrayal has to begin now. We must fight to make Labour honour its commitment to repeal the 1981 Nationality Act, and the Tory rules on visitors and refugees." No - the fight is to *split* the Labour Party and win the masses to the programme of socialist revolution. No vote to Judas Kinnock - enemy of the people. Smash racist oppression through proletarian revolution! ■

Morning Star...

(Continued from page 3)

backstabbing treachery against the NUM strike. At that time, in contrast, *Morning Star* was printing headlines claiming "Kinnock gives complete backing to miners' fight" (see graphic).

Which brings us to the heart of *Morning Star's* polemic, and of their political problem. "Rummager" complains that our attack on Kinnock is "less than fraternal". "Judas", "class traitor", "all-purpose scab" - no, no, no, says *Morning Star*, we've "never been afraid to criticise" Mr Kinnock, but unlike the Spartacists we do so "fraternally". After all, we want "unity" in "the movement".

Contrast some of Lenin's "less than fraternal" comments, for example a speech to the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1919: "... the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who

act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie". Or his demand from 1914 on for a sharp *split* with the social-democratic parties of the Second International. The problem, we suspect, is that a goodly number of CCG supporters would agree that Neil Kinnock is a "reactionary" who "acts quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie". Except this is not the line of *Morning Star*.

Ever since the irreversible degeneration of the Third International in the 1930s the Stalinist Communist parties have been characterised by a bankrupt search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. In the thirties the CPs in France and Spain formed popular front alliances with the social democrats and "left" bourgeois parties, with disastrous consequences for the proletariat. In Britain the CP allied with Churchill during World War II, and since the war "peaceful coexistence" has mainly taken the form of grotesque tailism towards the Labour/TUC misleaders. The various versions of the "British Road to Socialism" have codified this in a search for a Labour-led "left" parliamentary government which can open a road towards socialism (no "old-fashioned" Leninist ideas about smashing the existing bourgeois state and replacing it with a workers state through socialist revolution).

When they broke with the Eurocommunists, the future CCG leaders claimed they were fighting for "class politics". Now they pen many an article denouncing the Euros for scabbing on the Soviet Union, and for effectively advocating a vote to the bourgeois SDP and Liberals in the next elections. But the politics of Eurocommunism, in Britain as elsewhere, are only a logical end product of Stalinism. In 1938 Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October Revolution and founder of the Red Army, wrote of the "centrifugal nationalist tendencies within the Comintern". Instructed to seek allies among their own bourgeoisies, "Each one of its sections will begin to evolve a patriotic policy on its own account... Henceforth the Com-muno-chauvinists will have to worry about their own hides, whose interests by no means always coincide with the 'defence of the USSR'" ("A fresh lesson", *Writings 1938-39*).

While the Eurocommunists chase David Owen, *Morning Star* can ultimately only counterpose Neil Kinnock. (Meanwhile, the sometime pretend "left" critics of the "Leninist" group have become consistent bloc partners of the right-wing Euros against *Morning Star*.) For all its criticisms, the *Morning Star* line ends up being: "Labour has policies which are in the interests of the working class" (13 April). It peddles illusions in "democratic accountability" of the racist police. It refuses to call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. And, taking its cue from the Kremlin bureaucracy, it preaches dangerous illusions in "disarmament" under capitalism. Thus the 2 April issue advises participants in this month's CND demonstration: "The banners and posters carried on the march should shout out the message. Sign now to get rid of the Cruise, Pershing, and SS-20 missiles." Surely it must stick in the throats of many *Morning Star* supporters to carry slogans against Soviet SS-20s.

"Who stands to gain?", asks "Rummager" in the insinuating conclusion to his anti-Spartacist polemic. Let's shift the question. Who stands to gain from the campaign to put Judas Kinnock into Number Ten? Certainly not the working class and oppressed,

Down with anti-Tamil terror! No deportations!



Spartacist Canada

Demonstrations in London (right) and Toronto, Canada protest against racist reaction and anti-Tamil terror. Our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada initiated a 25 March protest, to which several British NUM members sent greetings. On 4 April Spartacist League members joined a protest called by the Eelam Solidarity Campaign. An SL spokesman attacked Thatcher's support to the Sri Lanka regime, upheld the right to Tamil Eelam, and called for joint class struggle by Tamil and Sinhalese workers. Full asylum for all Tamils facing communalist terror! No deportations!



Workers Hammer

The real conclusion of the *Morning Star* polemic is a sort of warning to leftist-inclined CCG supporters: if you take your gut impulses of Soviet-defencism and anti-Kinnock class struggle to the logical conclusion, you'll end up like the Spartacists. To which we can only say: yes. ■

Hatfield Main...

(Continued from page 3)

utilising similar anti-communist tactics in an attempt to seal off their members from a revolutionary criticism of Labourite policies. In a short time they have gone from advocating bans on South African coal to promulgating bans on the Spartacist press - the one pro-working class, pro-Soviet press in this country that *refuses from a class-struggle perspective to advocate support to Labour traitor Kinnock*.

Dunscroft miners were among the first regular readers of our newspaper in the coalfields. This was initiated at the time when the Spartacist League exposed the red-baiting attack of Gerry Healy's *Newslines* on Arthur Scargill at the Blackpool TUC when the NUM leader correctly said that Polish Solidarnosc was anti-socialist. During the heroic 12-month coal strike, the Hatfield miners and their wives proved to be among the most stalwart defenders of the union. Their efforts were defeated because of the backstabbing pro-scab line of the Labour Party and TUC chieftains. Notably those trade union leaders (like Chapple and Hammond of the EETPU) who most vociferously red-baited the NUM were also the most zealous in ordering their members to cross the miners' picket lines. Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism inevitably undermine union struggles. The Spartacist League fights for the forging of a revolutionary workers party, through exposing and splitting the Labour Party.

At one time Dave Douglass, despite political differences with us,

spoke out admirably against those who would witchhunt genuine communists. In 1983 Sheffield council head David Blunkett, who has long since become a hatchet man for Kinnock but who at the time posed as a "left" Labourite, attempted to bait us as CIA agents. Douglass defended us against this outrageous smear. Over the past three years Douglass has frequently facilitated the distribution of the press of the international Spartacist tendency to miners in his area. Indeed, our press has contained a number of lively exchanges of political views with Douglass.

James P Cannon, one of the pioneer American Communists and founder of American Trotskyism, pointed out more than once that exclusion of communists benefits only the bosses. Referring to the connivance of officials of the newly-emergent coalminers union, the Progressive Miners of America (PMA), with a company-instigated anti-red witchhunt in 1933, Cannon wrote:

"The progressive character of the union...cannot be maintained if it permits the hounding of communists. At the present stage this is precisely the crux of the problem of the PMA. What is a progressive union for if it allows the operators to dictate the opinions of the membership? An open fight for the right of all political opinions - including communists - to participate freely in the life of the union is the only way to reply to the attack of the reactionary press." ("Red-Baiting in the Illinois Mine Fields", 29 April 1933, reprinted in *The Communist League of America 1933-34*)

The Hatfield Main NUM leadership, in constituting itself as a Labourite thought police, has taken a dangerous and backwards step that bodes no good for the interests of coalminers. This policy must be reversed! Miners from Dunscroft and throughout the coalfields must firmly take a stand for workers democracy and repudiate this ban on the communist press. ■

Gorbachev...

(Continued from page 12)

including the Democratic as well as the Republican Party. "Arms control" honcho Adelman summed up the immediate aims of the "Reagan doctrine": force Moscow to end "the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the continuation of military support of regimes in Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua" (*Washington Post*, 13 November 1986). In other words, the arms race is being used as a means of pressure on Russia to surrender Afghanistan to the CIA-armed Islamic fanatics, abandon the heroic Vietnamese people who inflicted upon

leader declared:

"Before my people, before you and before the whole world, I state with full responsibility that our international policy is more than ever determined by domestic policy, by our interest in concentrating on constructive endeavors to improve our country." (*Moscow News*, 1 March)

For the last decade, US imperialism has tried to browbeat, threaten or trick the Soviet Union into retreating from the international scene. No wonder this statement was greeted by Washington.

While Gorbachev certainly hasn't given up on Reagan, he is also appealing to out-of-office Western

leader, liberal Soviet dissident Zhores Medvedev notes that the Brezhnev regime played up its international successes, from the US defeat in Vietnam to aiding nationalist regimes in Africa and revolutionary movements in Latin America. By contrast, Medvedev writes approvingly: "if Gorbachev's foreign policy intentions are to be judged by the new Party programme, there will be less ideological expansion of the USSR in future, compared to what was promised in previous programmes.... The programme promises solidarity and cooperation with the 'Newly-Free Countries', but no new substantive help" (*Gorbachev* [1986]).

Not all Soviet actions abroad in

side, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissible" (*New Times*, 10 March 1986). The wars now being fought by the Vietnamese in Kampuchea, the Soviet army in Afghanistan, the Cubans in Angola and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua are resistance to the export of counter-revolution. There probably are people in the Soviet hierarchy who are less willing than Gorbachev to sell out Vietnam or Afghanistan for the sake of better relations with Washington. However, the answer to Gorbachev's version of "peaceful coexistence" is not support to more hardline elements in the Kremlin, who will betray and weaken the defence of the Soviet Union in other ways.

The answer is the organisation of the workers of the world by an international revolutionary party to overthrow the war-driven capitalist system. And here the spectre of Trotskyism really does haunt the Soviet bureaucracy. Witness a revealing article by one Nikolai Vasetski in the Moscow-based *America Latina* (no 3, 1986) which polemicalises against an article in *Workers Vanguard* ("Carter/Reagan Nuclear War Fever", *Workers Vanguard* no 264, 19 September 1980):

"On the cardinal question of the day - defence of the USSR against imperialist aggression - the Trotskyists of the United States consider that Trotskyism is distinguished both from petty-bourgeois pacifism as well as reformism and centrism, because it recognizes the fact that the 'Euromissiles' are aimed at the Soviet Union.

"But after recognizing this obvious fact, they draw the following conclusion: in order to defend the USSR it is necessary to carry out a permanent world revolution. The American Trotskyists are against all disarmament that isn't undertaken by the workers themselves. In their press organ they say that 'the possible destruction of the world by the missiles and other components of the imperialist war



DPA

Haqiqat Enqelab Sawer

CIA-armed Islamic cutthroats in Afghanistan shoot schoolteachers for teaching young girls to read (left). At right: Soviet soldiers in Kabul. Hail Red Army in Afghanistan - Extend social gains of Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan peoples!

American imperialism the greatest defeat in its history, let the racist butchers in South Africa take over Angola, and cut off support to Sandinista Nicaragua against Reagan's contras.

For the imperialists, a key test of Gorbachev's "desire for peace" is his willingness to abandon Afghanistan, on the southern border of the USSR, to "freedom fighters" who shoot school-teachers for teaching young girls to read. Gorbachev has called the war in Afghanistan a "bleeding wound" and repeatedly declared his intention to withdraw all Soviet troops in a relatively short time. Perhaps the Afghan army - trained by the Russians and bolstered by popular support for land to the tiller and other democratic measures - can mop up the *mujahedin* scum by itself. But there appears to be an increasing danger that the new Soviet leadership will sell out Afghanistan for the illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with Washington. After a meeting with Gorbachev last month, Henry Kissinger wrote:

"I had arrived in Moscow persuaded that the Soviet Union would never permit the overthrow of a regime established by Soviet power....I am no longer so sure. Our Soviet hosts emphasized their desire for total withdrawal. They also affirmed the goal of a government of national reconciliation that would include representatives of the guerrilla groups." (*Newsweek*, 2 March)

We Trotskyists say: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan - Extend the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution to Afghan peoples!

GORBACHEV, SAKHAROV AND THE GLITTERATI

The Kremlin bureaucracy has preached and tried to practise "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism ever since Stalin, with his reactionary, nationalist theory of "socialism in one country". And the Gorbachev regime has played this theme over and over. Addressing the assembled celebrities at the "no nuke" extravaganza in Moscow last month, the new Soviet

politicians, capitalists and media stars (the "glitterati"). His effort to sponsor a global popular front for "peace" was launched in mid-February with a "Forum for a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity." There were 250 businessmen, 215 clergymen, hundreds of scientists and a slew of retired NATO generals. For a few days this winter Moscow was the "in" place to be for the jet set.

Aside from Gorbachev, the other superstar at this "peace" forum was Andrei Sakharov, a man who had urged the US to deploy the MX missile (an acknowledged first-strike weapon) and to economically blackmail the Soviet Union into withdrawing from Afghanistan. Before releasing Sakharov from comfortable internal exile in Gorky last December, Gorbachev may have managed to turn him from his patrons in Washington. At the Moscow conference Sakharov spoke out against Reagan's "Star Wars" and applauded the new Soviet leader. However, he also spoke for Soviet collaboration with imperialism to maintain the global status quo:

"There must be a settlement of regional conflicts on the basis of compromise and restoration of stability wherever it has been disrupted. Support for destabilizing and extremist forces and all terrorist groups should be ended." (*Time*, 16 March)

"Terrorist groups" are what Reagan and his racist allies call national liberation movements around the world. The white supremacist rulers of South Africa label the African National Congress a "terrorist group"; the Zionists say the same of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. To its credit, the Soviet Union has provided arms for the ANC and PLO. Sakharov's talk of "regional stability" means abandoning South African blacks and Palestinian Arabs in order to restore the stability of two of the most murderous, racist states on earth.

Sakharov's latest pronouncements wouldn't be all that important except they converge with Gorbachev's line. In his biography of the new Soviet

the name of "socialist solidarity" serve the cause of social progress and national justice. In particular, we strongly condemn the Kremlin's support to Ethiopia's Haile Miriam Mengistu, a left-talking Idi Amin who has crushed the nascent workers movement, exterminated an entire generation of radical intellectuals and committed genocidal terror against the Eritreans and other national minorities. But the NATO capitals are not much concerned about the Moscow-Addis Ababa connection. The imperialists are concerned about stopping the limited Soviet support to revolutionary and national liberation struggles from Southeast Asia to Central America.

THE SPECTRE OF TROTSKYISM

Gorbachev's "peace offensive" is not a cynical ploy to gain the favour of Western public opinion, nor is it motivated simply by a desire to free up economic resources now expended on the arms race. The Soviet bureaucracy is genuinely frightened of nuclear war, and rightly so. They also reflect the mass sentiment of the people of the Soviet Union in a deep-seated, desperate desire for peace. But there is also a sense among elements in the Soviet officialdom, intelligentsia and working people that appeasement, capitulating to the "Reagan doctrine", or allowing US imperialism to isolate and starve heroic Vietnam and take over Afghanistan are *not* the road to peace. In a broadcast from Moscow last month, American TV talk-show host Phil Donahue had a wide-ranging discussion with scores of Soviet youth on god, Communism, nuclear war - and couldn't get a single one to condemn Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as unjust.

Gorbachev sees Trotskyism behind any opposition to his headlong drive for "peaceful coexistence" with Reagan. At the Communist Party congress in February 1986, he denounced "revolutionary wars" as a "Trotskyite" heresy and went on: "Today, too, we are firmly convinced that pushing revolutions from out-



Workers Vanguard

Spartacists protest Cold War television series *Amerika* in Washington, DC, 15 February.

machine can only be averted by the worldwide victory of the working class'....

"Disarmament' Trotskyist-style is a fig leaf to cover very different objectives for the Trotskyist leaders: to present Trotskyism as the far left pole of the antiwar movement (opposed to the supposedly reformist program of the Communists) in order to attract those workers whose class consciousness doesn't suffice to quickly understand the Trotskyist ideology."

It is perhaps no accident that a Stalinist polemic which admits that

Trotskyism can attract revolution-ary-minded workers appears in a publication directed at Latin America. For in this part of the world hatred for Yankee imperialism runs very deep and is near universal. "Peaceful coexistence" with Washington means Pinochet's torture chambers, Central American death squads and Citibank sucking the life-blood of the workers and peasants. At the same time, a victory for US imperialism in its "backyard" would spur on the war drive against the Soviet Union. Truly, as we have proclaimed, "Defence of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!" And a socialist revolution in Latin America would send massive shock waves to the imperialist colossus to the North, panicking Wall Street and electrifying the millions of Hispanic workers in America's factories and farms.

While Reagan is on the rocks, the thermonuclear-armed ruling class he represents is still in the saddle. The fate of the homeland of the October Revolution, the emancipation of the oppressed and toiling masses, and the very survival of humanity are inseparably bound to working-class revolution in the dominant imperialist countries, above all the United States. World revolution is no utopia but the only reality which can disarm the Pentagon. Lenin himself authored the plank of the 1919 programme of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) which denounced "disarmament under capitalism" as a "reactionary philistine illusion of the petty-bourgeois democrats", calling instead for "arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeoisie" and achieving victory over the capitalists "both in civil wars at home and in international revolutionary wars".

What Trotsky wrote in 1940, when Stalin was trying to appease Nazi Germany, retains its full force today as imperialism is preparing a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union:

"The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle.... We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brainchild of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! ■

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 424, 20 March 1987.

Anti-Soviet show...

(Continued from page 1)

arms negotiations. The hypocrisy was predictably staggering. Botha in South Africa is a typical jewel in the imperialists' "human rights" crown. As *Pravda* noted, the Soviet Union "has no political lessons to learn from the leaders of a country where millions of black people are relegated to the class of second rank citizens". The Soviet press had some unkindly things to say about Britain's "human rights" record in Ireland, too.

An *Asian Times* (3 April) editorial noted:

"As for the 'free movement of people and ideas' Mrs Thatcher cannot explain how this applies to the refusal to allow visitors from a number of socialist countries to come to Britain, to the discriminatory visa requirements imposed on visitors from Third World countries, to the divided families in Britain's Asian community..."

That Thatcher is still in Downing Street is testimony to the treachery of the Labour Party and TUC leadership. Her government could have been brought to its knees during the bitter twelve-month-long miners strike. But the Kinnock team stepped in to knife that heroic class battle. When the Soviet press first dubbed Thatcher the Iron Lady it was a recognition that she is an implacable foe of the working class and of Soviet Russia.



Sleepy and Dopey: NATO-lover Kinnock flops in Washington, again.

To be sure, she would not dare a media-blotz walkabout in an East London housing estate, or in the ravaged mining villages of South Wales, the working-class communities in Liverpool or Glasgow - let alone Northern Ireland.

As for Kinnock, the trip stirred controversy mostly on why he bothered to go to the US again. Heads of government have been postponing visits to Washington in the face of the scandals that have wracked the Reagan administration. Kinnock's last visit to the States in December was a fiasco, though then he was meeting the supposedly more sympathetic Democratic Party types. The Trotskyists in America, our comrades of the Spartacist League/US, gave Kinnock the welcome he deserved - picketing this "class traitor, race-hater, anti-Soviet strikebreaker."

Only the most unctuous desire to please Washington could justify Kinnock's second trip. It was manifestly a flop, a failed electoral stunt that exposed Kinnock again as the servile toady he is (and an aspiring toady of Ronald Reagan to boot). Before leaving Kinnock promised not to do anything about Cruise missiles as long as "disarmament" talks were going on. CIA-lover Denis Healey, the man who really runs Labour's defence and foreign policy, spelled it out in *Foreign Affairs* magazine. There would be "no time limit" on the removal of nuclear missiles and "No Labour government would allow itself to risk the disintegration of the Alliance." The vital intelligence and communications systems such as the radar unit at Fylingdales would not be touched and nuclear-armed US naval vessels would be welcomed to British ports. Healey explained that cancelling Trident alone would allow a Labour government to pay for 1400 new Challenger tanks, 30 new frigates or 10 new squadrons of Tornado aircraft - "making the RAF by far the biggest air force in Nato Europe" (*Guardian Weekly*, 12 April).

Thus armed, and with an election looming, Kinnock trooped off to Washington - desperate and traitorous enough to have hoped to get Reagan's OK. The Reaganites debated even whether to extend the minimal diplomatic protocol of a twenty-minute audience. When the event finally took place, Reagan mistook Healey for the British ambassador, even though the latter was standing nearby. Old Bonzo mumbled, needing his cue cards and prompting by chief of staff Baker. And he kept nodding.

Since he apparently has trouble staying awake at the best of times, it would perhaps be unfair to blame this on the soporific qualities of the Labour windbag. And we won't insult Reagan's Irish forebears by wondering if there are any hidden links to the royal family. No sooner did Kinnock and Healey emerge to paint a rosy picture of the meeting than the White House went out of its way to undercut them.

From another angle, the Soviet bureaucrats betrayed the interests of the Soviet and British masses by allowing Thatcher to pull her counter-revolutionary grandstanding stunts. She was portrayed even as a possible partner for "peace", starkly exposing the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. This pipedream is a deadly threat to the defence of the Soviet workers state. The war-crazed imperialists will not cease their 70-year-long campaign to regain all they lost when the October Revolution ripped a sixth of the globe from their clutches. It is only through the smashing of imperialism from *within* by victorious proletarian revolution that humanity will be free of the prospect of anti-Soviet thermonuclear World War III. If it were not for the Soviets' nuclear arms, Vietnam and Cuba might long ago have been reduced to irradiated rubble by the imperialists' nuclear arsenal. Smash NATO - Defend the USSR against imperialism!

We Trotskyists call for a return to the road of Lenin and the revolutionary Communist International. Under Lenin and Trotsky, Moscow welcomed the militants who rallied to the Russian Revolution, despised their "own" bourgeoisies and dedicated themselves to building the world party of socialist revolution. As a state power, the young Soviet workers state naturally was compelled to deal with representatives from the imperialist powers to conclude temporary pacts and engage in negotiations. But in doing so, it always spoke the bitter truth to the workers of the world and actively sought to aid the construction of revolutionary parties in the capitalist countries. It will require proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union to make Moscow and Leningrad revolutionary centres once again. Defend the Soviet Union through world revolution! ■

Workers Power...

(Continued from page 4)

fence of imperialism" and for "an end to defence secrecy". Something is missing here ... a *side* in the war drive against the Soviet workers state. And the omission is no slip of the typewriter.

Inexorably, failure to defend Russia against the Cold Warriors means capitulating to one's "own" bourgeoisie and the "democratic" pretences of imperialism. In this country, that takes the form of providing "left" cover for the bourgeois workers

party, Labour. So Workers Power increasingly throws its meagre forces into constituency Labour parties, obligingly provides a platform for aspiring MPs and councillors, and conveniently "forgets" about defence of the Soviet Union. From Ted Grant to Sean Matgamna and many more, this is a well-worn path for British would-be leftists.

WHITHER WORKERS POWER?

The end result is a social-democratic, Labourite pressure group. Already *Workers Power* is providing openly revisionist rationales for its march in this direction. Take this, from its March issue: "vote Labour, formulate and fight for demands that can force Labour to act in the interests of the working class, and organise to fight against Labour's inevitable betrayals". Or, even more bald, from an article in the same issue supporting the tiny Irish Labour Party: "Now more than ever, organised workers need to be able to control the reformist politicians who claim to represent them."

Force Labour to act in workers' interests? Control the reformist politicians? Contrast Lenin's call, more than seventy years ago:

"The building of a revolutionary organisation must be begun...but it can be begun only *over the heads* of the old leaders, the stranglers of revolutionary energy, *over the heads* of the old party, through its *destruction*" ("The Collapse of the Second International", September 1915, emphasis in original).

There is not a hint of Leninism in WP's Kinnock-loving broadsheets, but more than a whiff of social democracy. Meanwhile internationally WP is fishing in various murky waters for fake-Trotskyist bloc partners, including a dubious clot of embittered ex-members of the Spartacist tendency in America, the misnamed Bolshevik Tendency (BT). Bon appetit, comrades!

Here's one example of the BT at work: at the recent Oakland, California demonstration demanding freedom for America's foremost class-war prisoner Geronimo Pratt, the BT insulted every participant by "donating" one US dollar to the defence fund. From the podium, the BT was instructed to keep its dollar, indeed to stuff it in the appropriate place. But there is a political logic here: the BT "unjustly" quit the Spartacist League/US because of our defence of black rights and the Soviet Union against Reagan reaction. Formally, the BT is to the left of Workers Power on, for example, Poland, but that shouldn't interfere with the sort of unprincipled combinationism that passess in both groups for "international regroupment". (Hint: WP will have an opportunity to discuss international politics with the only grouping we know of which has discovered a "white question" in South Africa.)

The swamp of anti-Soviet Labourism is full of ex- or pretend-Trotskyist grouplets. Gripped by election hysteria, the Workers Power group is today deep into this mire, up to its neck and sinking. For those who really don't fancy being foot soldiers for Kinnock, who want to fight for proletarian revolution, to break the working class from the Labour traitors right and "left", to defend the Soviet Union against rapacious imperialism, to fight as a tribune of the oppressed, we say: forget poll panic mongers, fight for Trotskyism! Look to the programme of the Spartacist League, which uniquely and forthrightly says: Down with Judas Kinnock! ■

As war-mad Reagan goes down the tubes...

Gorbachev's pipe dream: peace with imperialism

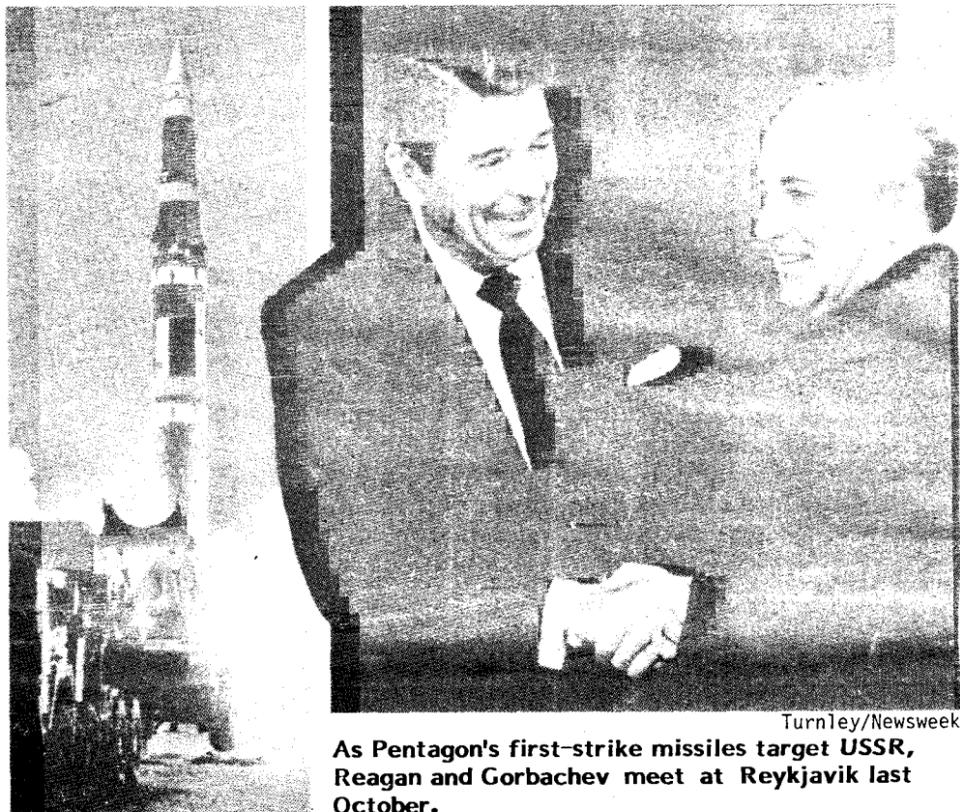
**Defend the Soviet Union
through world revolution!**

The American Tower Commission report showed the entire world what was always perfectly clear to everyone with eyes to see: Ronald Reagan is an idiot and a liar. Battered by the Iran/Contra revelations, the US president now twists slowly in the wind. Meanwhile his European Cold War partners worry and wonder week after week whether the NATO Commander-in-Chief is still capable of governing. For them as well, the situation at home is far from bright. In Paris the Chirac/Mitterrand government has been derailed by the student and railwaymen's strikes of early winter. To the south, Spain remains in the throes of major worker and student unrest. Even Iron Lady Thatcher, already a hate object throughout working-class and inner-city communities, is more and more distrusted by an establishment worried by her brutality and her inability to stop the collapse of British capitalism. Now is the time for workers and the oppressed to strike back, to launch a counteroffensive against the crisis-racked regimes of NATO imperialism.

Instead, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev holds out his hand to the rabid warmonger Reagan as a partner in securing "world peace". *Business*

Week magazine (16 March) breathed a sigh of relief: "Just as the Iran-contra scandal was laying waste to the Reagan Presidency, the leader of the 'evil empire' held out the promise of an arms-control breakthrough on medium-range weapons in Europe." Kenneth Adelman, a hardliner of the Reagan administration, crowed that the latest Soviet offer "shows that the Russians have not given up on President Reagan". Not only has Gorbachev not given up on Reagan, he has given in to him. The latest Soviet "arms control" proposal is the very same one Reagan made in 1981 when NATO was about to deploy the Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, a first-strike weapon eight minutes flying time from Moscow.

Washington's so-called "zero option" was so one-sidedly advantageous to NATO forces, it was designed to be rejected by Moscow. And the Russians did reject it, then. They pointed out the "zero option", while calling for the removal of almost 500 Soviet missiles in exchange for a promise not to deploy US Pershing and cruise missiles, did not touch the British and French missiles targeted on their cities, nor did it affect US submarine-launched missiles in European waters. At the Reykjavik summit



Taylor/Sygma

As Pentagon's first-strike missiles target USSR, Reagan and Gorbachev meet at Reykjavik last October.

the Soviets insisted that a "Euromissile" deal depended on limiting Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme; now they have dropped even that condition. One of the US negotiators who first proposed the "zero option", Spurgeon Keeny, says the latest Soviet offer "is a far better deal than anyone would have prophesied" (*New York Times*, 4 March).

But all these negotiating moves, the endless offers and counteroffers at Geneva or Reykjavik, in no way reduce the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind. "Arms control" is a hoax which in fact serves to stimulate the development of new weapons systems. The NATO powers will not give up or limit any weapons unless they can be replaced by comparable or more effective ones. The Soviet Union should build and acquire whatever weapons it considers necessary without being encumbered by "arms control" agreements with its implacable imperialist enemy.

Look at the 1972 SALT I treaty, which the Kremlin bureaucracy holds up as a model "arms control" agreement. Visiting the US not long after this treaty was signed, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev declared: "The quarter-century period of the Cold War is now giving way to relations of peace, mutual respect and cooperation between the states of the East and West." Superficially, the SALT agreement froze the number of missiles on both sides. However, Nixon/

Kissinger insisted on exempting the number of warheads which could be placed on a missile. In the decade following the SALT I treaty, the Pentagon simply multiplied the number of warheads per missile, increasing its nuclear arsenal to the tune of three a day! So much for arms control and detente.

IMPERIALISTS EXPORT COUNTERREVOLUTION

Rabid warmonger Richard Pipes, formerly Soviet "expert" for Reagan's National Security Council, recently wrote: "Even a good [missile] deal would be a mistake, for the root of the problem is not nuclear weapons" (*New York Times*, 10 October 1986). No, the root of the matter is a revolution and counterrevolution. Pipes makes no secret of his goal to overthrow the collectivised economy of the Soviet Union - the product of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution - and restore "free market" capitalism. However, the Soviet Union is too strong militarily and the loyalty of its people too deep for Western imperialism to risk a direct assault. Instead the strategy is to attack on the periphery of Soviet power. In the 1950s John Foster Dulles called this "rollback". Today it's called the "Reagan doctrine" for exporting counterrevolution.

But the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union is bipartisan,

continued on page 10



Workers Hammer

"Peace-loving" imperialism? One year ago Reagan/Thatcher launched criminal terror bombing of Libya. Spartacist League protested outside US Embassy in London.