



Reinstate GCHQ trade unionists! Smash the ban on Sinn Fein! Hard class struggle can turn the tide



19 October: Outraged demonstrators (above) outside Downing Street mock draconian gag by state terrorists Thatcher and Hurd (right) on all media appearances by representatives of Sinn Fein and IRA.



Newsweek

Labour kneels before Thatcher's offensive

Thatcher's bonapartist appetites have been unleashed in a recent flurry of draconian government measures. These span the gamut from press freedom to civil liberties, trade union rights to the imposition of "loyalty oaths" for local election candidates, the extension (codename: "reform") of the Official Secrets Act. Each by itself is grossly anti-democratic, but taken together and in context, this nasty package constitutes a breathtaking expansion of government and police powers. Even the pro-apartheid regime Johannesburg *Citizen* (22 October) gleefully opined that the ban on Sinn Fein shows "that the South African Government is not alone in imposing restrictions that may be displeasing to opposition parliamentarians and civil rights leaders, but which are considered necessary in the battle against internal strife".

In preparation for social struggles to come, Thatcher is strengthening the prerogatives of her "strong state". Furthermore, the link between "rough justice" and "shoot-to-kill" in

Northern Ireland and these measures is evident. Whipping up the "terror scare" is meant, short term, to divert attention from the fact that the SAS committed cold-blooded murder in Gibraltar and that everyone knows the government lied through its teeth. In a broader sense, the massive show of security – for instance at the Conservative Party conference in Brighton – and the invoking of ever-more-shadowy "national security" concerns is the cover for a strengthening of authoritarian powers against the whole of the British population.

So there is both an immediate conjuncture (Gibraltar being part) and a long-term appetite by the vicious Tory regime in the present assault on democratic rights and increased repressive legislation aimed at emasculating the trade unions. It is certainly no accident that the crackdown on the press came hard on the heels of the (long-delayed) Gibraltar inquest and the frenzied government attempt to proscribe the screening of Thames Television's *Death on the Rock*. Fail-

ing that, it has decided to drag the Thames journalists into an "inquiry" on the programme, after an orchestrated campaign to smear the expose as full of lies, if not downright "terrorist propaganda". Just to make sure that subsequent embarrassing – and rare – occurrences of investigative journalism don't stray the course, Home Secretary Hurd's ban has been slapped on the media.

There has been much back-and-forth over the actual implementation by a mostly prostrate media trying to discover the limits of its leash. The face of the Sinn Fein spokesman may be broadcast, but not the voice. The newscaster may explain what it is the person who cannot be heard is saying. It might be different during elections. Covered by Hurd's order is "any organisation which is for the time being a proscribed organisation for the purposes of the Prevention of Terrorism

(Temporary Provisions) Act 1984, or the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1978" and "Sinn Fein, Republican Sinn Fein and the Ulster Defence Association" (*Independent*, 21 October).

The exceptions to the ban are words spoken in the course of Parliament or by a parliamentary or local candidate during an election. But it's obvious that even if Gerry Adams can be interviewed while standing for his Belfast seat, not only is he now a "banned" person but so are his "supporters" as the government would define them. Potentially, a demonstration in favour of releasing jailed Republicans or for the withdrawal of British troops would fall under this category. Or, as an acidic *New York Times* (3 November) article denouncing Thatcher as "spectacularly wrong" noted: "There are, for example, 50

continued on page 10

Kristallnacht: reign of Nazi terror

See page 6

McCurbin "inquiry": green light for racist murder

Jail the killer cops!

On 20 February, 1987, Clinton McCurbin, a 23-year-old black man, was strangled to death by police in Wolverhampton, in a city centre clothes shop, in broad daylight. On 2 November 1988, an inquest jury returned the verdict of "death by misadventure" on the cold-blooded racist murder of this young man.

Outraged by this verdict – a declaration of open season on black youth by the cops – the McCurbin family may keep fighting for some justice. Mrs Esther McCurbin said in a statement after the inquest that she held PC Michael Hobday responsible for her son's death. Hobday admitted during the inquest to having said during the "arrest": "Hold his neck! I'll break his bloody neck!" And as Clinton McCurbin struggled for his life, this 17½-stone killer cop held him in a lethal "neckhold" while a second cop, Neil

Thomas, held his back down. Home Office pathologist Dr Kenneth Scott said he found bruises on McCurbin's neck when he carried out the first post mortem; a second pathologist confirmed that death was due to asphyxiation.

But these killer cops are free to do it again. First put on sick leave and later transferred to Birmingham, they are back on duty. West Midlands police chief Geoffrey Dear gloated over the outcome, boasting that "I cannot and will not give a categorical assurance that this will not happen again" (*Guardian*, 2 November). No: because this racist injustice is a green light for racist police terror, "legalised" by the state's cover-up. Dear knows enough about this, being the top cop when his thugs in blue rioted in Handsworth three years ago.

The entire proceedings were a

sham, laced with lies and racist bigotry. Following the adjournment of the first all-white jury last February, the jury which returned the present verdict was sworn in a full twenty months after McCurbin's death. Clinton McCurbin, held down by two cops assisted by a third man, was described as displaying "superhuman strength"; a black woman reportedly shouted from outside the shop "They are strangling him" but she was not present at the inquest. A witness who did testify, Sukhvinder Singh Pawar, admitted that he thought Hobday was "going too far". Asked why he did not intervene, he explained "I was in shock. I had not seen this sort of thing before.... Why would the police officers have listened to me? I did not know Clinton was going to die." The man who assisted the cops, one Gary Belcher, added that he assumed Clinton McCurbin was on "some kind of drug". But thorough tests showed there was no trace of drugs or alcohol in Clinton McCurbin's body. As for Hobday's statement he would "break his bloody neck", Belcher thought this was "bravado" (*Caribbean Times*, 4-10 November).

The McCurbin family will not get justice from the capitalist courts. And they will not get aid from Kin-



CLINTON McCURBIN

ners and their supporters for "violence" after the cops brutally charged a Wapping demonstration, just as he violence-baited the miners defending their picket lines against armies of Thatcher's boot boys.

Despite the Labour betrayal, two thousand took to the streets of Wolverhampton to protest Clinton McCurbin's brutal murder. We in the Spartacist League marched with placards demanding "Union/minority mobilisations to crush racist terror!" and "Jail killer cops! Avenge Clinton McCurbin!" As we wrote at the time: "What is necessary is a mobilisation of the West Midlands' strongly



TROTSKY

The power of the organised proletariat can stop fascists

With Hitler and Mussolini on the march in Europe, emboldened American fascists staged a rally in New York's Madison Square Garden in February 1939. The Trotskyists of the American Socialist Workers Party responded by organising a massive united-front mobilisation outside the Garden which drew 50,000 workers



LENIN

of all communities – blacks, Jews, Hispanics, Italians, Irish. Following this display of working class power, the SWP called for trade union-centred action to crush the fascist menace. The SWP's call retains its full force today as fascists and their skinhead thugs-in-arms raise their ugly heads.

Fascism is a movement of scabs and thugs.... It wants to smash and prohibit every labor union, every workers' organization. It wants to smash and prohibit every labor political movement. It wants to deprive us of our right to free speech, free assembly, free press, the right to organize, to strike, to picket. It wants to send the Jew back to the Ghetto, or wipe him out altogether. It wants to deprive the Catholic and Protestant of the right to worship as they see fit.

Last Monday night was Fascism's first big mobilization in New York. The 50,000 workers who demonstrated against the thugs and scabs showed that they want to fight them, are ready to fight them.... The lesson of the Madison Square Garden mobilization of the Fascists is: Labor must have a counter-mobilization! It must immediately organize its Workers Defense Guards! It must put the fear of ORGANIZED WORKERS POWER into the cowardly hearts of the Nazi hoodlums!

Only a fool will wait until he is in a concentration camp. The workers of Italy, Germany and Austria are sorry THEY waited. Don't wait – act now. Act strongly! Act militantly!

– "Fight Fascism With Workers' Guards!" *Socialist Appeal* (28 February 1939)



Rod Leon/Caribbean Times

9 October 1986: Protest against racist killer cops outside Kensington police station following death of black victim Anthony Lemard.

nock's Labour Party. Immediately after Clinton McCurbin died at the hands of the police, Labour opposed even the minimal demand for a public inquiry, preferring to let the cops do their own internal cover-up. Labour MP Paul Boateng simply dropped the case two weeks before the hearing, claiming that he had to concentrate on his duties as an MP. Presumably these "duties" don't include the defence of minority victims of Thatcher's cop terror. This is fully in keeping with Labour's track record of "solidarity" with the police against workers and minorities. The cops rioted in 1985 in Tottenham and emerged minus one PC Blakelock: Kinnock made an obscene display of laying a wreath at the cop's plaque just as he denounced the print wor-

unionised workforce, many of whom are black, Indian, Pakistani and Irish. Militant mass demonstrations and strike action in the foundries and factories, on the trains and buses, and in the Midlands pits can give warning to the uniformed racists, their capitalist and Labour Party backers that this terror against minorities will not be tolerated." (*Workers Hammer* no 86, March 1987)

The death of Clinton McCurbin and all the other victims of racist, anti-working class terror, will only be avenged by the revolutionary working class – black, Asian, white – led by an integrated, fighting Bolshevik party in the struggle for victorious socialist revolution against this rotting, racist capitalist system. ■

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Scots NATO Nats cash in

Ramsay MacKinnockites trounced in Govan

All is not harmonious in the "United Kingdom". In a "shock" result in the Govan by-election, the Scottish National Party's Jim Sillars overturned a Labour Party majority of 19,500, trouncing the Labour candidate by 3000 votes. The electorate of this run-down ex-ship-building working-class district of Glasgow with 20 per cent unemployment have signalled the hatred of the Scottish working people for Thatcherite rule and their discontent with the cringing impotence of Mr MacKinnock's Labour Party. (The Tory lost his deposit, as did the Eurocommunist CPGB candidate, though why the latter bothered - given their utter lack of alternative to the BLP - beats us.)

Thatcher hates everybody, but Scotland along with minorities, inner-city ghettos and the old proletarian centres of the north of England, has suffered particularly. The Tories chose to implement the feudal and grossly unjust Poll Tax first in Scotland. Scottish education has been targetted to be brought into a uniform abysmal level with the English system. Scottish people have even coined a word - "Englishing" - for the chauvinist and insensitive way the Tories have been attacking Scottish institutions. The Govan result is undoubtedly a protest against Thatcher as the Labour Party excuses run, but it is also a strong indictment of the Labour Party's Westminster-centred servility.

In the last general election Scotland voted overwhelmingly for the Labour Party. This is not the first time that the BLP has enjoyed a strong majority in Scotland, but in these last elections it was accentuated by the fact that Judas Kinnock's Labour Party was routed south of the border. The SNP's jibe about the "feeble fifty" well captures the fact that the Labourites have been especially and demonstrably ineffective against Thatcher. But the "feeble

fifty" are not some new aberrant trend in the Labour Party. In the aftermath and ebb of the historic Red Clydeside struggles, Labour registered massive gains in 1922 in the industrial areas of Scotland. Cheering crowds singing the Red Flag saw the new Labour MPs off at a Glasgow station, as James Maxton proclaimed that they "would see the atmosphere of the Clyde getting the better of the House of Commons". But the "hard" men were contained by the Party tops (indeed they voted for MacDonald as leader), seduced

veyor of this ideology. In the aftermath of the 1979 devolution referendum, Tom Nairn described the SNP as a "bourgeois nationalist party without a bourgeois following" (*The Scotsman*, 31 October). Today Jim Sillars campaigned around the centrepiece of the call for an independent Scotland as part of the European Community. This policy is not just an attempt to reassure and solicit the Scottish bourgeoisie, interlinked as it is with the English ruling class. The SNP sometimes professes to not supporting NATO unless it goes non-



Guardian

Sillars: anti-working-class SNP's MP.

ing areas and cannon-fodder for the regiments, Scotland lies in a strategic position by the "Northern approaches". In his campaign, Sillars made an anti-communist link between his call for Scottish independence with the nationalist unrest in the Baltic states. Better Scotland was in an alliance with the Soviet Union, and that Holy Loch was a Soviet U-Boat pen, Scotland's Cam Ranh Bay. And in contrast to the SNP's (and Labour's) attachment to the monarchy, we think the Windsors ought to be out of Balmoral about as fast as the English army headed south after Bannockburn.

The Scottish nation has a right to self-determination, to independence. When the British empire surged forward there was semi-assimilation between Scotland and England, but with the decomposition of British imperialism new centrifugal forces have emerged. What Scotland needs is not nationalism but proletarian internationalism. At the present time we do not advocate separation. We fight instead for one workers state power (that is, with one Red Army). The case for common class struggle across the island remains powerful, as the heroic 1984-85 miners strike starkly underlined. History shows that Scotland can provide vital vanguard elements in the fight for workers revolution. The English bourgeoisie needs to be defeated and Westminster rule smashed, a task as much in the interest of the larger English proletariat as it is for the Scottish working masses. The question of the class struggle and its leadership by an authoritative Leninist-Trotskyist party may well be the decisive factor in determining the presently unresolved character of the national question in Scotland. The answer to the felt anger and grievances of the Scottish workers is joint island-wide class struggle and the construction of a united Bolshevik party in England, Scotland and Wales. ■



Glasgow Herald Picture Library

Legacy of heroic class struggle: massive 1919 Clyde general strike (above) was met with armed troops.

by Westminster and bourgeois ruling circles and rendered harmless by their own lack of revolutionary perspective.

Things haven't improved over the years. If British imperialism has been in profound decline, its Scottish component has been in very profound decline. The Labour Party in Scotland has provided not a modest element of its principal traitors, not least Ramsay MacDonald. Today, despite its inner convolutions over the Scottish question and rumours of a Scottish breakaway, the Labour Party is the main Unionist party in Scotland. The BLP tops demanded that the Govan campaign be shackled to legal and parliamentary "protests" against the Poll Tax. When Kinnock came to Govan for his by-election campaign speech, he railed against nationalism and "dangerous people who think with their blood", not out of internationalism but from British/English chauvinism that daily targets Irish, blacks, Asians and Scots.

But nationalism is a dead-end, and the Scottish National Party is a profoundly anti-working class pur-

nuclear, but the "European Community" angle is the signal of its commitment to the "Western alliance" against the Soviet Union. Some imperialist opinion even entertains the option of allowing Scotland independence in the framework of the EEC. But they will never accept a Scotland broken loose from the NATO alliance. Besides providing considerable train-

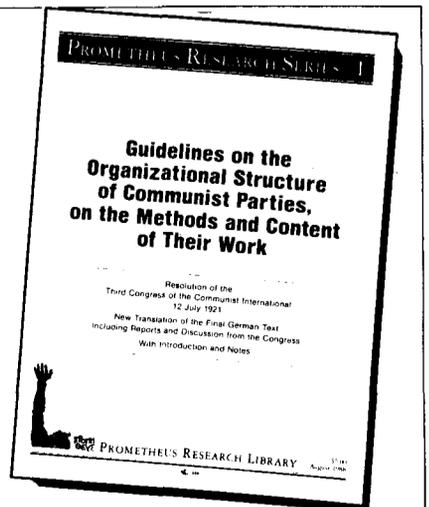


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Thatcher in Poland

Solidarnosc hails Iron Lady

Margaret Thatcher's three-day visit to Poland this month was at once provocative, repugnant and revealing. Predictably the bourgeois press conjured up glorious delusions of a new role for decrepit British imperialism and "Thatcherite ostpolitik". Like aggrieved and jilted lovers, the Labour Party whined about Thatcher's hypocrisy in embracing their own counter-revolutionary Solidarnosc. The fake-revolutionary left squirmed in the face of renewed evidence of the reactionary, pro-capitalist character of this supposed "trade union". The "highlight" of Thatcher's trip was her visit to Gdansk - birthplace of the CIA/Vatican/Western bankers' beloved Solidarnosc. The *Evening Standard* (4 November) front page headline "Solidarity Salutes Maggie" captured it.

While Thatcher and Walesa lunched on pheasant and vodka in St Brygda's church, Solidarnosc demonstrators carried banners and placards, "Long Live Thatcher", "Down with the Communists", "You keep Lenin, the shipyard is ours", "The Plague is better than Communism", "We support our government in London" (according to some observers, not a reference to the Pilsudskiite exile government). Undoubtedly, all this warmed the Iron Lady's heart - but the most gratifying banner for her must have been the one reading "Thanks for subduing Scargill". Nothing could be a clearer indication that the capitalist-restorationist movement led by Lech Walesa is an enemy of the world's working class. Remember that it was Scargill's correct statement that Solidarnosc was anti-socialist which was seized upon by the Healyite WRP, capitalist gutter press and the TUC cold warriors to whip up a red-baiting attack against the NUM leader on the eve of the miners strike. Anti-communism and union-busting reaction go hand in hand, and the Cold War fever over Polish Solidarnosc was used to isolate the miners as they embarked on the most important class battle in decades. Indeed, Walesa pronounced during the miners strike that: "With such a wise and brave woman, Britain will find a solution to the strike" (*Sunday Mirror*, 29 July 1984).



CIA/Vatican's man in Gdansk sidles up to Cold War bitch from Downing Street. Walesa's cohorts waved banners saying "Long Live Thatcher!" and "Down with the Communists!"

Neil Ascherson, writing in the *Observer* (6 November) offered an accurate picture of Thatcher's Gdansk spectacle:

"The men leaning over the fence of the Lenin Shipyard last Friday knew that this was the woman who broke the power of the British trade unions, who reduced their legal rights and whose policies had closed down thousands of factories and rendered millions of workers jobless. But these were not, to them, the most important things about her. They like her anti-Communism, of course, but they also appreciate her dislike of nationalised industry...."

The existence of Solidarnosc, a clerical nationalist movement tied to the apron strings of western imperialism and the Vatican, is a searing indictment of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy. The manifold legitimate grievances of the Polish workers have been channelled in part into a "movement" which would restore wage slavery and provide a new Eastern frontline for NATO imperialism. In September 1981, at its first national congress, Solidarnosc consolidated around the counterrevolutionary programme of "Western-

style democracy". A short time later, Solidarnosc's bid for power was spiked in the counter-coup of December 1981. Since then, the Solidarnosc leaders have been unabashed in their support to the "free world". In 1983 the Solidarnosc Temporary Coordinating Commission (TKK) adopted a thoroughgoing market economy programme complete with private ownership in industry and a stock market. But from being able to mobilise millions in the early eighties, Solidarnosc has become moribund and clique-ridden. In April of this year it was unable to capitalise on the strike wave provoked by new government austerity measures.

So, Solidarnosc's imperialist paymasters have been trying to revive this instrument of anti-communist "rollback". Last June John Paul Wojtyla again visited Poland, praying for "the special heritage of Polish Solidarity". A few months later, George Bush also visited, meeting Walesa while crowds chanted "No freedom without Solidarity! Long Live Bush! Long Live Reagan!" In 1987 the US Congress openly voted \$1 million to Solidarnosc. Enter Maggie Thatcher, self-proclaimed "senior statesman of the free world" (and if

she had her way, "PM for life"). Before her trip to Poland, Thatcher consulted with the pope and Radio Free Europe did its bit by advertising the events. As Ewan MacAskill put it in the *Scotsman* (5 November): "the main object of the trip was to pay homage to an anti-Communist movement and to see whether she could help".

Brushing aside pleadings from the Jaruzelski government about "non-interference in internal affairs", Thatcher proceeded to preach the message of "free" market economy. No aid would be forthcoming, nor would economic reform be satisfactory without "political reform", meaning full "freedom" for counter-revolution to organise in Poland. The imperialist blackmail was clear: legalise Solidarnosc so that it can assist in pushing through the IMF pro-capitalist austerity measures to indebted, economically-ravaged Poland. The only thing Thatcher did not wax eloquent about was the threatened closure of the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, a question "not for me" (*Independent*, 5 November). With the Tory government's daily attacks on trade union and democratic rights, the Labour Party set up a chorus about Thatcher's "hypocrisy". But, there is nothing hypocritical about imperialist support to Solidarnosc: Thatcher is consistent in attacking workers rights here and fomenting counterrevolution abroad.

Obscenely, the Polish Stalinist regime sought inspiration and comfort from Thatcher's reactionary pilgrimage to Poland. Prime minister Rakowski stated "I would very much like to be a pupil in her school" (*Sunday Times*, 30 October) and the Industry Minister, Wilczek, a dollar millionaire, soap powder manufacturer and landowner, wanted Thatcher to explain to Walesa "the results in England of trade union behaviour" (*Independent*, 31 October). With inflation running at 60 per cent and a foreign debt of £22.9 billion, Stalinist misrule has made the Polish economy a basket case. The Jaruzelski government is desperately trying to show the IMF that it can clean up the economy; on the eve of Thatcher's visit it announced the closure of the Lenin shipyards. But another 140 enterprises are slated to be closed, others to be privatised, the laws on redundancies are to be loosened, cooperative and state housing to be sold and sick benefits reduced. Poland cries out for a proletarian political revolution to sweep the corrupt bureaucrats from power and put an end to the threat of capitalist restorationist forces such as Solidarnosc once and for all.

The overwhelming majority of the fake-revolutionary left in this country capitulated to Solidarnosc - as a "mass movement", a "trade union", a popular anti-bureaucratic mobilisation. Their favourite Labour "left" Tony Benn even fired off a telegram to Walesa with a list of points to make to Thatcher when they met. If they had any shame, these Solidarnosc-loving "leftists" might wonder at the outpouring of support for Thatcher on this trip. But, having allowed the miners to be red-baited and witch-



Polish Marxist internationalist, Rosa Luxemburg (above). New York, 1981: Spartacists protest Solidarnosc (left).

Workers Hammer sub drive success

Workers Hammer welcomes our new readers and our resubscribers. After five weeks, our autumn subscription drive ended in October, exceeding the national target of 560 points by 23 per cent with a total of 692 points. A total of 233 subscriptions were sold. Of these more than 50 were joint subscriptions to *Workers Hammer* and *Workers Vanguard* (the SL/US fortnightly) as well as another 50 subscriptions to *Women and Revolution*, journal of the Women's Commission of the SL/US. In addition, 14 subs were sold to the press of other sections of the international Spartacist tendency – our French, Canadian and Australasian newspapers. Comrade Mike from London won the sub drive with 70 points. Honourable mention goes to comrades Christine (London) with 65 points and Lynne (London) with 50 points.

This year's sub drive was undertaken as part of the Spartacist League's consolidation into London and the expansion to Scotland, announced in our last issue. Comrades travelled to Scotland to assist in the trail-blazing work of the Glasgow group, selling subscriptions at universities and meetings across the "central belt" from Glasgow to St Andrews. We particularly welcome our new readers in Scotland and look forward to expanding the readership of *WH* among the workers, students and oppressed of that country.

As in Scotland, the bulk of subscriptions sold by London comrades were to students. Particular emphasis was given to the London School of Economics, where we sold 34 subscriptions. There were a number of regional trips, including to Cambridge and Oxford, Leeds and Colchester. Our unique Soviet defencist,

Trotskyist analysis of events in Gorbachev's Russia was of particular interest to students; coverage in *Workers Hammer* along with the current issue of the English-language *Spartacist* devoted to the question of the Soviet Union were key to selling subs.

Trips to Wales and Kent were important to maintaining our readership among the miners. Miners in the Derbyshire coalfield are also among our resubscribers. The comrades who have over the years continued to subscribe to *Workers Hammer*, the communist newspaper which has not forgotten the miners strike of 1984-85 and the lessons of Labourite treachery in that great struggle, are a precious asset for our small, fighting propaganda group. Modest numbers of subscriptions were sold to Post Office workers.

Supporters of other tendencies on the left have also taken out subscriptions this autumn – we welcome them in the spirit of political struggle and debate. As revolutionary Marxists, we recognise the need to engage in sharp polemics with the reformist and centrist pretenders to that mantle, with the aim of regrouping subjectively revolutionary militants around the programme of genuine Bolshevism. The fracturing, disarray and proven bankruptcy of the fake-Trotskyists (eg the decomposition products of the WRP's implosion, the several USec sects) and of the Stalinist milieu (CPGB, CPB, NCP, *Leninist*, etc) may offer such possibilities.

We encourage our readers to write us with comments, questions, criticisms of our coverage – and with suggestions. We also encourage them to introduce *Workers Hammer* to their friends and co-workers: forward to the construction of a real communist party in Britain! ■

Workers Hammer subscription drive

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Victorious Red Army soldiers being greeted as liberators in Cracow, Poland, 1945. Twenty million Soviet citizens died in fight to crush Nazi machine.

hunted over exactly this question, it is obvious that they have no shame. The virulently anti-Soviet Socialist Workers Party managed to avoid even mentioning the Gdansk demonstrations in its coverage. *Socialist Organiser* (10 November) could only say that, no matter what, it would

continue to "support Solidarnosc, unequivocally and without reservation". One could expect a bit more contradiction from the centrist Workers Power grouping, which claims some formal adherence to the Trotskyist position of defence of the Soviet Union but along with the rest tailed

Walesa's counterrevolutionary mobilisation – not least because it was "big" and included a large number of workers. So did Hitler's Nazi Party, and the comparison is not light-minded here. Genuine fascistic elements lurk within Solidarnosc – anti-Semitic clerical fascists who resent the fact that the Soviet Union triumphed over the Nazi invasion of Eastern Europe in World War II.

There is no solution to the Polish crisis within the framework of nationalism or Stalinism. Only a proletarian political revolution can liberate Poland from the IMF, only a revolutionary workers government can affect the *international conditions* to counter imperialist retaliation. The Polish bureaucratically deformed workers state was established by a social revolution carried out from above by Stalin's Russia in the aftermath of World War II. For some years now many Polish workers have been deluded that their liberators are in the Vatican and White House – and now 10 Downing Street. Aiding in this delusion have been the Western social democrats, Eurocommunists and pseudo-Trotskyists like Ernest Mandel, who for years screamed "Solidarity with Solidarnosc!" It is only by returning to the road of proletarian internationalism, exemplified by Rosa

Luxemburg and the early Polish Communist Party, that Polish workers can liberate themselves from the Stalinist bureaucracy and the blood-suckers of the IMF. For a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

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Kristallnacht: reign of Nazi terror

November 1988 is the 50th anniversary of "Reichspogromnacht", the night the Nazis unleashed their first bloody *state* pogrom against the Jewish people—in every city, town and village in the German Reich. This date lives in infamy as the decisive turning point at which the Third Reich initiated the Holocaust. There followed six and a half years of sadism and mass slaughter unprecedented in human history, in which six million European Jews were exterminated, 11 million members of minorities—Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Communists, homosexuals, the mentally and physically handicapped, the old, the young, untold other uncounted minorities and 20 million Soviet citizens. In 1935 the Nazis had passed the "Nurnberg race laws" which robbed Jews of all civil rights. But the November pogrom was the open declaration to the world that the genocidal programme of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was to be carried out. It was not just going to be discrimination under the Nurnberg laws but terror and mass murder.

Today, the Kohl gang orchestrates hypocritical commemorations of the victims of the Reichspogromnacht. It has even issued a commemorative postage stamp, ominously picturing the burning Baden-Baden synagogue. But the West German imperialist state is, and proclaims itself to be, the legal successor state to the Third Reich.

The West German state is the "executive committee" for the Deutsche Bank, the Daimler military-industrial complex, the Bayer, Hoeschst and BASF Konzerne [giant company]. They are today swimming in profits made by the superexploitation of Turkish and other immigrant "Gastarbeiter" ["guest workers"]. Fifty years ago the same banks led by the likes of criminal Abs, the Krupps and Thyssens, those who bought Hitler's way to power, were raking in millions made by "Vernichtung durch Arbeit" ["destruction through work"] of Zwangsarbeiter [slave labourers] from the Nazis' camps. And just as the IG Farben and the Third Reich made Zyklon B to gas the Jews, their successor companies in the Fourth Reich sell the same stuff to the Iraqi colonels to gas the Kurds.

Hitler swore to wipe out "Jew Bolshevism", which he equated with the organised proletariat, international communism and the Soviet degenerated workers state. In 1948 the imperialist Allies created the West German state, largely with the human material that had administered the Third Reich, as an anti-communist bulwark in Central Europe. Indeed, during the Second World War, "democratic" imperialist countries like Britain closed their borders to Holocaust refugees. Britain even set up its own concentration camp. Some 1500 of the 50,000 German and Austrian Jews who managed to get into Britain before the war were rounded up in an indiscriminate dragnet—which picked up Jews in London's East End as well—and thrown aboard the tramp steamer *Dunera* bound for a concentration camp in the Australian outback. An earlier "cargo" of

World revolution will avenge the Holocaust



10 November 1938: Nazis turn Baden-Baden synagogue into flaming inferno (above). 5 May 1985: Reagan and Kohl salute SS mass-murderers at Bitburg cemetery.

Jews to Canada, on an unescorted vessel, was torpedoed by the Germans, killing hundreds. And despite the emphatic appeals spirited out of East Europe from victims of the Nazis, the British and Americans consistently refused to bomb the extermination facilities at Auschwitz. The infamous "rat line" brought many Nazi scum into the intelligence services of the "democratic" imperialists once Germany was defeated and the Cold War against Russia had taken up where Hitler was forced to leave off.

The horrors of the Holocaust cannot be purged nor the threat of them buried as long as imperialism exists. When Kohl and Reagan saluted Hitler's killer elite on 5 May 1985 in Bitburg, they renewed the NATO imperialists' pledge to continue the Nazi drive to crush the workers movement and the USSR. Caught up in the resurgent nationalism generated by the growing military and economic strength of West German imperialism, *the entire West German left refused to protest Bitburg*. The protests were left to a few aging survivors of the Holocaust, their children and grandchildren. But the West German cops made sure Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen were "judenrein" for the imperialist warmongers, dragging off the Jewish protesters as the Jews had been dragged out of their homes on 9 November 1938.

Berlin and other cities, not only turn to the past to learn what happened. They want to know *why* and what can be learned to stop today's would-be Hitlers.

As Abram Leon, the Belgian Trotskyist leader who was murdered in Auschwitz in 1942, wrote in his incisive analysis, *The Jewish Question*, "racism is ... the ideological disguise of modern imperialism. The 'race struggling for its living space' is nothing but the reflection of the permanent necessity for expansion which characterises finance or monopoly capitalism." Nazism was the German bourgeoisie's last desperate recourse to rescue its own class rule before the revolutionary onslaughts of the proletariat.

It was the German proletariat which was the enemy, and the first victim, of Nazism. It was the proletariat, and it alone, which could have crushed the Nazi terror. Hitlerite genocide was the supreme expression of nationalist chauvinism, directed against all who were defined by them to be outside the "Volksgemeinschaft" [literally, the "community of the people" — the "master race"]. It is well known that Hitler's first act after he came to power in January 1933 was to smash the trade unions and atomise the working class. "Learning the lessons of history" means the struggle for the programme to mobilise the proletariat, including its powerful immigrant component, against German capital's economic "Drang nach Osten" [drive to the East], part and parcel of NATO's anti-Soviet war drive. What was required to crush fascism before it wreaked its havoc on the earth was a programme of *internationalism*, the programme of world socialist revolution.

POGROM AGAINST THE JEWS: HITLER MOBILISES FOR WAR

On 28 October the Gestapo began rounding up the 18,000 Polish Jews living in the Third Reich. Expelled penniless to the Polish frontier, they were barred from entering Poland and virtually imprisoned, many to die miserably, in a no-man's land between the two countries. Herschel Grynszpan, a young man living in Paris, enraged over the deportation of his

This ruling class has inflamed fascist activity across the country, from skinhead gangs beating up Turkish youth in Hannover to Republikaner rallies in West Berlin, and the NPD threatening to march through Frankfurt. Since 1985 a lot of people in West Germany have thought through the consequences of Bitburg. Hatred of the Third Reich and its horrors runs deep. A new political generation, typified by the anti-fascist high-school students movement in West



Fascist boycott campaign of terror against Jewish businesses in Berlin, 1933. Nazi vermin should have been crushed in the egg by workers united fronts.

Der Spiegel

family who had lived in Hannover since 1911, took a pistol and on 6 November shot Ernst von Rath, a minor Nazi official at the German Embassy. When von Rath died three days later, the Nazis had already made extensive preparations throughout the Reich to exploit the incident to the hilt.

9 November was a propitious date for the fascists' purposes. It was the anniversary of the abortive 1923 Munich putsch. It was also the day in 1918 the Nazis swore to avenge, when insurrectionary workers and soldiers forced the Kaiser to abdicate and the Weimar Republic was proclaimed. The head of the Gestapo, Muller, sent detailed instructions by telegram to all state police stations for the bloody pogrom, which was to begin that evening.

For 24 hours terror reigned. SA thugs dragged hundreds out into the streets or shot them in their homes in cold blood. They were beaten to death, stabbed, drowned. The population was intimidated and incited by the uniformed pogromists to partici-

to galvanise the German masses for war. Hitler told the Nazi press on 10 November he intended to "reinforce step by step the self-confidence of the German people". For as William Shirer, then a correspondent in Berlin, noted, the population had openly displayed its reluctance to go to war over the Sudetenland in September 1938. After the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin Hitler drew up his "Four Year Plan" to mobilise the German economy for war and to finance rearmament through "Aryanisation" of Jewish property. Goering was put in charge of the plan. Two days after Pogromnacht, Hitler's economics tsar convened a meeting of the Nazi leadership to draw a balance sheet. Regretting the damage to property he intended to expropriate, Goering fulminated that it would have been better to kill 200 Jews. Indeed, by calling the pogrom "Kristallnacht", the Nazis reduced it to the glass their thugs smashed in that night, equivalent to an entire year of German glass production. This meeting decided that "as compensation" the state would seize the insurance payments due Jews for the destruction of their property. In addition, a collective fine of one billion marks would be imposed on Jews. And that afternoon, Goering issued the "Decree Eliminating the Jews From Economic Life".

But it wasn't just the Nazi rabble; the German bourgeoisie as a whole had united around exploiting anti-Semitism to revive Germany from the defeat of World War I. General Werner von Fritsch, a reactionary of the old school, whom Hitler replaced as chief of the army in 1938, wrote in the light of the November pogrom:

"Soon after the war I came to the conclusion that we should have to be victorious in three battles if Germany were to become powerful again:

1. The battle against the working class - Hitler has won this.
2. Against the Catholic Church...
3. Against the Jews." (quoted in William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*)

Nazism as German ultra-nationalism always went after Jews, Catholics and communists, because they, by virtue of their history and ties, transcend national boundaries and - in the case of communists - are truly internationalist.

Anti-Semitism was not endemic in Germany. It was far more pervasive in France, as demonstrated by the Dreyfus case. It was used in both countries to deflect petty-bourgeois economic discontent against highly visible Jewish capitalists like the Rothschilds and Walter Rathenau. But in Central Europe it was especially integral to bourgeois reaction. This was due to the leading role that Jews played in all that was progressive, particularly the workers movement. Two of the three founding fathers of the German workers movement were Jewish, Marx and Lassalle, as was the founding leader of the Austrian workers movement, Victor Adler. Alongside Karl Liebknecht, the greatest leader of the German workers movement was not only Jewish, but a woman and a Pole - Rosa Luxemburg. Beginning with Bismarck's Reich, and, with far more virulence, in Franz Joseph's Austria (where Hitler was trained), political anti-Semitism was used by bourgeois reaction to mobilise the petty-bourgeois masses against the revolutionary workers movement, culminating with the Nazi victory in 1933.

The destruction of the workers movement by the totalitarian Nazi regime was in turn the precondition for the genocide of the Jews. Then,

even though atomised and terrorised, German workers continued to resist the pogroms and holocaust. After Pogromnacht, among the Hamburg proletariat: "Condemnation and curses were to be heard especially among the dock and shipyard workers. In some firms, collections were taken up for the dispossessed and hard-hit Jews. In Eimsbuttel, workers in one factory took the stolen goods away from Nazi plunderers and restored the property" (Harald Focke and Uwe Reimer, eds, *Alltag der Entrechteten*).



American SWP pickets German consulate, 1938 (right); above paper distributed by heroic Brest Trotskyists who built cell in German army and were arrested by Gestapo in 1943.

The blindness of the SPD tops was but the continuation of their counter-revolutionary policies since 1914. Indeed, the Nazis were the successors of the Freikorps that Scheidemann and Noske had used to drown the German Revolution in blood in 1919. But the responsibility of the KPD was greater, in that they misled the revolutionary-minded workers. They went from competing with the Nazis in nationalist rhetoric to calling the SPD "social fascists" and demanding the SPD ranks simply come over to the Communists in a "united front



Pathfinder Press

from below". Their boast, "After Hitler, us" reflected their actual defeatism - they had despaired of barring the path to a fascist seizure of power.

In the face of Hitler's victory, defeatism was turned into social patriotism. Under the rubric of the "people's front", Stalin's Third International adopted the class-collaborationist policies of the Second. It played a role no less counterrevolutionary in the Spanish Civil War than the party of Noske and Scheidemann played in 1919. Franco's victory in turn emboldened Hitler's war preparations, including the anti-Semitic terror of 9 November 1938.

In contrast, the Trotskyists fought for a programme to smash the Nazis before they took power. Trotsky demanded a "workers united front": "march separately, strike together". This was to be no parliamentary bloc,

Once-red Berlin, home for half the Jews who remained in the Reich after the November pogrom, became the centre for courageous defiance of the Nazis' hunt for the Jews. Several thousand went underground in the capital and during the entire war 1400 successfully escaped deportation to the death camps. As Leonard Gross writes in *The Last Jews in Berlin*, this was possible sometimes through their own ingenuity. But they "were sequestered in rooms, apartments, homes, shacks, offices and even stores - most often by the grace of Gentile friends and even strangers...".

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The German workers movement was powerful enough and willing in the mass to prevent Hitler from taking power, if necessary by civil war.



Workers Hammer

Birmingham University, 5 February 1980: Spartacist-initiated united front brought out over 70 students and leftists in protest against Hitler-lover David Irving's presence on campus.

But it was the criminal capitulation of its leadership, Stalinist as well as Social Democratic, which allowed the triumph of Nazism. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the *Transitional Programme* in 1938: "The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties." In the end, it was the Soviet workers and the Red Army who despite Stalin crushed the Nazi regime and liberated Europe from the fascist nightmare.

no political non-aggression pact as advocated by Heinrich Brandler and the centrist SAP, and it was no "popular front" with the mythical "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie, as later advocated by the Stalinists. Instead, it meant organising the working class against the bourgeoisie, a fighting unity between Communist and Social Democratic workers to defend the workers organisations against the stormtroopers and at the same time expose in action the hesitations,

continued on page 11



Spartakist

Plotzensee, Berlin, 10 September: Professor Dr Heinrich Scheel, fighter with anti-Nazi spy network "Red Orchestra", addresses meeting honouring victims of fascism. TLD/iSt wreath was prominently displayed.

pate. In some cases onlookers were forced to jeer and spit on the victims. Bonfires consumed the contents of synagogues and libraries all over Germany. One hundred and ninety-one synagogues were destroyed; another 76 smashed to rubble - those that could not be burned without danger to non-Jewish buildings.

In the aftermath, the 30,000 Jews who were arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen, Dachau and Buchenwald got a foretaste of what the Nazis' holocaust was to mean in the gas chambers and ovens. The *London News Chronicle* reported on 23 November what happened at Sachsenhausen:

"The arrested men had reached the camp gates under police escort from Berlin. At the gates, the police were made to hand them over to an SS unit. The sixty-two Jews were then forced to run a gauntlet of spades, clubs and whips. According to an eye-witness, the police, 'unable to bear their cries, turned their backs'. As the Jews were beaten, they fell. As they fell they were beaten further. This 'orgy' of beating lasted half an hour. When it was over, 'twelve of the sixty-two were dead, their skulls smashed. The others were all unconscious. The eyes of some had been knocked out, their faces flattened and shapeless.'" (quoted in Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust*, London, 1986)

Hundreds died, 244 in the first month alone, in Buchenwald.

The aim of the Pogromnacht was

Philadelphia...

(Continued from page 12)

ickets, from the Philadelphia area and up and down the Eastern seaboard. This was a taste of the labour and black power that had forced the Klan and Nazi skinheads to back down. When the KKK lynchers and skinhead thugs threatened to strut into the heart of Philadelphia, the Partisan Defense Committee issued a call for a mass mobilisation under the banner, "All Out to Stop the Klan!" In response, hundreds of people from Philly joined 13 busloads from the East Coast and Midwest to be there at the November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Philadelphia.

Many came in contingents named for heroes of the struggle against slavery: the Nat Turner Brigade from Norfolk, Frederick Douglass (Baltimore/Washington), John Brown (Cleveland), Harriet Tubman (Toronto/Cornell), General William Tecumseh Sherman (New York) and the Massachusetts 54th from Boston. Other contingents honoured slain Chicago Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark; Nicaraguan Sandinista Nora Astorga; Jewish Soviet general David Dragunsky, a World War II hero; and Jewish Communist Leopold Trepper, head of the "Red Orchestra" network which operated inside Nazi-occupied Europe. The *November 5 Mobilization Notes* reported that: "Upon learning the driver of their bus belonged to the same union local as Ray Phillips, the Greyhound striker murdered by a scab

a decade of Carter/Reagan reaction, and a campaign between Republican plutocrats and the Democrats' technocrat/Dixiecrat ticket, many saw in the November 5 Mobilization a way to fight back. Altogether, over 100 union locals and officials, as well as numerous civil rights and gay organisations, student groups, endorsed and contributed their efforts. The appeals from labour are a testimony to the deep chord struck by the mobilisation.

There was a real outpouring of community and labour volunteers in Philly. A quarter of a million leaflets were passed out on the streets, thousands of posters snapped up. Literature depots were set up at a union hall and local universities. Sound trucks cruised the streets. On campuses across the country, where minorities have been under siege, the November 5 Mobilization became an opportunity for the first nation-wide protest against racist attacks. While the newspapers and TV tried to black out the anti-Klan protest, following the party line of the Main Line bourgeoisie, radio spots announcing the demonstration were played on black radio, Hispanic radio, sports radio, news radio, campus radio.

The anti-Klan protesters came out on a cold, rainy Saturday morning to make a defiant statement. A week earlier, in a "pact" with the KKK, federal authorities praised the Klan for its "straightforward" negotiations and "orderly" intentions as the fascists backed down in the face of the mounting mobilisation. Two-bit KKK "grand dragon" John Weiss whined on Tom Metzger's "WAR" ("White Aryan Resistance") phone



Cops protect Nazi skinheads at November 5 rally.

Workers Vanguard

more appeared at the rally, not knowing that Weiss had turned tail and cancelled out. They sported Confederate flags and Nazi swastikas on their black jackets and gave stiff-arm "Heil Hitler" salutes for the TV cameras. The cops tried to escort five Nazis into the rally in an attempt to provoke trouble. But they were met by black, white and Hispanic workers defence guards lining Market Street in solid formation who quickly closed ranks and repelled the skinhead scum. The squad of trade-union marshals was one of the most impressive parts of the anti-Klan demonstration. They came from AFSCME District Council 33 and a hefty contingent from the Laborer's union in Philly, from black shipyard workers in the Virginia Tidewater area, transit workers from New York and Chicago, phone workers from NYC, and dozens of other unionists who came to ensure a safe, orderly and democratic demonstration.

"PARTISAN ON THE SIDE OF THE WORKING CLASS"

Charles Brover, co-chairman of the PDC, told demonstrators that the PDC is based on the heritage of the International Labor Defense, headed by James P Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. "We're partisan on the side of the working class," he said:

"The first lesson of common struggle is that an injury to one is an injury to all. That means we are non-sectarian. We defend cases irrespective of people's political views. That means we defend people with whom we disagree, sometimes people who wouldn't defend us if the tables were turned. We rely on the independent power of the working class and not at all on the courts."

The November 5 Mobilization was a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist strategy for combating fascism with mass united-front action. This revolutionary strategy contrasts sharply with the reformists and nat-

ionalists who ended up as irrelevant sideshows to the November 5 Mobilization. The "African People's Socialist Party" postured with stopping the Klan "by any means necessary", but their only real activity was to petition "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode to protect black Philadelphia!

In a grotesque display of the twisted "logic" of black nationalism, the APSP leaflet demanded blacks not rally with the "Ku Klux Communists". When a black woman worker getting off the Boston bus was told the leaflet she had been given was for "blacks only", she crumpled it up and threw it back. Across the street from the quad, the All-Peoples Congress front group of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party held a picket line of a couple hundred, then marched to City Hall. The APC never intended to mobilise the social power of labour and were too sectarian to join those who did. They were also cut off from their usual Democratic Party allies, who were too busy violence-baiting the November 5 Mobilization.

BATTLE OF CLASS FORCES

From the moment the Partisan Defense Committee issued the call "All Out to Stop the KKK", it touched off a battle of opposing class forces in Philadelphia. Mayor Goode, backed up by anti-communist outfits like the misnamed "Fellowship Commission" and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, immediately went on the war-path, slandering our demonstration as prone to "violence" in order to keep people away. There's something obscene about the black mayor, who ordered the bomb dropped on MOVE, slandering the people who organise to stop racist terror as a "danger". There's something shameful about the ADL, which purports to defend Jewish people, slandering those who would prevent another Holocaust as "violent".

Within the labour movement, the union bureaucrats who have rolled



Workers Vanguard

Solid line of union marshals from Philadelphia and East Coast defend November 5 rally from skinhead provocations.

over five years ago, Chicago trade unionists named their bus the Ray Phillips Brigade."

Philadelphia was the city where the Reagan White House and its black overseers engraved their racist signature in the blood of black people. On 13 May 1985 the government dropped a bomb on the MOVE commune. On 5 November 1988, this was the city where the KKK was stopped. At the rally, the speakers platform became a tribune for those who have resisted state terror to speak of their pain, their anger and determination. Nelson Johnson, survivor of the Greensboro Massacre, Beverly Africa, on behalf of MOVE, leaders of Philadelphia unions, black and gay organisations, socialist groups including the Spartacist League - these were among those who reaffirmed the common goal of this united front to stop the Klan, and presented their own particular points of view.

This victory against the fascists came on the eve of American capitalism's election "contest" to pick which millionaire would head up the ruling-class war on the working people, the-poor and minorities. After

tape: "We had to stop and postpone it because of the opposition who are socialists who came out with literature covering from New York to God knows where."

Weiss and Metzger had threatened to bring hundreds of white supremacists into Philly. The November 5 Mobilization stopped a major incursion of the KKK/skinheads into a multiracial Northern city. In the days before the demonstration, there were vicious reminders of the fascist threat. In New York a gang of skinheads assaulted a New Jersey family who objected to their Hitlerite epithets. Temple Shalom in Philadelphia was defaced with swastikas. Skinhead Jon Metzger was invited to spew his filth on the NBC Geraldo Rivera show. Just how fascists "debate" was shown when the skinhead thugs initiated a brawl on national TV, assaulting black reactionary Roy Innis and breaking Rivera's nose. In Portland, Oregon on 13 November an Ethiopian man, Mulugeta Seraw, was beaten to death with baseball bats by a gang of white supremacist skinheads.

A handful of skinheads from Balti-



13 May 1985: West Philadelphia black neighbourhood obliterated by racist cop firebombing of MOVE commune.

Miller/Woodfin Camp

They must be crushed!

Fascist provocations escalate in Britain

The fascist scum of the National Front and British National Party attempted to stage racist provocations in London and York over the Remembrance Day weekend. On the evening of 11 November several dozen fascists ringed Conway Hall in London where several hundred people had gathered for a meeting of the Troops Out Movement. Although the meeting was not broken up, the fascists did succeed in delaying the main speaker, Bernadette [Devlin] McAliskey. The fascists regularly target all those who actively oppose British imperialism in Ireland. And it's particularly ominous that they are emboldened to show up at Conway Hall, which has been a major gathering point for the left and labour movement.

But two days later a planned provocation by the British National Party was smashed in York. Obscenely, the BNP was attempting to celebrate the fourteenth century massacre of Jews in this town, as well as Hitler's Kristallnacht pogrom fifty years ago. But courageously defying a government ban, up to 300 anti-fascist militants, including students, Jewish groups and ex-servicemen blockaded the city centre and railway station, thereby preventing the fascists from rallying. Previous Remembrance Day marches by the BNP in York have been protected and chaperoned by the police. This time the cops turned back two coachloads of anti-fascist demonstrators from Newcastle.

Outrageously, the Labour-run York council had issued an injunction banning anti-fascists from Cliffords Tower, the site of the anti-Jewish pogrom, and forbidding the Union of Jewish Students from laying a wreath at York Cenotaph. Then, at the urging of the council, the Home Secretary imposed a two-day ban on public demonstrations. This disgusting

chauvinism by the Labourites was a green light to the fascists to spread their filth. Not far away is the city of Leeds, where the fascists are quite active and violent assaults on minorities are commonplace. Nearby also is Dewsbury, where integration of the schools suffered a sharp defeat because of a racist mobilisation targeting Asians. But the planned BNP incursion in York was spiked by the vigilance and determination of anti-fascist demonstrators. The militants succeeded in occupying the Cliffords Tower site and "held a wreath-laying ceremony in commemoration of the historical suffering of minorities under fascism" (*Leeds Other Paper*, 18 November).

In London the same day some 700 anti-fascist protesters marched to the Cenotaph, a memorial for British soldiers killed in the two imperialist world wars. The march was initiated by Anti-Fascist Action (AFA) and the journal *Searchlight*, which also sponsored the York demonstration. In recent years the AFA has called an annual Remembrance Day rally to protest fascist marches to the Cenotaph on that day. Three years ago the AFA took over the National Front's meeting place at Bressenden Place, Victoria. This year's march was well-integrated and well-defended. But it did not stop the fascists from staging their own march. Some 300 NFers, heavily protected by the cops, rallied under a mile away and later goose-stepped over to the Cenotaph. Afterwards, some fascists attacked the City Anti-Apartheid Movement's picket at South Africa House, where 34 people were arrested (*Guardian*, 14 November).

Taking its cue from the chauvinist Labour Party, most of the ostensible British left simply ignores the deadly threat from the National Front and the racist skinhead terrorists. To its

Cable Street,
1936: 250,000
workers stopped
Mosley's fascist
blackshirts
marching through
the heavily
Jewish East End
of London.



credit on this occasion, however, the Workers Power organisation had a significant presence on the anti-NF march. Ignoring the fascists is literally suicidal. Wherever these scum gain a foothold, it's accompanied by murderous assaults on minorities and leftists, petrol bombings, disruption of integrated union struggle. In the last month alone an Asian woman was murdered and a schoolchild's throat slashed in racist attacks. The fascists are killers whose aim is to carry out genocide. Had Hitler and his Nazis been stopped when they were small, there would never have been a Holocaust.

AFA is one of the few organisations that seeks to call attention to the fascist threat. It has done much to memorialise fallen anti-fascist martyr Blair Peach. Last month the Islington, London AFA chapter initiated a successful march to clean out a pub in King's Cross where fascist regalia was openly displayed. But what's necessary to deliver a decisive blow to the NF and BNP - to drive them from the streets - is a mass, integrated trade union-centred mobilisation. An example was the successful union/black action to stop the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia (see

article this issue). For workers defence guards to smash fascist terror!

In laying wreaths at the war memorial, a spokesman from *Searchlight* said: "As the years go by people forget what the Second World War was fought for" (*Morning Star*, 14 November). But World War II was fought by the British state as an imperialist war, not as a war to end fascism. One need only look at the burgeoning fascist movements in Britain, France and West Germany to see that. When Reagan and Kohl celebrated over SS graves in Bitburg, the message was that fascists are allies against the Soviet Union. Britain has long been a haven for Nazi war criminals. In 1946 the Lord Chancellor, Lord Jowitt, of the postwar Labour government said of several hundred German scientists brought to Britain: "I am willing to risk their being Nazis - and I think they probably are - so long as they are highly skilled technicians...." Latvian SS members were openly given jobs in British mines in the same period (*Guardian*, 16 November). The smashing of fascism requires international proletarian revolution, necessarily requiring a break from all forms of social-democratic chauvinism. ■

over in front of Reagan reaction hardlined it against the November 5 Mobilization. In the face of strong support for the demonstration from key city unions, the Central Labor Council pressured a few endorsers to withdraw as speakers. "Progressive" union tops like Transport Workers local head Roger Tauss and Hospital Workers chief Henry Nicholas refused to endorse, just as they stood silent when Goode bombed MOVE. Instead, they were lining up their union members as voting cattle for Dukakis. The Democrats campaigned desperately in Philly in the final week - in one of their rare joint appearances, Jesse Jackson joined Dukakis and Wilson Goode at a rally in Germantown.

In the interests of the Philly establishment, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* tried to do in the anti-Klan demonstration, first by blacking it out, and then toying with a little yellow journalism red-baiting smear. *Inquirer* staff writer Murray Dubin probed for a "background" job on the Mobilization: instead of listening to the speakers he crawled into the medical tent to ask the doctors if they were out-of-towners! A unionist in Michigan told the PDC that Dubin had called him up, fishing for whether his endorsement was legit, implying he was "duped" by the PDC. The unionist

strongly stood by the PDC and its meticulous practices.

The city's campaign of lies and intimidation continued right through the demonstration. On the eve of the rally, Park Service police split the rally site with steel barricades, hoping to fence in the anti-Klan protesters. An 11.00 pm protest by the PDC got them taken down. One New Jersey black family who drove over an hour to attend the demonstration was blocked from entering Independence Mall by Philly cops who told them, "It's not a rally against the Klan, it's a rally against the police." The cops are used to having free rein and were enraged at the integrated labour power protecting the rally.

BLACK LIBERATION THROUGH SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Driven inside by the rain after two and a half hours, the rally continued at the Blue Horizon Auditorium in North Philly, where over 600 packed the hall. For many the party was the first integrated social event they had ever attended. White college students from Madison celebrated with black shipyard workers and dockers from the South. The mobilisation was a living refutation of the old "New Left" programme of "sectoralism", in which each oppressed group is supposed to

struggle separately for its own liberation. At the close, when the Nat Turner Brigade filed out to the bus for the long trip back home, the auditorium rang with applause and cheers for the black worker militants. As each of the other contingents filed out, the hall was filled with thundering chants of "We Stopped the Klan!"

Our victory came in a reactionary social and political climate where abortion clinic bombers are followed by the "god squads" of the Moral Majority terrorising women, where racist attacks mount on the campuses and on the streets of white enclaves, where AIDS victims are witchhunted, and homeless people left abandoned on the streets of this vastly rich country. The November 5 Mobilization showed that the working people of America are ready to fight to defend the interests of their class, if given the chance. The key is revolutionary leadership, a Leninist party with the programme and determination to lead the coming class battles and champion the defence of all the oppressed.

The Greensboro Massacre by a KKK/Nazi death squad in November 1979 gave the go-ahead to racist terrorists in America. But from Detroit to San Francisco to Chicago and Washington, DC, labour/black mobilisations initiated by the Spartacist

League successfully interdicted the Klan in the Northern cities of America in the first years of Reagan reaction. The SL, although a relatively small communist organisation, provided the leadership, and our revolutionary programme expressed the felt desire of thousands who came out to stop the Klan. In each case, the mass mobilisations were built against the Democratic Party mayors and the so-called leftists who tailed after them. In each case, it was black and red together, getting a taste of the social power that the struggle for socialist revolution will unleash.

November 5 was a signal defeat for the Klan and skinheads, and a victory for the working people and minorities across America. The racist terrorists must be stopped from staging their deadly provocations like they did in Chicago's Marquette Park last August. Welding the power of the working class to the oppressed minorities, November 5 shows the way forward against the racists and the capitalist state which breeds them. The integrated union marshals who stood shoulder to shoulder in defence against the KKK represent the promise of the workers party which must be built in this country - a multi-racial workers party to lead the fight for workers revolution. ■

Class struggle...

(Continued from page 1)

elected Sinn Fein city councilmen in Northern Ireland. Can none be interviewed by BBC or Independent Television?"

BBC journalists announced that they might strike over the ban. The possibility touched such a chord that even the *Guardian* (4 November) warmly welcomed the action, admitting that their "leader columns don't often say that a strike - any strike, anywhere in Britain - is sensible, inescapable and deserves public support. On the other hand, next Thursday's strike by BBC journalists is all of those things." Unfortunately, the BBC brass talked the NUJ leadership out of it - to fight "together", of course. It takes no great insight to predict that there will be no fight - let alone together with restless journalists - by the BBC against the government ban.

This gag on the press is serious business. When the government at last lost its surreal battle to ban *Spycatcher* after most of the world and most of Britain knew all, it was a damage control exercise by the law lords. But the underlying question of the state's prerogative to censor and lie was not challenged in the least. Instead the Official Secrets Act is to be "reformed" so that almost any disclosure offensive to the government is unlawful. John Pilger wrote that under the new act, "we could not tell you that the security services vetted BBC journalists and operated blacklists of innocent people; that the Government ran suspected death squads in Ireland and tapped the tele-



Stephen Gibson

"Security" scare: Special Branch seizes BBC papers and tapes in Glasgow, 29 January/1 February 1987 (above). *New Statesman* journalist Duncan Campbell (right), bane of secrecy-mad British rulers.

phone taps (see *Workers Eye* in recent issues) dug a bit. Thatcher & Co found this intolerable. The jealously-guarded privilege of secrecy used to cover up RUC/Army/MI5 operations in Northern Ireland is of a piece with the Zircon bans, raids and censorship.

On 21 October, the *Guardian* announced that "The suspect's right to silence is to be curtailed, first in Northern Ireland, then in England and Wales" as the government "continued to unveil anti-terrorist measures". It indicated that further "anti-terrorist" measures would be forthcoming at the 22 November queen's speech and that there were strong hints that "a loyalty oath, obliging parliamentary and council candidates to renounce

ever more to force to secure its rule. To hear a bloodthirsty ruler like Margaret Thatcher pontificate about renouncing "violence" is a sick joke. Westminster would be empty if such a vow were to be taken by the capitalist rulers - for they can rule in no other fashion than with hideous violence.

Northern Ireland does not play such an overwhelming role in all the government's measures simply because the IRA are the most convenient "terrorists" to whip up a scare about nor because Thatcher, in her bunker, is obsessed with quashing the next hit attempt. The paranoid fears of revenge which haunt those who brutally repress are endemic to



Brian Harris

political ends in order to deal with the 1984 miners' strike. The Public Order Act had its origins in Northern Ireland.... The British are being acclimatised to breach of their civil liberties by watching the systematic erosion of civil liberties in the Northern Ireland context.' He asks if it is just coincidence that following the killing of 35 people by the security forces between November 1982 and February 1985, 23 of them undercover operations, the incidence of police shootings on the mainland has risen. It is almost as though it has become acceptable to shoot first and ask questions later...."

TRADE UNIONS IN THE CROSS HAIRS

In 1984, the "enemy within" weren't Irish Republicans - they were the heroic miners who struck for a year, defying the Iron Lady and polarising the society sharply. (Although Thatcher may be aware of the apocryphal tale of the miner, who upon hearing that the IRA planted a bomb in Brighton which nearly blew the PM and her cabinet to smithereens, swore "The bastards!... Why did they miss?") This was no battle in the chambers of the law lords or Parliament - it was class war in the coalfields. The NUM squared off with the scab-herding armies of police (and some military personnel loosely disguised as such). The treacherous Labour/TUC tops knifed the strike, but the ranks of the workers move-



Workers Hammer

Wapping, 1986: Thatcher's cossacks charge striking print workers.

phones of its political opponents; and more. Clause 50 of the White Paper outlining these 'reforms' in the Act says: 'Disclosure of information relating to international relations should be an offence' (*Independent*, 20 October).

This, along with the ban, sets a dangerous precedent that goes beyond even the usual absence of press freedoms in Britain's very incomplete "democracy" - where the monarchy, House of Lords and established Church continue to exist. If Thatcher had her way, the only news fit to print or broadcast would be the disinformation of her ministers. When the press rushed to print the government's bald-faced lie that the IRA trio's car in Gibraltar contained a 500-pound bomb which had been defused, it was then forced to print its "second thoughts" and admit it had been fed - and regurgitated - garbage. (See "Gibraltar: cold-blooded murder", *Workers Hammer* no 96, March 1988.) The government's story stank and *Death on the Rock* (along with *Pri-*

violence, will be among them". Protection against self-incrimination and the presumption of innocence - with the burden of proving guilt on the shoulders of the prosecution - have thus been demolished by a Thatcher/Hurd diktat.

The "loyalty oath" has not yet been enacted. Writing in the *Observer* (23 October) Alan Watkins put it: "What Mrs Margaret Thatcher, aided by Mr Hurd, wishes to enact is not authoritarian but totalitarian. It seeks to control people's minds. No liberal democrat could conscientiously renounce violence in all circumstances. It depends."

As revolutionary Marxists, we understand that the source of violence and terrorism in this society is the capitalist class and its state. Unable to feed the hungry or provide jobs for the unemployed, periodically plunging the population into devastating inter-imperialist war, sacrificing every vestige of rationality or decency to its insatiable hunger for profit, the bourgeoisie must resort

most capitalist rulers. But it is in Northern Ireland where the security forces have practised their filthy trade of state-terror, where suspension of civil liberties including internment and the Diplock courts has been tested over many years. This training ground for the state apparatus carries its risks, but it provides battle-hardening experience which comes in more than handy on "the mainland". Belfast barrister Anthony Jennings' book *Justice Under Fire* deals with this theme; the *Independent* (20 October) summarised:

"Northern Ireland has become a proving ground for 'hard' criminal justice measures in the rest of the UK, he says. The extended police powers of arrest and detention in the 1984 Police and Criminal Evidence Act were first used in Northern Ireland in the 1970s. The Prevention of Terrorism Act was extended to apply to international terrorism and was at one stage to be extended to deal with incidents of domestic violence for

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ment and the oppressed were unequivocally on the side of the miners fight.

In the aftermath of the strike, Thatcher unleashed racist terror against the inner cities, the cops employing their own racist version of "shoot-to-kill" against black and Asian people. The miners were defeated but not crushed. The Labour traitors preached ever-more defeatism to the workers movement, turning the Wapping print workers strike into a Kinnock non-strike, an exercise in impotent consumer boycott and rallies rather than shutting down Fortress Wapping. All this is not enough for Thatcher who would crush all the trade unions if she could. At the GCHQ spy centre in Cheltenham, the remaining 17 trade unionists who have refused to renounce their membership in the union are threatened with or have begun to be sacked. A homosexual was also sacked as a "security risk". The government cites "national security" in its vindictive campaign to drive out the last vestiges of trade unionism at GCHQ - a domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive of which Thatcher is a "senior" NATO operative.

Recently, thousands went on strike in a one-day protest - courts, ports, Customs and government offices, schools, mines were struck and thousands attended rallies in Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Birmingham. Neil Kinnock began his London speech in Polish, praising the counterrevolu-

Soviet war drive. GCHQ is an integral part of the mammoth international spy network directed against the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries and run by the sinister American National Security Agency (NSA). Established through a secret 1946 treaty between the US and British (Labour) governments, GCHQ monitors communications and intelligence from the Soviet bloc as well as compiles its files on 75,000 individuals, including so-called 'enemies of the realm' like trade-union militants and leftists.

"...Jeezus', someone in the CIA or NSA HQ must have exclaimed, 'they've got unions too! Goddamn British unions with strikes for longer tea breaks, work-to-rules every other Thursday and shop stewards who speak Russian!' So the US demanded improved security vetting with polygraphs and a union ban."

In the name of the rights of the working people to organise - which is what is at stake here - the GCHQ trade unionists must be defended by militant working-class action! Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! Defend the workers states and the workers movement!

Now Employment Secretary Norman Fowler has proposed a government "code" designed to eliminate strike action. This union-busting legislation contains 103 measures which would reduce the trade unions to abject servitude. It "instructs" the trade unions that "a strike ballot is only



London Illustrated

Shooting to kill: British army attacks 1842 Chartist demonstration in Preston.

of another crisis in the world capitalist economy, the British rulers are girding themselves for class struggle. But however much it would like to, the bourgeoisie cannot legislate trade unions out of existence. That fight will take place on the picket lines and in the streets - it is something decided by class struggle. But to wage the effective, hard fight urgently needed in defence of the working people and elementary civil liberties requires a break with the Labour traitors.

Since Labour in power sent the troops into Northern Ireland and imposed the Prevention of Terrorism Act, it is totally in character that Kinnock, Hattersley, et al can only mumble that the ban on Sinn Fein only "aids the terrorists". The Labour

strike - Labour paved the way for the current wave of Thatcherite reaction. And in that betrayal, the "lefts" played a key role. A fundamental unity between the Kinnock and Benn wings was forged over the miners strike and it is small wonder that today the "Benn challenge" was no challenge at all, mobilising little in the way of working-class support, despite the widespread disenchantment with mainstream Labourite policies. The more grovelling and passive Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition is, the more aggressive become the attacks from 10 Downing Street.

This vicious regime, presiding over a very decaying capitalist society, is striking out at an ever-widening section of the population. It is a literally murderous regime from the sinking of the *Belgrano* in Thatcher's dirty little Falklands war to the King's Cross inferno, from the SAS murder in Gibraltar to the police murder of black youth like Clinton McCurbin. And Thatcher hates just about everyone: trade unionists, homosexuals, blacks, Asians, the poor, the old, the sick, single mothers, most of Scotland. A revolutionary, class-struggle programme addressing the needs of the embattled trade union movement, the unemployed, the victims of racist attack, could mobilise not only the power of the organised proletariat, but the seething discontent of much of the British people. It would also fight for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British troops from Northern Ireland, and aid the struggle for a class solution to the sectarian divide, against Orange reaction and the Green nationalists. It is necessary to split the working masses from the Labour traitors, right and "left" and build an authentic communist party committed to leading the working class and oppressed in class battle against the corrupt, venal, lying rulers. Forge a Bolshevik party! ■



Morning Star



New York Times

Brighton: civil servants (left) protest Thatcher's vicious GCHQ union ban at this year's Tory Party conference.

tionary Solidarnosc which has just proved its nature again by hailing Margaret Thatcher and thanking her, in a banner, for "subduing" Arthur Scargill. As a Cold War witchhunter and scab himself, it is natural Kinnock would seize the opportunity to try to out-Thatcher Thatcher. Labour would restore union rights at GCHQ, Kinnock said, "in the name of patriotism - the patriotism that manifests love of country by commitment to its people and its values and not only to the flag that flies over that" (*Guardian*, 8 November). But bourgeois "patriotism" is exactly why, at the behest of the US imperialists, Thatcher banned unions at Cheltenham.

We explained in 1984 that:

"The Cheltenham ban directly serves the NATO imperialist anti-

used if it has first been established that there is sufficient demand for it from members"; unions are "required to give employers prior notice before conducting a secret ballot and to seek their assistance (!) in conducting a workplace ballot"; a strike vote would be invalid without a "very substantial" majority in a turnout of at least 70 per cent; "unions should give an employer 'sufficient' notice in industrial action to allow any necessary arrangements to be made", ad nauseam. Fowler's "code" would not legally bind the trade unions to these "recommendations", but it will be admissible as evidence in the courts and taken into account in legal proceedings. Which amounts to much the same thing. During the miners strike, the bosses and their state used the ballot question as a direct strike-breaking device against the NUM, attempting to dictate to the trade unions how they could or could not use their power at the point of production.

The right to strike, the very existence of the trade unions, was not won and will not be defended by the Parliamentary windbags politely using their "question time" to wonder if perhaps the Employment Secretary has gone too far. With the prospect

Party has less than "nothing special" to offer the oppressed minorities. Labour has solidarised with the racist killer cops against the embattled inner cities and has witchhunted its own advocates of "black sections". Through knifing the most important class battle in decades - the miners

Kristallnacht...

(Continued from page 7)

vacillations and abhorrence of social revolution on the part of the Social Democratic leaders. There are examples of what could have been achieved if the Trotskyists had won the mass of Communist workers. Thus, under Trotskyist leadership, a workers self-defence group in Oranienburg opened fire and routed the brownshirts when they entered a workers neighbourhood on 30 January 1933.

Today Bonn, together with its NATO allies rearms and trains for a new, thermonuclear anti-Soviet "Operation Barbarossa". Protected by the state, brownshirt skinhead terror strikes leftists, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals, other minorities - and, obscenely, skinhead gangs are appear-

ing in the DDR. The lessons of history are embodied in the question of programme. The enormous social power of the West German working class with its crucial immigrant component must be unleashed in a fight for its own historical interests as a class. For the revolutionary reunification of Germany in the struggle for a socialist united states of Europe! Only the programme of proletarian internationalism can accomplish that. And only a revolutionary international party forged in the tradition of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky can lead the workers and oppressed under the banner of that programme: the banner of socialist revolution - a decent future for humankind, free of the threat of a new, even more devastating holocaust. Adapted from Spartakist no 59, November/December 1988, the paper of the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands.

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