



Northern Ireland: Labour votes big for troops to stay

British army incites death-squad terror

In recent weeks, "revelations" of the years-long collusion between the forces of the British state and the loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland have been splashed across the pages of the bourgeois press. Reactionary Protestant thugs have obtained hundreds of "security" files which they have now made public in an attempt to terrorise the Catholic community as a whole. These files have been passed on from army headquarters, Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) bases and Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) stations implicating the whole of the British "security" forces in the six counties in premeditated, cold-blooded killings of "suspected" republicans.

Interviewing a well-known loyalist about the "leaks", the *Sunday Correspondent* (1 October) quoted him: "It's been going on for 20 years, ever since the British Army arrived here; I don't know why anyone is surprised." True enough. As *Magill* (October 1989) summarised:

"UDR soldiers have been linked to some of the most notorious killings in the North including the Shankill Butcher and Miami showband atrocities. The bombing of a Catholic church, and of an Irish pub in London of a dance hall in Donegal



Donald McCullin/Magnum

and a pub in Co. Down and of council offices in Lisburn are also among the hundreds of offences attributed to UDR personnel... very many sectarian murders of Catholics are among the many hundreds of cases involving members of the regiment which have reached the courts."

The "news" is that the bourgeois media has now seen fit to publicly acknowledge the body of evidence which has reached such a point that the Thatcher government felt compelled to set up one of its whitewash "inquiries". Putting the

British police in charge of investigating the British army's crimes in Northern Ireland somehow lacks credibility. Deputy chief constable of Cambridgeshire John Stevens has been assigned to head it

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For free abortion on demand!

Opponents of the right to abortion are mobilising in a renewed offensive. The new parliamentary session is set to debate an embryo research bill which will be used as a peg for a reactionary assault on women's rights. One clause will give estranged husbands or unmarried fathers a veto over the use of frozen embryos they have fertilised, and on this basis the anti-abortionists are pushing for a similar veto over abortion. Sixty-plus Tory MPs are proposing an amendment to oblige doctors to tell parents if contraception or abortion has been provided to women under sixteen. And a cross-party campaign proposes to use the Embryo Bill to reduce the provisions of the 1967 Abortion Law from 28 weeks to 18 weeks in which a pregnancy may be legally terminated. The Thatcher government has promised time for the debate, which cannot be filibustered like the previous private members' bills attacking abortion rights. The "pro-life" bigots are cock-a-hoop at what they see as their

Stop "right-to-life" reaction!

best chance of victory since 1967.

In August, it was announced as well that the successful abortion pill, RU486/mifepristone, would most likely not be available in Britain for at least three years. The delay is not due to scientific/medical doubt, but is the result of deadly opposition launched by anti-abortion forces. Taken early, RU486 acts in much the same way as an IUD and some contraceptive pills. Later it is safer than a surgical abortion and cheaper. Last year, the makers—Roussel-Uclaf—halted marketing the drug in France in the face of intimidation and threats against the company and its staff (government intervention restored it to the market). Anti-abortion lobbies have effectively halted distribution in the United States. The "right to lifers" especially object to the pill as it would make abortion what it

should be: an entirely private matter between a woman and her doctor.

The organised workers movement and all fighters for women's and democratic rights must be mobilised against these attacks. *For free abortion on demand! Make RU486 freely available now!*

Here as elsewhere the domestic reflection of the imperialist drive against the Soviet Union is the ruling-class assault on the living standards of the working people and on elementary democratic rights. In the US the attacks on abortion rights have become a spearhead of reaction. A mobilisation of terror and intimidation—including arson and bombings of abortion clinics—is being carried out with the blessing of the White House. Funding cuts, bans on the use of public facilities, "parental permission", restrictions on

doctors and the recent supreme court decision to allow individual states to pass abortion laws have all been orchestrated in the campaign. In the West German state of Bavaria the heirs of Hitler are prosecuting Dr Horst Theissen, who has courageously defied reactionary abortion statutes, and over 500 of his patients. This *Kinder-Küche-Kirche* (children-kitchen-church) witch-hunt aims to enhance nationalist poison and especially targets Dr Theissen's poor and foreign-born patients—oppressed Turkish working women and others. Immigration authorities have threatened these women with deportation as well.

More than 200,000 women die annually worldwide from illegal, unsafe abortions in what should be among the safest of operations. As part of the international offensive against the poor and oppressed, those organisations which assist women in having abortions have had their funds cut by

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Asylum for Kurdish/Tamil refugees!

Home Office killed Siho Iyigüven

LONDON—Several hundred demonstrated their outrage on 9 October at a protest here called by the Union of Turkish Workers against the barbaric treatment of Kurdish refugees seeking asylum in Britain. Twenty-six-year-old Siho Iyigüven is dead from severe burns suffered after he and a fellow Kurdish asylum-seeker Dogan Arslan set fire to their cell at Harmondsworth detention centre on 5 October. Dogan Arslan is still fighting for his life in Stoke Mandeville hospital. The Home Office is as guilty of Siho Iyigüven's death as if it had lit the fire which took his life.

This act of desperation by the two incarcerated Kurdish men reveals starkly the criminal treatment being meted out by the government. Temporary admission to Britain has been given to some 3700 Kurds fleeing the massive repression of the Turkish regime. Visa restrictions were imposed in June to halt the flow of refugees. Of those who did arrive, hundreds have been left to languish in prisons and detention centres while others have been summarily deported. Hunger strikes have broken out in the Portsmouth and Haslar detention centres. On 12 October Halil Guzel was led handcuffed on to a plane bound for Turkey, deported despite UN calls on the Home Office to reconsider the "humanitarian aspects" of the case.

Another Kurdish refugee, Selahattin Ozberk has received a temporary reprieve after a last-minute intervention by the UN High Commission for Refugees. "He has until 5pm on Tuesday to find another country willing to take him or face deportation to Turkey" (*Guardian*, 13 October).

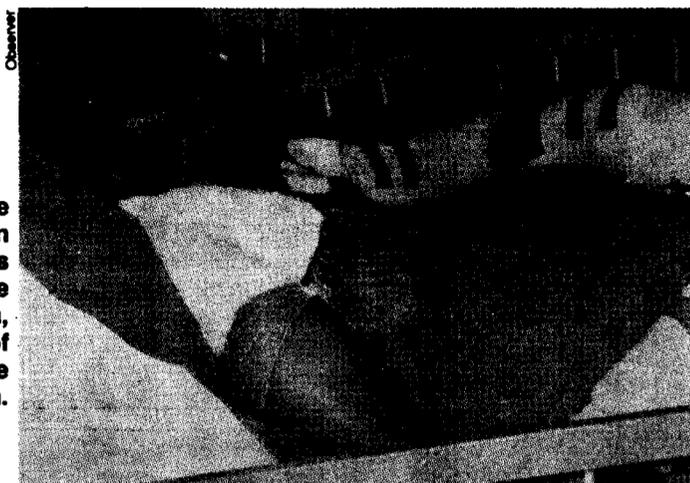
In their case, Siho Iyigüven and Dogan Arslan had been served with removal orders for return to Turkey, their applications for asylum status denied by the Home Secretary. After reviewing their cases he was "minded to refuse". Both men had been subjected to beatings and torture in Turkish prisons. The *Observer* (8 October) reported:

"Mr Iyigüven had been arrested on several occasions in Turkey and accused of association with left-wing groups. In detention he was severely beaten on the head and systematically on the soles of his feet. Blows to his jaw had made it difficult for him to chew.

"The other burned man... had also been detained and abused on many occasions.... He was a target for semi-official right-wing paramilitaries and the police because his uncle was the founder of a banned youth Communist organisation. The uncle has been executed. Mr Arslan had been in hiding since 1987."

For these Kurdish leftists, along with hundreds of others, return to Turkey is a

Kurdish refugee Dogan Arslan (right) and his dead comrade Siho Iyigüven, are victims of murderous Home Office racism.



death warrant. When in November 1987 leaders of the United Communist Party of Turkey (TBKP) Kutlu and Sargin returned to Turkey after much advance publicity, they were seized at the Istanbul airport, handcuffed and blindfolded and taken to the notorious "Deep Investigation Laboratory" of the Directorate of Security. They are still being held, as are other Turkish leftists who have subsequently returned to the country.

To call attention to their plight and that of their comrades, Siho Iyigüven and Dogan Arslan set themselves on fire in the British holding pen. Another refugee, presently released from Harmondsworth and awaiting word of his fate, said:

"If I am sent back I will face torture and repression again and I would die. I am a wanted person in Turkey, we have been forced to leave our homes and villages. Since our childhood we hear that Great Britain is the cradle of democracy, decency and freedom; now we find the truth."

The Tamil people and others fleeing the Sri Lankan/Indian army/communal terror on that ravaged island have also found out the "truth" about Britain. As the *Guardian* (13 October) noted: "This [Kurdish] wave of asylum-seekers since May follows the 1986 influx of Tamils escaping the civil war in Sri Lanka, many of whom were sent back after being classed by the Government as economic refugees trying to better themselves."

Sri Lanka has become an all-sided hell-hole. In the north the murderous oppression of the Sri Lankan state has been supplanted by the terror of the Indian army and its Tamil collaborators like the EPRLF. The main Tamil nationalist group, the LTTE, fights not just against the Indian occupation and its allies but also engages in internecine murder of other critics and opponents. All the Tamil groups practise and uphold communalist killings of Sinhalese civilians. Tamils in Colombo, especially young men fleeing the forced levies of the rival Tamil groups in the north and east, continue to face government and Sinhalese communalist terror. And in the Sinhalese majority areas a bloody conflict between the UNP government and the Sinhala-chauvinist JVP has left thousands murdered in recent months. The JVP which virtually controls large swathes of the south not only targets government supporters but has also gone after leftists, trade unionists and others who oppose their rabid communalist policies. Under cover of the night curfew, army/police/UNP death squads operate. Simply to be a student can be a prima facie case to be "necklaced" by these forces.

In February 1987, 58 Tamils stripped off their clothes at Heathrow Airport in an attempt to publicise and stop threatened deportation back to Lanka. In the case of five of those who were deported, the Immigration Appeals Tribunal found that they had demonstrated a "well-founded fear of persecution" in Sri Lanka and the decision to deport them wrong.

New Statesman & Society (29 September) reported a visit by two journalists to Sri Lanka, where they met one of the Tamils who had been illegally imprisoned. Vathanan was in hiding in Colombo and "had twice been arrested since his return to Sri Lanka and had once been seriously beaten up". The *New Statesman's* report includes the fact that two solicitors working on the appeal had taken statements from those men they could reach in Sri Lanka, discovering that:

"all of them were living precariously in similar circumstances to Vathanan and that they or their families had been harassed by the security forces. One man... was allegedly imprisoned for three months. Another, Skandarajah, had been arrested on his first day back at home in Jaffna. He was held for ten weeks and tortured by the Indian peace-keeping [sic] forces. A third escaped from the country after the Indians raided his home on several occasions and tortured members of his family."

Today, all have returned to Britain, but have not been granted full asylum.

The overturn of the deportation of these five is a very rare occurrence. Under current immigration law, failed asylum seekers are forced to return to their country to mount a full appeal! There are meanwhile some hundreds of Tamils who have gone into hiding in Britain to escape deportation and death. These recent racist outrages against Kurdish and Tamil refugees seeking asylum are part and parcel of the anti-immigrant policies pushed by Labour and Tory governments alike. The organised workers movement together with immigrant organisations has the duty and social power to mount mass, militant protest on behalf of those seeking asylum from murderous death-squad terror.

The Partisan Defence Committee has sent a protest telegram to the Home Office demanding asylum for all refugees from reactionary terror; it states of Iyigüven and Arslan's desperate act: "For this atrocity the British government stands condemned." *Avenge Siho Iyigüven! Stop the deportations! Down with the racist immigration laws! Free the imprisoned Kurdish refugees! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families!*



TROTSKY

Bolshevism in the colonial and neo-colonial countries

Speaking to the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow in 1924, Leon Trotsky stressed the application of the lessons of the Bolshevik October Revolution to the countries of the East. As the increasingly combative black working class of South Africa has demonstrated its social power again, the petty-bourgeois nationalism and popular frontist policies of the ANC are a death-trap for the proletariat. The

revolutionary Leninist vanguard party of the working masses and oppressed must be forged.

During the war and at the present day we witness a feverish industrialization of colonial, semi-colonial, and, generally speaking, of all backward countries: Japan, India, South America, and South Africa... in these countries there will be no time for the refuse of past centuries to accumulate in the minds of the workers....

Comrades and workers of the East, in 1883 there came into being in Switzerland the Russian group of "Emancipation of Labor"... Only a third of a century has intervened between the organization of the first theoretic-propagandist group of Marxist ideas in the reign of Alexander III and the conquest of Tsarist Russia by the proletariat....

Russia was backward, not only economically, but also politically. Marxism preached the inevitability of capitalism, and those bourgeois-progressive elements which wanted capitalism for its own sake and not for the sake of Socialism, accepted Marxism, having previously deprived it of its revolutionary sting.... But you have the advantage over the older generations of Russian, Rumanian, and other Marxists in that you live and work not only in the post-Marxian, but even in the post-Lenin epoch. Your advantage consists in having sprung directly from the epoch which will be known in history as the Lenin epoch.

—From *The Age of Permanent Revolution:*

A Trotsky Anthology, edited by Isaac Deutscher



LENIN

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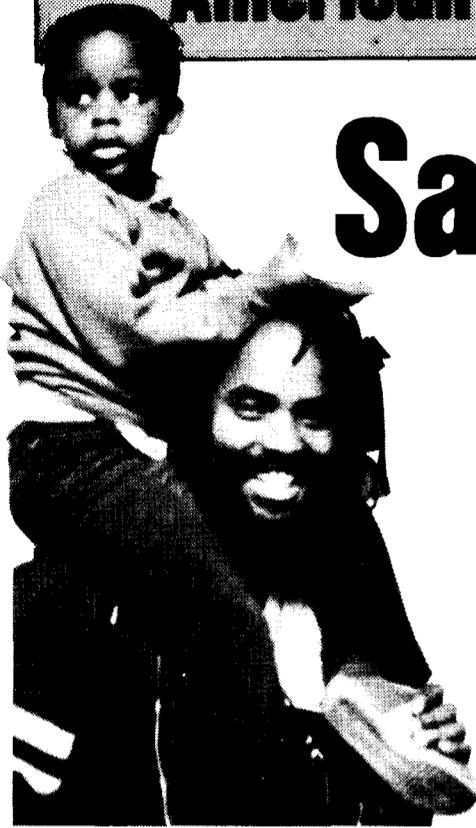
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American black political prisoner on death row



Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Black Panther Party proved he was a committed cop-killer. This case is what the death penalty in the US is all about. It exposes not only the arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but also the inherent racism of its application. Mumia was targeted because of what he wrote and said, because of who he is: a radical black man who became known as "the voice of the voiceless". At his trial Mumia was denied counsel of his own choice. To get a hanging jury of eleven whites, the court permitted the seating of a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding eleven prospective black jurors.

An appeal to have Jamal's death sentence overturned by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court was denied in March. The high court decision ignored a multitude of fair trial violations and refused to consider the political basis central in prosecuting Mumia and sentencing him to death. That appeal was supported by an *amici curiae* (friend of the court) brief from the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Conference of Black Lawyers. Congressman Ron Dellums appealed to Pennsylvania's Governor Robert Casey "to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal".

The PDC and other supporters of Mumia's fight are continuing to mobilise, as have fraternal legal and social defence organisations internationally. In Paris, at a demonstration on 8 July, supporters of the Comité de défense sociale (CDDS) and the reggae music group Rising Soul collected over 1100 signatures on a petition demanding Mumia be saved. Signatories came from a broad range of people, from anti-imperialist youth to North African workers to supporters of the Communist Party of France and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, principal organisers of the demonstration. Here in Britain, the recently-launched Partisan Defence Committee is appealing to opponents of the death penalty and defenders of black rights to take a stand on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The Partisan Defence Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The PDC in Britain was formed at the time of the successful international fundraising and publicity campaign undertaken on behalf of the civilian victims of Jalalabad, who have heroically withstood and broken the siege of the CIA's *mujahedin* killers.

International solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal can be an effective weapon in the struggle to stay the hand of the executioner. As James P Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism and National Secretary of the International Labor Defense wrote of the massive protests in defence of Italian-born radicals Sacco and Vanzetti: "It was this campaign for international solidarity that has so far saved Sacco and Vanzetti from the death chair, and not the reliance solely upon the good intentions and judicial honesty of the Massachusetts courts" (*Notebook of an Agitator*).

"Pull the hood off the hangman"

As Mumia wrote in a message to his

supporters from death row on 29 April:

"The death penalty in America is a symbol, a ritual, a relic of a time of total dominance, of one people, by another. Therein lies its attractiveness in the U.S., and in the apartheid regime in South Africa. That's why the system brandishes its electric chairs, its nooses, its gas chambers, and poison needles.... Your efforts today expose this modern-day sacrificial system for what it is—I, my wife, we *all* thank you for your active support in our fight to pull the hood off the hangman, and send this ritual to the dust."

In fighting to save Mumia Abu-Jamal from execution, the PDC has raised the call to abolish the barbaric death penalty. Today some 2100 wait on death row in American prisons. Nearly half of those on death row are black and Hispanic. Although never more than 12 per cent of the population, black people accounted for more than two-thirds of all US executions between 1930 and 1967. No white person has been executed for killing a black person, with one exception in 1944.

In Britain, a section of the ruling class longs to restore the death penalty. The hangman's noose was in use in Britain up until 1965, when capital punishment was suspended. It was "abolished" in 1969, however "treason" remains a capital offence today. Furthermore, the British bourgeoisie did not require the death penalty to execute in cold blood three IRA members in Gibraltar or to preside over the death of H Block hunger-striker Bobby Sands. State terror is rooted in the dying capitalist system and will only be finally ended by the victorious proletarian revolution. Today, Margaret Thatcher, Nicholas Ridley and others favour the reintroduction of the death penalty outright. It is necessary to oppose any such moves to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the racist capitalist state and to demand that capital punishment—an

outrage against justice and decency—be abolished completely.

Partisan Defense Committee co-chairman Charles Brover, speaking at a public meeting in New York City in April on the theme "Stop Racist Legal Lynching—Abolish the Death Penalty!" noted:

"I want to make it clear that although racial politics define the character of the death penalty in America, the PDC would oppose it in any case on principle. As internationalists, we oppose it everywhere it exists. In Iran. In the Soviet Union—where the permanent introduction of the death penalty in 1923, as opposed to executions in civil war conditions, accompanied the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state. We do not accord to the state the right to say who will live and who will die."

Thousands of signatures have been collected on petitions demanding: Save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The "voice of the voiceless" is again being heard—Abu-Jamal's columns are now being published in US newspapers from San Francisco to New York to Atlanta. Support has been coming in from an impressive number of trade unionists, civil rights organisations, death penalty abolitionists, religious leaders. Among those rallying to Mumia's support are television's Edward Asner and Sabrina LeBeauf of "The Cosby Show"; Pat Turner, widow of blues great "Big Joe" Turner; Rev Daniel Berrigan; Rev Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Jack Healey, executive director of Amnesty International and Robert Bryan, chairperson of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty.

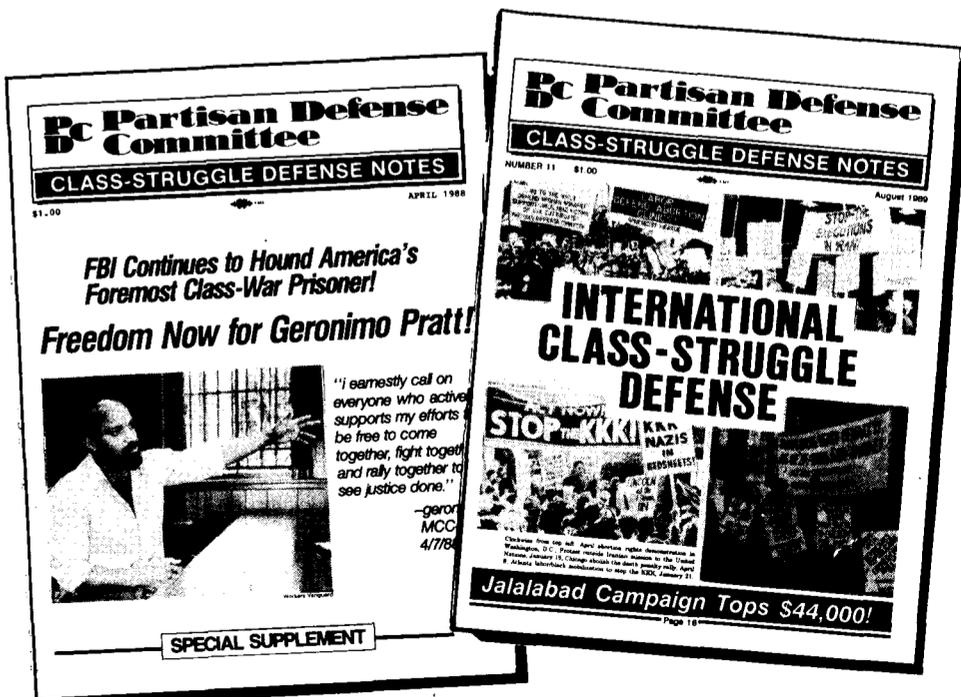
Join us in the fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. For petitions and other information, please write to the Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX. ■

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a death row political prisoner in the US. A Black Panther Party spokesman at the age of 14, a prominent journalist known as a supporter of Philadelphia's MOVE organisation, former president of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Association of Black Journalists, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been sentenced to die by the racist capitalist courts for his political views and activities. The Partisan Defense Committee in the US has campaigned to stop the "legal lynching" of this courageous fighter.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has been in the cross-hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops for over 20 years. He earned the cops' undying hatred especially for his sympathetic interviews with imprisoned MOVE members after a 1978 cop siege of the MOVE commune. Seven years later, on 13 May 1985, black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and his city administration in collaboration with Reagan's federal government burned to death eleven members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, including five infants and children. More than 60 homes were burned to the ground in that section of black Philly, leaving 300 people homeless. It was the signature of the Reagan regime: racist state terror meant to cow and regiment the American population.

We have recently learned from Lois Williamson, Executive Director of Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants, that since 1 October Abu-Jamal and nine other inmates at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania have been on a hunger strike to protest the despicable conditions on death row. Driven to this desperate act by the wholesale denial of even the most minimal norms of human decency, the hunger strikers are calling for the prison administration simply to adhere to guidelines set down by the Pennsylvania governor's 1987 Interdepartmental Task Force on Corrections Report: more reasonable visiting procedures, an immediate end to prison interference with outgoing mail, more phone access to contact families and implementation of better educational opportunities. Send letters and telegrams supporting the hunger strikers and demanding that Mumia not be executed, to: Governor Robert Casey, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, USA.

Mumia was framed up for the killing of a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. At the sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued for the death sentence by claiming that Abu-Jamal's prior membership in the



For a single copy of *Class Struggle Defense Notes*, publication of the US Partisan Defense Committee, send £1 to: Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX

Ernest Mandel's USec salutes Estonian Nazis



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USec defends Estonian "Forest Brothers" claiming these Nazi collaborators were waging "liberation" struggle. (Left) Three Estonian officers of Waffen SS 20th Division. Altons Rebane (left in photo) led "Forest Brothers" unit against Red Army, then joined Nazi forces. (Right) Klooga death camp in Estonia, where 3000 people, half of them Jews from the Vilna Ghetto in Lithuania, were exterminated.

As thousands of Jewish slave labourers left the Vilna Ghetto in Lithuania for their work detail on the morning of 6 August 1943, they were surrounded by Estonian Nazi troops. The Jewish men and women knew what this meant—deportation to death, the Final Solution. Many resisted—they were bloodily mowed down. The rest were loaded onto freight cars for transport to concentration camps in Estonia. A month later, Vilna, the historic centre of Jewish culture in East Europe, was "Judenrein"—"cleansed" of Jews. As the final *Aktion* was being carried out in early September, Estonian patrols stood outside the ghetto gates to get those who tried to escape. After the Soviet army drove the Wehrmacht out of the Baltic region in 1944, many of these local Nazis escaped to the woods, where as the "Forest Brothers" they continued to carry out terror against Communists and Jews until the early 1950s.

Now we read that these sadistic beasts were "freedom fighters" who were part of "The Armed Struggle Against Stalinism in Estonia". And where is this apologia for Estonian Nazis to be found? Not in the pages of some neo-Nazi "revisionist" history, but in a "left-wing" publication, *International Viewpoint* (18 September), the organ of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), represented in this country mainly by *Socialist Outlook*. Mandel's outfit reprints *without criticism* this piece by one Herbert Lindmae, originally published in the monthly paper of the Estonian People's Front. In its editorial introduction *International Viewpoint* recommends Lindmae's article as an answer to the Soviet press which "continues to cry scandal about any defense of the 'Forest Brothers'". Scandal? The "Forest Brothers" were anti-Soviet Nazi terrorists!

Swinging from another pole in the fake-Trotskyist milieu are the confused centrists of the British Workers Power group, which has simultaneously come out for the Stalinist position of the inviolability of the borders of the Soviet Union while supporting the anti-democratic demands of the Baltic nationalists. And after years of tailing pro-capitalist *Solidarność* in Poland, now that *Solidarność* has formed a cabinet intent on carrying out its programme of restor-

ing capitalism, Workers Power sagely advises the Polish workers: "No return to capitalism!" Like Nancy Reagan telling ghetto kids to "just say no to drugs"! But when *Solidarność* was preparing a counter-revolutionary coup in the fall of 1981, Workers Power called for a "military united front" with Walesa & Co (see article, p5).

"Forest Brothers": Fascist pogromists

Any Red Army veteran of the war against Nazi Germany, any survivor of the extermination camps and of the *Einsatzgruppen* death squads would boil in outrage if they saw *International Viewpoint's* disgusting glorification of their tormentors. A 1982 *History of the Waffen SS* by Hugh Page Taylor, sympathetic to the Baltic nationalists, noted: "The German advance through southern Estonia was greatly assisted by the efforts of Estonian guerrillas, those men who had started to go into hiding as 'Brothers of the Forest' during the latter stages of the Russian occupation." A recent piece in the *New Yorker* (18 September), which conveys a sense of the virulent anti-Slav racism permeating the current Estonian nationalist movement, interviews one Forest Brother who proudly recalls his participation in the siege of Leningrad. For 900 bitter days, at the cost of a million lives, the people of Leningrad heroically held out *and triumphed*—and today Mandel salutes their Nazi attackers!

Where many Baltic nationalists try to sweep the issue of Nazi collaboration under the rug, Lindmae positively crows: "In the expulsion of the Red Army from the mainland and islands of Estonia, Forest Brothers' self-defense units participated along with the German armed forces." He takes pride in the fact that by May 1943 "there were already 22,849 Estonians in Hitler's armed forces." For Lindmae, the Estonians in Hitler's armed forces were engaging in a "national liberation" struggle:

"The armed struggle against Stalinism was fundamentally a struggle of the Estonian people for liberation.... The fact that during the war people involved in it fought on the side of fascist Germany is strictly the fault of Stalinism.... It was hoped that the Germans would reestablish Estonian independence or that

it would be reestablished when Germany lost the war to the Western Allies."

Here is the true longing of anti-Communist Estonian nationalism: to have been an "independent" puppet of either Nazi Germany or US imperialism—"re-established" over the mass graves of Jews and Communists.

The Estonian Nazis played their full part in Hitler's crusade against "Judeo-Bolshevism", as Arno J Mayer points out in *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (1988): "Significantly, some of the first and for a time the worst outrages against the Jews were committed not by the new-model *Einsatzgruppen* but by latter-day local pogromists in the new 'liberated' territories—Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia [Byelorussia], the Ukraine...." The Estonian Nazis had a particular place of "honour" in Hitler's satellite legions: unlike the others, they were deemed to be full equals in the German-Nordic Aryan "New Order".

Early in the war, Estonians formed the 658th and "Narva" volunteer battalions and 17 border guard battalions; in 1943 the Estonian SS Volunteer Brigade was formed as part of the Waffen SS. Estonia was the main centre for Nazi concentration camps in the Baltic. Of Estonia's tiny prewar Jewish population of some 4000, the 1000 not fortunate enough to make it to Soviet Russia had all been wiped out by the end of 1941. At the Tartu camp, whose Estonian commandant Karl Linnas was finally extradited from the US in 1987, 12,000 people were slaughtered, most of them Communists. When the Red Army was about to liberate the camp at Klooga, Estonia in 1944, a band of 30 Estonian fascists killed as many Jews as they could get their hands on.

The current Baltic nationalist movement is being portrayed by the Western media and most self-styled leftists as a noble struggle for democracy and freedom, symbolised by young girls in folk costumes carrying candles and flags of the pre-1940 "independent republics". We have warned that this movement is aimed at a counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism, that these flags stand for fascist dictatorship, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. Last month we reported that Estonian nationalists in the city of Kohtla recently openly commemorated a gang of World War II Nazi

collaborators, the ERNA group organized in Finland with German support, by erecting a memorial on the site of a former Nazi monument (see "Stop Baltic Counterrevolution!" *Workers Hammer* no 109, September).

Now Lindmae dots the i's and crosses the t's—and the Mandelites shamelessly trumpet his fascist glorification. His article ends with the demand that the Soviet government rehabilitate these Baltic Nazi collaborators! He complains that the law passed by the Supreme Soviet early this year annulling the verdicts of Stalin's frame-up trials "does not apply to traitors to the fatherland and punishment battalions formed during the Great Fatherland War [World War II], to Nazi criminals, members of nationalist bands, their satellites and so on." And he concludes: "Such persons must also be considered rehabilitated."

Lindmae has a fig leaf in the final paragraph condemning "summary executions" and participation in "mass repression outside the borders of the Estonian Republic"—he's well aware of how the Estonian Nazis had to go to Latvia and Lithuania to get in on the mass extermination of Jews. But this is a call for the rehabilitation of practically all fascist murderers, armed anti-Communist squads and nationalist bands who fought alongside the Nazi invaders and then joined the SS murder machine. What's going to appear in *International Viewpoint* next? A call for the rehabilitation of General Vlasov, a defector from the Red Army whose "Russian Liberation Army" fought under the Wehrmacht in the name of "anti-Bolshevism"?

Mandel's USec is shamelessly opportunist, wildly impressionistic and given to extreme zigzags in line. But this is an incitement. Even the anti-Communist bourgeois press wouldn't touch such a blatant salute to pogromist counterrevolutionary terrorists. Although they claim to be Trotskyist and in some sense to defend the Soviet Union, the Mandelites' embracing of Baltic fascism in the name of "anti-Stalinism" has a prehistory. Tailing Eurocommunism in the mid-'70s, Mandel & Co championed pro-Western Soviet "dissidents" like Andrei Sakharov, who called for imperialist economic warfare against the USSR. And they then glorified the clerical-nationalists of Polish *Solidarność*, whose great hero figure is Marshal Pilsudski, the fascist dictator of Poland in the 1920s and '30s.

A few years later the Australian USec section, the Socialist Workers Party, established close political collaboration with an émigré group associated with the Croatian Ustasha. When Nazi Germany invaded the Balkans in 1941, it established in Croatia a puppet fascist state. The Ustashi bands were so bloodthirsty in slaughtering Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and many Croats that even some German officers sought to restrain them. The anti-Nazi Yugoslav partisans led by the hard-bitten Stalinist Tito, and drawn largely from the peasantry, liberated the country from the Croatian fascists as well as Serbian monarchists. Postwar Yugoslavia was established on the basis of an anti-capitalist social revolution, albeit bureaucratically deformed, and in a nationally very uneven country. Since World War II émigré Ustashi groups have waged a terrorist campaign against Yugoslavia, especially its diplomatic representatives.

The SWP's support for and collaboration with Croatian fascists was quite a scandal on the Australian left. The Ustasha affair was sufficiently embarrassing for Mandel's centre in Europe to take its Australian comrades to task over it. But now there is an anti-Soviet "mass movement" in the Baltics, and with their long-standing support to any and every opposition to the Soviet government the USec is openly defending the fascist fringe of

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Workers Power on Solidarność: centrists covering their tracks

Eight years ago when we called Polish Solidarność a "company 'union' for the CIA and bankers" and demanded "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) stood virtually alone on the left. Now as Solidarność takes the reins of government, it openly reaffirms its agenda for capitalist restoration. Lech Walesa declares that the new government intends to pull Poland along the road "from a Communist system of ownership to capitalism" (*Il Messaggero*, 22 August). Solidarność—in league with Jaruzelski—intends to administer a massive "shock treatment" to the economy—pay cuts, price rises, massive redundancies and factory closings—rivaling that applied to Chile by Pinochet after the bloody 1973 coup. In Poland disillusionment with Solidarność has begun to set in. Its proletarian base has begun to perceive that Solidarność leaders are *traitors* to the working class.

Among the biggest political pimps for Walesa & Co have been the leaders of the British Labour Party and their assorted hangers-on. Today there's more than a little embarrassment and squirming coming from these quarters. Long-time Solidarność fellow traveller and Labour MP Eric Heffer writes plaintive letters moaning over Solidarność embracing of Margaret Thatcher. The Socialist Workers Party wrings its hands over the "tragic" attacks mounted by Solidarność on the Polish working class. *Socialist Organiser* admits: "In the longer term, the leaders of Solidarność are firmly committed to the restoration of the private profit system...." This does not, of course, prevent the committed Stalinophobes of SO who no longer even formally call for the defence of the deformed workers states, from declaring: "Socialists in the West must continue to support Solidarność against the Polish state... and against the always-present threat of Russian intervention" (*Socialist Organiser*, 31 August).

Squeezed between various Labourite reformists on its right and the Spartacist League on its left is the centrist Workers Power grouping. Today, when Walesa's



US Mandelbrite leader Nat Weinstein (left) joins with anti-Communists in December 1981 rally for counterrevolutionary Solidarność. Workers Power honcho Mark Hoskisson (far right) showing "solidarity" with Thatcher's favourite "trade union".



Spartacist Britain

policies have already disenchanted many of his former supporters, Workers Power hollowly headlines an article on Poland "No return to capitalism!" Polemicising against the SWP, it proclaims, "The 'sudden' realisation by many on the left of the slavishly pro-western imperialist nature of this very leadership has caused considerable turmoil amongst Solidarność's fans" (*Workers Power*, October 1989). And WP's French co-thinkers proudly announce "we had said this ten years ago, he [Walesa] envisages nothing less than the restoration of capitalism" (*Pouvoir Ouvrier*, October 1989). What a nerve! Workers Power didn't suffer any "sudden" realisation—they knew it all along and supported Solidarność anyway. When Solidarność was moving to seize power in 1981, Workers Power stood with Walesa's "slavishly pro-western imperialist" outfit. WP must hope that a collective fit of amnesia will grip its members and readers; today it simply doesn't mention its position on Poland in 1981.

Poland 1981

One of the worst of the crimes of the Stalinists in Poland was to have pushed

the Polish proletariat, historically socialist, into the arms of the Vatican and the imperialists. In the initial stages of Solidarność growth we noted both an opening for revolutionary agitation and the awesome potential for reactionary mobilisation. The task of Trotskyists was to split the workers from the clerical-nationalists on the basis of defence of the socialised property forms. But by September 1981, at the time of its first national congress, Solidarność had consolidated around a programme of capitalist restoration couched in the language of "free world" imperialism: "free elections" in Poland; "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc; the dismantling of the planned economy ("self-management" or "autonomy" of enterprises); the call for imperialist investment and an appeal for intervention by the IMF. A delegate's motion to put Solidarność on record for socialism in order to deflect charges of pro-capitalism was *defeated*. At that point the international Spartacist tendency called to: "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!"

This call aroused the ire of Solidarność supporters from the imperious *Wall Street Journal* to numerous fake-left outfits. Workers Power frothed at the mouth: "Spartacists—Cheerleaders for the Kremlin" and wrote under that headline: "It is not the responsibility of the Polish workers that the brutal Stalinist regimes have handed to the forces of reaction the possibility to initiate struggle for elementary working class demands" (*Workers Power*, October 1981). They also sought to deny that Solidarność was preparing a counterrevolutionary bid for power: "The leaders of Solidarity have been committed to building a Union which explicitly undertook not to challenge the power of the central bureaucracy. This... was most recently expressed by Walesa when he declared 'We do not intend to seize power from anyone, or become a political party'" (*Workers Power*, September 1981). Three months later, Solidarność made its bid for power.

Solidarność coup plans were graphically revealed by the tapes of a secret leadership meeting held in Radom, 3 December 1981. The tapes quote Warsaw "hard-liner" Zbigniew Bujak as saying: "The government should be finally overthrown, unmasked and deprived of any credibility." In particular, the tapes exposed Walesa, who postured as a "mod-

erate": "The confrontation is unavoidable.... I wanted to reach the confrontation in a natural way, when almost all social groups were with us. But I made a mistake because I thought we would keep it up longer and then we would overthrow these parliaments and councils and so on" (see *Workers Vanguard* no 295, 18 December 1981). With their secret plans exposed, the Solidarność leadership made an open bid for power, announcing a national referendum for the establishment of an anti-Communist government and breaking the military alliance with the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. Hours later the regime struck back in a counter-coup, checking the counterrevolutionary grab for power.

Workers Power's wilful blindness to this was an attempt to evade their duty to take a clear side in the impending conflict, with counterposed class interests at stake. Yet the thrust of their position was clear: counselling the counterrevolutionary Solidarność camp to confront "more militantly" the Polish state. At a 9 October 1981 Spartacist League meeting in Coventry, a Workers Power leader declared, "...if Solidarity is armed under its present leadership we will be for a military united front with that leadership against the Soviet invasion. Let us be quite clear on that point, because we will be on the opposite side of the barricades from the Spartacists." Yes, that is quite clear.

WP was particularly crazed because we forthrightly defended the intervention of Soviet troops to crush the counterrevolutionary power bid if necessary. In the event, it was not. The near-bloodless coup staged by the military under General Jaruzelski indicated a certain popular disillusionment with Walesa & Co. Noting that the Polish Stalinists "were forced to take measures defending historic gains of the proletariat", we insisted that only a communist opposition could defeat Solidarność politically—repression could only arrest the situation, not address its causes.

Workers Power for their part criticised Walesa & Co for not actively resisting Jaruzelski, demanding the implementation of such measures as an indefinite general strike and the formation of a workers militia to topple the regime. In its July 1982 "Theses" *Revolution and Counter-*

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G Merillon/GAMMA

Solidarność welcomed anti-Soviet Cold Warrior Margaret Thatcher on her November 1988 visit to Gdansk.

Smash CIA's cut-throats

Front line Afghanistan



Jalalabad, 7 July—Chanting “Afghanistan Zindabad!” (Long Live Afghanistan) and “Marg ya Watan!” (Death or Country), thousands march to celebrate their victory over the months-long mujahedin siege.

As part of our efforts in solidarity with the struggle against the CIA's cut-throats, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) dispatched a special correspondent to Afghanistan for four weeks in July to counter the lies of the imperialist press with reports direct from the civil war. From Kabul and the front line city of Jalalabad, our reporter covered this country at war, its cities under fire. We print below the “Front Line Afghanistan” report carried in *Workers Vanguard* (no 482, 21 July) along with photographs taken of the heroic and long-suffering people defending their gains, of the fighters who held out and then victoriously broke the mujahedin siege at Jalalabad. We urge our readers to attend the SL/B's public meetings organised in London and Glasgow where *Workers Vanguard/Le Bolchévik's* special correspondent will speak (see advertisement, next page). Those who contributed to the PDC's international campaign of humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of Jalalabad, which raised over £30,000, will see a vindication of their stand in this report.

JALALABAD, 7 July—Thousands of people thronged through the streets of this revitalised city today to celebrate an important military victory over the CIA's mujahedin (holy warriors). Two days ago, the armed forces of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government, spearheaded by an armoured Special Guard unit and heavily backed by the Air Force, forced the counter-revolutionaries to pull back to positions they occupied before the March offensive against Jalalabad.

Report from heroic Jalalabad

Not only has the months-long bitter siege been broken, but Jalalabad and the surrounding parts of Nangarhar Province of which it is the capital are once again secure from the threat of rocket attacks. The rout of the mujahedin was so sweeping that the initial impulse of advance elements of the armoured unit was to roll all the way up to Torkham, on the border with Pakistan. But the order came from the High Command to consolidate their positions before advancing further.

This reporter was with the first group of journalists to visit Jalalabad since May, and only the second visit since the mujahedin siege began in March. It was particularly moving to be here on behalf of the international campaign of humanitarian assistance conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal legal and social defence organisations in other countries.... The English-language *Kabul Times* (3 July) and the Dari-language *Payam* (2 July) had both carried articles reporting on a message of acknowledgment from the Nangarhar Province Defence Council to the PDC. Part of the message quoted by the *Kabul Times* read:

“The Defence Council of Nangarhar Province representing all the PDPA members, social organizations and the peace-loving people of Nangarhar, cordially thank you and express gratitude for the assistance extended by you, assuring

you honourable friends that it is a must that we would triumph, for we are struggling for a just right.”

The front has now been pushed back to Samarkhel, some 12-15 kilometres further east, a key fortified outpost that was the scene of heavy fighting in March and again now. We were taken by bus to Samarkhel. A few kilometres away, we could see a tank firing shell after shell over a ridge, along which some Afghan

soldiers were advancing.... The officers and soldiers of the Special Guard unit proudly showed us around, describing the weapons captured, while warning us to stick to the areas that have already been cleared of mines—ie, where a tank tread has left its “signature”. We could see the damaged buildings of the housing complex, the school and the shop, and visit the big diesel power station.

A city of determination

At the head of the line of march of today's victory celebration was an armoured car atop which rode our team of journalists. Following the military and civilian leaders of the city came dozens of multicoloured banners and Afghan national flags and some five to ten thou-



Karesimir: Youth battalion guards northern approach to Kabul.

sand residents of Jalalabad. People were everywhere in the streets. There was not a sign of fear, but rather an evident determination which exploded in loud chants of "Afghanistan Zindabad!" (Long Live Afghanistan) and "Marg ya Watan!" (Death or Country) that punctuated the march throughout. Young and old, women and men—many carrying their weapons—Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus joined together in this march from Jamhuriat Garden to Pashtoonistan Square.

After listening to a speech by Lt Gen Manookay Mangal, governor and chairman of the Defence Council of Nangarhar Province, the participants adopted a resolution "expressing all-out solidarity with the victorious and heroic armed forces in the defence of homeland, independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the country". The roofs of the mainly two-storey houses along the route of the march were guarded by young militiamen (some appeared to be no older than 13), their Kalashnikovs slung over their shoulders looking almost too big for them. From the helicopter and from the road, it was clear that Jalalabad, once renowned as a tourist resort for its beauty and greenery, is a wounded city, whose scars will take a long time to heal.... Between March and July, 973 houses were damaged along with 150 government buildings, shops and markets, mosques and temples....

The airport, some five kilometres to the east of the city, shows all the signs of the fierce battle that went on around and for it in March and April: hangars blown apart, the airstrip damaged, remains of jeeps and helicopters lying around, the control tower heavily damaged. It's clear that there has been no time to care for the niceties of appearance: the airport is functional again and that's enough.

The civilian population has suffered terribly: 1993 injured and 1002 killed, half of them children. On the single day of 8 March, the *mujahedin* cut-throats bankrolled by the Pakistani ISI [Inter-Service Intelligence] and the CIA, bombarded Jalalabad with 5000 rockets. But they did not succeed in overwhelming its heroic defenders.

At the Central Hotel we met some of the civilian victims of these rocket attacks. Among them was Hayatullah, aged 14, a bright kid who lost his right leg in February. He had been afraid of rockets, he said. When one hit his home in the eastern district of Jalalabad, a brother was killed and another lost his leg. Hayatullah was a student at the time and wanted to become a teacher. With the stern look of a young man who had to grow up a lot faster than kids his age in luckier parts of the world, he asserted his resolve to complete his studies, because he very much wants "to teach small children". When asked how he felt about those who did this to him, he replied: "They should all be eliminated", adding that "America" is ultimately responsible as the country that supplies the rockets.

An internationalist struggle

Towards the end of our eight-hour stay in Jalalabad we met the governor. After the deputy governor, who was accompanying the team of journalists, learned that this reporter was a representative of the PDC campaign, he made it known to the governor. When we entered the room for the press conference, Lt Gen Mangal shook hands with every reporter, but embraced me enthusiastically, saying "Ah, Partisan."

A doctor by profession, the 41-year-old former chief of political affairs of the interior ministry in Kabul has been governor of this crucial border province for six months. He said that "Pakistani militarists and the US ambassador in Islamabad decided to declare war on Jalalabad on the 6th of March." The reactionaries—with a total of 40,000 troops, including two Pakistani tank battalions

and 120 units of "reactive artillery"—were supposed to occupy Jalalabad in 72 hours; planes were ready in Peshawar to bring the *mujahedin* "provisional government" onto Afghan territory. "But they could not occupy the city," Lt Gen Mangal declared proudly. "Nangarhar men and women fought valiantly," including PDPA members as well as the military, he added. The Air Force played a major role in the defeat of the attackers.

I asked the governor if the defenders and people of Jalalabad are aware that in

signing of the accords, war in the Republic of Afghanistan has further intensified." In fact, Gorbachev's pull-out has served only to embolden the imperialists and their cut-throats.

The Soviet intervention in 1979 was mandated by defence of the gains of the 1917 October Revolution and opened up the prospect of extending those gains to Afghanistan; that is why the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), proclaimed "Hail Red Army

eign minister headlined, "Except a Political Settlement—No Other Way Exists for Putting an End to War in Afghanistan."

But to put an end to the imperialist-backed war against social progress requires rooting out—not conciliating—entrenched feudal and capitalist reaction through workers revolution. In the extremely backward conditions of Afghanistan, the tiny industrial proletariat does not have the weight to effect a fundamental transformation of society. But next door in Bhutto's Pakistan, the



War over women's rights : CIA-backed *mujahedin* would force all women to wear head-to-toe chadors (above); women are fighting to defend right to cast off veil of enslavement (right).



many countries of the world, working people are following their struggle with extreme concern. "Certainly," he replied, adding that the struggle of the Afghan people is an "internationalist struggle". Mangal mentioned specifically Pakistan's plan to dismember Afghanistan and to impose a government that would join with Pakistan and Turkey in a "new CENTO" anti-Soviet and anti-Indian US-dominated alliance. He again thanked the PDC for our efforts in support of the people of Jalalabad. The international aid campaign clearly boosted morale in Jalalabad. The message from the Defence Council said, "Your great and humane move is so noteworthy that no devilish eyes can dare see it."

In the course of these three months of fighting, the defenders of Jalalabad had lost some 800 killed. But using a combination of high-level bombing by converted propeller-driven Antonov AN-12 cargo planes—which can fly above the range of the US-supplied Stinger missiles—and long-range SCUD missiles fired from the Kabul area, the Afghan armed forces have inflicted far heavier losses on the enemy. At a 3 July press conference in Kabul, Gen Alumi, head of the military section of the PDPA and secretary of the Supreme Defence Council, explained that the counterrevolutionaries have taken more casualties between March and June than "in any previous two years of fighting taken together". He gave a figure of 35,000 *mujahedin* casualties (including 3000 Pakistanis) since the signing of the Geneva agreement in 1988.

Bakhtar News Agency (5 July), reporting a meeting between bereaved Afghan mothers and a delegation of Pakistani journalists, quoted one mother saying: "We were pleased with the signing of the Geneva accords, we thought that in the light of these agreements war in the Republic of Afghanistan could be stopped.... But unfortunately after the

home base for the CIA's *mujahedin*, conditions for social revolution are brewing, with national minorities in turmoil and the regime divided. In Iran, the Islamic theocracy is now headless and the population sick of a decade of bloody war and domestic terror.

Jalalabad besieged was the focal point of imperialism's *jihad* (holy war) against social progress and the Soviet Union. Jalalabad victorious can inspire revolutionary struggle throughout the region, from India to Turkey. That requires above all the programme of Leninist internationalism, the banner of the International Communist League. ■

Meanwhile, the PDPA's policy of "national reconciliation" aims at luring the reactionaries into a coalition. Kabul papers regularly report agreements with regional *mujahedin* commanders, effectively leaving them in control of their fiefdoms. The day after *Payam* reported on the internationalist aid campaign by the PDC, it carried a speech by the for-

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Ireland...

(Continued from page 1)

up and was promised full "cooperation" from RUC chief constable Hugh Annesley—who made his original mark in the notorious Special Patrol Group. Twenty-eight members of the UDR were arrested on 8 October and all but ten of them were released without charge. The fate of such "inquiries" is well-documented: John Stalker, victimised for his investigation of the RUC's "shoot-to-kill" policies, advised any cop assigned to such an investigation in Northern Ireland to "go sick".

The Labour Party, at its recent conference in Brighton, took the opportunity to renew its commitment to serve as a loyal agent for British imperialism in Northern Ireland. A tepid motion calling on the party to set a date for withdrawal of British troops during its next term in office was massively defeated. For the Labour Party social imperialists who sent the troops over in 1969, this is but a strong restatement of their longstanding role. Labour's Northern Ireland spokesman, Kevin McNamara, pontificated: "Those who believe that violence is an acceptable policy response and those who flirt with the paramilitaries have no place in this party" (*Guardian*, 6 October).

But the violence of the British state—with its intimate links with the loyalist paramilitaries—is staunchly defended by the Labour traitors. From sending the troops in and its imposition of the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act, to its initial cheering for the Gibraltar SAS murders of three IRA members, to its do-nothing response to the government ban on Sinn Fein—the Labour Party is an avowed enemy of the workers on both sides of the sectarian divide, both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea.

Indeed, Kinnock & Co would have been happy to place their own "ban" on Gerry Adams at the Brighton conference. "There was nothing to stop him from coming into this town, certainly nothing I could do to stop him", whined the arch-scab Kinnock. "He is a member of Sinn Fein, and as such I am very hostile to him and he knows that very well" (*Times*, 3 October). The Labour fringe meeting where Adams spoke was, in fact, attacked by National Front fascists (who were dealt with swiftly by Adams' bodyguards).

The publicity surrounding the death lists handed out by the British state, its army, the RUC and UDR has caused outrage in the Republic and the Irish government is making noises again about the continued existence of the Anglo-

Irish Agreement. Nearly four years old, this NATO-brokered accord was designed to keep the so-called neutral Republic in line with the anti-Soviet Cold War drive (the island commands Atlantic approaches to Europe) by giving the Republic some say in the affairs, particularly those involving "security", of the North. It was also designed to facilitate extradition, and the bourgeoisie of the Republic have been turning over "suspected republicans" to the British. Information collected by the Garda in the Republic has been turned over to loyalist death squads.

Now the Republic is demanding tighter vetting procedures, that RUC officers accompany UDR members on patrol and has balked at the issuing of plastic bullets to the UDR. But these demands are a sick joke: the British government is already passing out plastic bullets by the bucketful. The 6500-strong UDR, the successor of the hated B-Specials, is part of the British Army, responsible for 85 per cent of army duties in Northern Ireland. In the past years over 700 weapons have "officially" gone missing from UDR stores; over 100 of its members have been charged with murder and other serious offences, with few convictions. It is 97 per cent Protestant. Margaret Thatcher's "brave men" in the UDR will soon be rewarded for their services to the crown with the appointment of a member of the royal family as their honorary head.

Troops out of Northern Ireland!

The RUC is also mainly Protestant. It has been recently implicated in another scandal; according to the *Irish Gay Community News* (October 1989) police harassment of gay men has reached "epidemic" levels in parts of the North. In the past few months, two gay men have committed suicide after having been subjected to intense interrogations over alleged "indecent" charges. (In the clericalist Republic, reactionary harassment of homosexuals is also long-standing.)

The RUC and UDR are sectarian forces, the local bodies of the British state apparatus and the training ground for the present Protestant paramilitary groups. They must be smashed! Marxists call for programmatically based anti-sectarian workers militias to combat Orange and Green communalist terror and imperialist rampage. These cannot develop just out of trade unionism but fundamentally require the existence of a strong and authoritative revolutionary cadre. Each militia unit would need at least one member of each community and the presence and strong influence of trained revolutionary cadre. Consequently, the demand for an anti-sectarian workers militia is closely linked to the growth

of a Leninist party based on a developed revolutionary programme. This call is premised also on the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British army. Not Orange against Green, but class against class!

Deal: IRA blasts British armed forces butchers

Public attention was diverted from the dirty, criminal workings of the British state as the press dutifully carried sensationalist coverage of the IRA's bombing of the Royal Marines bandmen's headquarters in Deal, Kent. Reams of sympathy for the "poor schoolboys" who died in the bombing gushed from the pages of the press. Tory and Labour leaders vied with one another to make the strongest "condemnations" of the IRA. Labour seized on the "privatisation" of security for the bases.

The Deal bombing hit a military target. The "schoolboys" were from 22 to 39 years of age. An outfit renowned for being "tough", it was the Royal Marine troops who were particularly chosen by the government to be stationed in Northern Ireland since last May to cover the period of the 20th anniversary of the British troops being sent in. Their deployment at the time was criticised by the SDLP and questioned by the Anglo-Irish secretariat. The *Sunday Correspondent's* (1 October) interview with leading Sinn Fein spokesman Danny Morrison shed some light as to why:

"They are the same regiment which arrived in West Belfast and shouted to the nationalist population 'The Marines are here: we're going to sort you out'.... They are the same regiment who, last Saturday in Beechmount, knocked a small boy's front tooth out, broke two of his fingers and poured petrol over him to frighten him."

And he noted: "how 'soft' would the target have been if they had known anyone was coming? They would have been waiting to blow IRA brains across the pavement."

The bandmen for the Royal Marines or other regiments are hardly non-combatants! They are trained soldiers, used both to gloss up the armed forces' image amongst the civilian population and as recruitment aides. If you really like bagpipes or the trombone, there are other ways. *An Phoblacht* (28 September) wrote: "They may not stray onto the battlefields of Ballymurphy, but the troops from Deal entertained their commando colleagues behind Belfast barracks walls as they relaxed, joked and swapped tales of how they'd wrecked nationalist homes and brutalised Irish civilians."

For Marxists, the Deal bombing was a defensible act against representatives of British imperialism. We shed no tears for the Royal Marines, just as we did not have the slightest regret over the violent death of Earl Mountbatten. As we pointed out then:

"Following the killing, the Provisional IRA stated that 'Mountbatten's execution was a discriminate act in that it was against a leading figure' (*Irish Times*, 1 September). This is true—and while criticising such individual terrorism as a misguided, ineffective act of despair, we defend against state repression those who were responsible for the death of the Earl. Likewise with those who ambushed the paratroopers at Warrenpoint. Yet these actions stand in sharp contrast to the criminal *indiscriminate* terror which the IRA has also willingly engaged in over the past decade, including attacks on innocent Irish Protestant workers and British civilians."

— "The burial of Mountbatten", *Spartacist Britain* no 15, October 1979

Marxists distinguish between, for instance, the Enniskillen bombing—an indefensible anti-working-class *crime* intended to kill and terrorise civilians—and Deal. But, for Labourite social chau-

vinists on the one hand or fake-left cheerleaders for the IRA on the other, such an elementary distinction does not exist. The Communist Party of Britain (CPB) is a grotesque representative of the former: CPB general secretary Mike Hicks echoes Mr Kinnock in denouncing the Deal "outrage" (*Morning Star*, 23 September). In the same issue, the editorial accuses the IRA over Deal of "play[ing] into the hands of the British Government. It takes the pressure off those who defend the continued colonial occupation of the six counties and encourages those who see the Irish question as purely one of law and order. Irish government ministers, who have been voicing misgivings about the very existence of the UDR, can now be expected to give that question a low profile." Not least because of its wretched chauvinism over Ireland, the CPB's parent organisation the CPGB well-deserved the nickname "her majesty's loyal communist party".

Then there are those, like the centrists of Workers Power, who engage in vicarious cheerleading for the IRA and supported its criminal Enniskillen bombing (defending "the right of the Provisionals to struggle by any means to end Britain's rule"). This is of a piece with their self-proclaimed task to "subordinate their criticisms of the IRA to the primary duty of winning the unconditional support of British workers for the IRA". We noted at the time that Workers Power's comrades in the Irish Workers Group (IWG) "unequivocally condemn[ed]" the Enniskillen bombing. This glaring public difference in line reflected the methodology of centrists like the IWG and WP: capitulating to different, and often contradictory, social forces depending on the national terrain. The Enniskillen atrocity aroused deep revulsion throughout both parts of Ireland; the IWG's line reflected this pressure.

Now, we read in the IWG's *Class Struggle* (October 1989): "the guerrilla campaign of the IRA has once more proved counter-productive. Its bomb in Deal, as at Enniskillen during the crisis over extradition, provides room for the oppressor to get off the hook of their present difficulties over the UDR." This is the sole mention of the Deal bombing in *Class Struggle*. Given its earlier condemnation of Enniskillen, we conclude that the IWG condemns both actions in blanket fashion, a position more in common with the likes of *Militant* than revolutionary Trotskyism.

For a proletarian solution!

Against the reformists and centrists, revolutionary Marxists fight for a *class* determination to the struggle in Northern Ireland. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British troops. Sharply counterposed to the Provos' nationalist programme for a united capitalist Ireland—ie, the incorporation of the North into the Southern Catholic clericalist state, forcibly against the will of the Protestant majority—we say: No forcible reunification! For an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles! Our programme is premised on the recognition that there are two communities in Northern Ireland, a situation of *interpenetrated peoples* where under capitalism the self-determination of one people can be carried out only at the expense of the other. It is the duty of proletarian revolutionaries to advance a programme addressing the oppression of the Catholic minority and appealing to the common class interests of both Protestant and Catholic workers. In irreconcilable opposition to British imperialism, its Labour lackeys and nationalist/communist demagogues, authentic Leninist vanguard parties will be forged on both sides of the Irish Sea to lead proletarian revolution throughout the British Isles. ■

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THOSE WHO DO NOT LEARN FROM HISTORY ARE DOOMED TO REPEAT IT

Workers Power...

(Continued from page 5)

revolution in Poland Workers Power refers to Bujak as one of the "leading militants [who] were urging the formation of workers' defence guards"—ie, a militia to overthrow the government. Bujak was subsequently revealed as a conduit for CIA funds, running Solidarność' underground operation until his arrest in 1986.

WP advocated more "militant" tactics...in the service of the reactionary "mass movement". Had such a perspective triumphed, it would have meant a bloody counterrevolution that would have been anything but peaceful. It would have unleashed such dark and sinister forces as the ultra-nationalist, anti-Semitic scum of the KPN, whose pogromist methods would be directed towards the wholesale victimisation of Communists and those who championed progressive social causes like abortion rights for women. Hersh Mendel's powerful autobiography, *Memoirs of a Jewish Revolutionary*, gives a graphic sense of the conditions endured by communist militants under Pilsudskiite terror.

Anti-Communist hysteria abroad goes hand-in-hand with union-busting reaction at home. And events in Poland polarised, shaped and demarcated the British trade union movement. Workers Power denounced miners leader Arthur Scargill's refusal to support Solidarność as "particularly despicable". Truly despicable was the fact that on the eve of the miners strike Gerry Healy's WRP instigated a vicious Fleet Street red-baiting attack against Scargill because of his correct statement that Solidarność was anti-socialist. To isolate the miners, the TUC Russia-haters seized on the press frenzy. To this day none of the decomposition products of Healy's WRP has repudiated this finger-man job. During the strike, Walesa praised Thatcher as a "wise and brave" woman, while those British union leaders who most zealously baited Scargill over Poland, like the heads of the electricians union, also proved to be the most zealous scabherders against the miners.

Poland 1989

Today when Solidarność is in a position to carry out its "struggle" for a return to capitalism and Polish workers are already beginning to vote with their feet against the government's drastic austerity measures, it's hardly surprising that Workers Power is no longer so enthusiastic about "solidarity with Solidarność". What's "new" about Solidarność for WP is that it's no longer a viable "mass movement" to tail after.

WP reviled us for our statement after the coup that "If the present crackdown restores something like the tenuous social equilibrium which existed in Poland before the Gdansk strikes last August—a tacit understanding that if the people left the government alone, the government would leave the people alone—conditions will be opened again for the crystallization of a Leninist-Trotskyist party". None of this for Workers Power, which "safe at a distance" advocated the sort of bloody confrontation—from the wrong side—which US imperialism longed for in Poland. Our Trotskyist analysis was vindicated and what in fact is now posed is a real struggle by the Polish workers in

Correction

In the article entitled "Northern Ireland: for a proletarian solution!", *Workers Hammer* no 109 (September 1989), the second reference to our slogan "For an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles", inadvertently omitted the word "workers".

both the Stalinist and Solidarność unions, necessarily beginning around immediate economic demands for survival but raising implicitly the perspective of a working-class struggle for political power. This is possible because Solidarność and its imperialist backers have not been able to implement full-scale capitalist "roll back".

But Workers Power wants to harken back to "the fighting strength of the early days of Solidarity the trade union". Right, the days when Walesa was appealing to Reagan while waving around CIA money, when Solidarność strikers were kneeling before the priests in the Lenin Shipyard and their leader was openly taking his marching orders from the Polish pope in Rome. As Walesa & Co became ever more shrill in their counterrevolutionary agitation, Workers Power hopped from one to another "left wing" of Solidarność. Most recently it was the small

trying to tempt them into our camp, but we want the break up of the Warsaw Pact." Whatever its paper disavowals of the Walesas, Waldegraves, KPN et al, in practice Workers Power ends up in blocs with them because at some level it shares their anti-Sovietism.

Workers Power carries the political baggage of its origins in Tony Cliff's third camp "Neither Washington nor Moscow" outfit. The Cliffites who regard the Red Army as the personification of "Soviet imperialism" would have little problem in accepting Workers Power's characterisation of the Warsaw Pact as "the direct agent of the counter-revolutionary policies of the Kremlin bureaucracy". For Workers Power, every time the Soviet Red Army crosses its border, this is "counterrevolutionary"—irrespective of whether its purpose is to smash an incipient workers political revolution (Hun-

a nascent proletarian political revolution. The Hungarian workers on several occasions successfully fraternised with the Soviet troops by appealing to common socialist ideals. During the revolution, a substantial majority of the CP went over to the side of the workers. This would be inconceivable if WP's line that the Stalinist bureaucracy is "invariably counter-revolutionary" contained a shred of truth.

Trotsky defined centrism as "crystallised confusion". Polemicising against the American SWP's Shachtman/Burnham bloc which opposed defence of the Soviet Union in 1939-40, Trotsky addressed their plaint that they failed to "foresee" Stalin's occupation of eastern Poland: "If our ill-starred politicians failed to foresee 'this' it is only because they fail to think a single question seriously through to the end" (*In Defence of Marxism*). For Workers Power, this is congenial. If you begin with the premise that anti-capitalist social revolution is "counterrevolutionary", then of course you won't be able to foresee a counter-revolutionary danger to these gains.

Seeking to justify its military bloc with Solidarność, Workers Power claimed in its "Theses" that "The existence of a mass base" proved that "Solidarność was not a counter-revolutionary organisation per se." So, ten million Polish workers can't be wrong according to Workers Power. This is the methodology of tailism. Unlike the situation in Hungary 1956, the bulk of the Polish working class was poisoned by clericalism, nationalism and anti-Sovietism in 1981. A critical task in the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in Poland must be to re-appropriate the internationalist traditions of Rosa Luxemburg and the early Polish CP, which struggled for proletarian unity between Russian and Polish workers. In words Workers Power calls for such unity, but in practice its bloc with counterrevolutionary Solidarność in 1981, as well as its conciliation of the likes of the PPS-RD, works in the opposite direction.

In remarks directed at Victor Serge, who deserted Bolshevism for the POUM, the left wing of the Spanish popular front, the fake left's then favourite "mass movement", Trotsky noted:

"But the masses are by no means identical: there are revolutionary masses, there are passive masses, there are reactionary masses. The very same masses are at different times inspired by different moods and objectives. It is just for this reason that a centralized organization of the vanguard is indispensable. Only a party, wielding the authority it has won, is capable of overcoming the vacillation of the masses themselves. To invest the mass with traits of sanctity and to reduce one's program to amorphous 'democracy', is to dissolve oneself in the class as it is, to turn from a vanguard into a rearguard, and by this very thing, to renounce revolutionary tasks. On the other hand, if the dictatorship of the proletariat means anything at all, then it means that the vanguard of the class is armed with the resources of the state in order to repel dangers, including those emanating from the backward layers of the proletariat itself."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Moralists and Sycophants Against Marxism*, 1939

Behind the wild vacillations of these centrists over events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union lies their lack of a programmatic anchor (see also article, p4). They spurn the Trotskyist position of unconditional defence of the gains of the October Revolution against counter-revolution and instead tail every "mass movement" that comes along. They tailed the mullah-led movement in Iran, and ended up with Khomeinist reaction; they tail reactionary "anti-Stalinists" of every stripe in Poland, and end up with a pro-capitalist, anti-working-class government in Warsaw. What differentiates Bolshevism from centrism is precisely the capacity to "swim against the stream" when the masses are being misled against the historic interests of the proletariat. ■



Der Spiegel

Cracow, 1945: Polish masses welcome Soviet liberation from Nazi terror. Twenty million Soviet citizens died in fight to crush Nazi machine.

Polish Socialist Party (Democratic Revolution), heralded as a potential "nucleus for forging an independent Polish internationalist workers' party" (*Workers Power*, May 1989). During this period the PPS-RD was in a political bloc with "Fighting Solidarność"—animated by the rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Semitic KPN—which greeted George Bush's arrival in Gdansk last summer with signs proclaiming "A Good Communist is a Dead Communist". Some nucleus for "an independent Polish internationalist workers' party"! Now it seems the PPS-RD—which just opened up a very visible public office in London—has disappeared into one of those "blank spaces" in Workers Power's history.

In its programme for Polish workers printed in its October issue, *Workers Power* raises the call to "Defend the workers' states of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe!" Yet this immediately follows the demand: "Russian troops out of Poland, Poland out of the Warsaw Pact!" This is patently absurd: how do you "defend" the workers states by dissolving the Warsaw Pact in the face of NATO imperialism? Disbanding the Warsaw Pact is the battle cry of the most virulent right-wing, nationalist reactionaries like the KPN, as well as the imperialist revanchists. Hilariously, in its September issue, in an attempt to "warn" Polish workers against "enemies disguised as friends over the border in the west", WP quotes William Waldegrave, Minister of State at the British Foreign Office responsible for Eastern Europe, who advocates that Poland become part of a block of "...independent East and Central European countries that are not part of anybody's empire.... We are not

gary 1956) or on the side of progressive reformers who believe women should be taught to read (Afghanistan 1979).

Trotsky observed that the Red Army mirrors the contradictions of Soviet society, a deformed workers state, in which the bureaucracy plays a dual role, balancing between imperialism and the collectivised property forms. Denying this dual role, Workers Power asserts that Stalinism is "invariably a counter-revolutionary force" (*The Death Agony of the Fourth International*, 1983). So when the Red Army in 1945 liberated Poland from the Nazis and Pilsudskiite filth, for Workers Power this led to a "counter-revolutionary overthrow of capitalism" after 1947-8! But that's not all, Workers Power extends this appellation for the bureaucratically imposed social revolutions in Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe to the popular movements led by Mao, Tito, Castro and Ho Chi Minh which overthrew capitalism and established bureaucratically deformed workers states.

In December 1979 we said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" The entry of Soviet troops laid the basis for extending the social gains of the October Revolution to the economically backward Afghan peoples. Workers Power denounced the Soviet intervention as "counterrevolutionary" and the CIA-supported *mujahedin* they were fighting as counterrevolutionary, too. With all sides "counterrevolutionary" they "suspended" the call for Soviet withdrawal. This mind-numbing gobbledegook was a carefully crafted dodge of the duty of revolutionaries to give unconditional military defence to the Soviet degenerated workers state.

On the other hand, in Hungary 1956 the Kremlin used the Red Army to break

South Africa...

(Continued from page 12)

pressure Washington and London to force the apartheid regime to the conference table, while the imperialists have insisted that the ANC first accede to Pretoria's conditions (ie "renouncing violence"). Under Gorbachev, the Moscow bureaucracy has begun placing intense pressure on the ANC to give in to negotiations without any preconditions. In April, the first public Soviet diplomatic mission to South Africa in 33 years arrived in Johannesburg. Yuri Yukalov, head of the Soviet foreign ministry Department of African Countries, insists: "South Africa should not be destroyed. It should also be spoken to not only through threats or pounding our fist on the table. There should be dialogue" (*New York Times*, 16 March).

Yukalov cited the Angola/Namibia "peace process" as an example of successful negotiation in which "all sides stood to gain" (*Weekly Mail*, 23 March). The sort of "dialogue" Pretoria has in mind can be seen from the first result of the Namibia "peace process", as the apartheid butchers slaughtered 300 SWAPO supporters who tried to cross the border from Angola under the terms of the agreement. Meanwhile, as Cuban troops are shipped home, Angolan peasants continue to be massacred by the US/South Africa-backed UNITA terrorists, who immediately violated the UN-negotiated "cease-fire" agreement.

In the buildup to the 6 September elections, the ANC unveiled its "peace plan" at a summit of "front line states" held 10 August in Lusaka, Zambia. For the nationalist ANC, the "defiance campaign", like its sporadic guerrilla forays into South Africa and its appeals for imperialist disinvestment, are aimed at pressuring the apartheid rulers. As the *Weekly Mail* (11 August) noted: "It is understood that the ANC sees the defiance campaign as a key vehicle for pursuing a peaceful end to apartheid in conjunction with negotiations on the basis of equality." The ANC plan, subsequently endorsed by the Organization of African Unity meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe on 21 August, is modelled on the Namibia settlement. It envisages a transitional government—with the existing apartheid regime—and "free and fair" elections for a constituent assembly which would then draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Despite occasional talk of revolution, particularly at the height of the township rebellions four years ago, the ANC has long pursued a strategy aimed at "power-sharing" with apartheid capitalism. The ANC disavows "wholesale nationalisation", calling instead for a "mixed" (ie capitalist) economy, and the growth of a black capitalist class. Imperialist investment would be encouraged, noted an ANC representative, "on terms acceptable to the foreign investors". But while COSATU supports the ANC's Freedom Charter, the combative and increasingly organised black proletariat is far from sanguine about this programme for a "democratic, nonracial" capitalist South Africa.

COSATU has grown two and a half times larger since its formation in 1985, while strike activity in the first half of this year is almost triple what it was for the same period a year ago. Particularly with the banning of the United Democratic Front and AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation), COSATU has emerged as the strongest organisation of the black proletariat in South Africa's history, and the voice of broad sections of the oppressed masses. A number of unions within COSATU, particularly the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA), headed by the recently freed Moses Mayekiso, and the Amalgamated Clothing

and Textile Workers Union (ACTWUSA), advocate "socialism" as the goal of their struggle. At the latest COSATU congress in July, a focus of discussion was ACTWUSA's call for a "workers charter" to guarantee elementary trade-union rights. One unionist commented, "They want to ensure that when apartheid goes, they will still be the workers' watchdogs, not the pet poodles



Sunday Times

Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism is dependence on black labour: striking railworkers battle with Johannesburg police in February, 1987.

of the nationalist movement—as in Zimbabwe."

The road to liberating the toilers of South Africa is not, however, through maintaining a strong trade-union movement under a petty-bourgeois nationalist ANC regime which it is assumed will replace white-supremacist rule.

Two key strikes this year have focused world attention on workers' opposition to divestment schemes so beloved by the fake left internationally. In May, workers at nine Mobil Oil installations struck against the company's plan to "divest" by selling out to Gencor, a South African mining conglomerate notorious for union-busting. The Chemical Workers Industrial Union called the action to protest Mobil's refusal to negotiate the terms of the sale, but later agreed to call off the strike in return for a cash settlement of one month's pay (about 2000 rand) per worker. In July, 1200 workers at Goodyear Rubber, represented by the National Union of Metalworkers, struck over the company's sale to the South African company Consol. The strike demands of separation pay of 5000 rand per worker, guaranteed conditions of employment, maintenance of existing labour agreements, pay-out of pension benefits, and writing off housing loans, reflect widespread anger over divestment's victimisation of the black working class. Goodyear's response, on 8 August, was to fire all the strikers and go ahead with the divestment deal.

As we in the Spartacist League have pointed out from the beginning, divestment is at best an empty moral gesture and if foreign companies did withdraw productive assets from South Africa this would hurt black workers and weaken the black union movement. Today the primary demands of the reformist divestment cheerleaders have been fulfilled, as much as they can be, yet apartheid remains intact, while black unions are forced to try to negotiate the terms of divestment. Except in a period when the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid system is immediately posed, isolation from the world market is likely to result in massive dislocation and deprivation of black workers, weakening their ability to struggle. The wealth of South Africa must go not to the capitalists—American, European or Afrikaner—but to the workers who created it. The only kind of "divestment" that will benefit the exploited and oppressed will be proletarian revolution and the expropriation of these riches.

What's needed is the establishment of

a black-centred workers government through smashing apartheid capitalism. This poses the formation of a racially integrated workers party, drawn primarily from class-conscious militants in the predominantly black trade unions. This is the only road forward if the protestations of "socialism" and "workers power" by left-wing militants in COSATU are not to be simply a means of pressuring the

ANC. We are not talking about a reformist labour party as in Britain, but rather forging a revolutionary workers party such as Lenin built in tsarist Russia, the Bolshevik Party which in October 1917 led the first victorious workers revolution in history.

Furthermore, South Africa is not like Zimbabwe or Zambia where petty-bourgeois African nationalists displaced the white colonial regimes within the framework of continuing imperialist economic dominance and exploitation. Apartheid as a system of white caste domination will not be ended without uprooting the entire system of capitalism in South Africa, which cannot exist without the super-exploitation of black labour. This necessarily means starvation wages and the denial of democratic rights to the black majority. For the moment, Pretoria is dead set against any negotiated settlement with the ANC. (Of the recent meeting near London between ANC representatives and a group of Afrikaners which included de Klerk's brother Willem, one diplomat said it was "talks about talks about talks".) But even were some future South African government to reach an agreement with the ANC—under the pressure of the Western imperialist powers—it could not "negotiate" the end of apartheid, but only do away with the more odious and obvious manifestations of apartheid.

South Africa's racial capitalism is both the generating force for the extraction of superprofits and at the heart of its inability to advance as an industrial country in the world economy. With the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley and then gold on the Rand at the turn of the century, the character of the economy changed from overwhelmingly agrarian to extractive. Mining of the low-grade ore was labour-intensive, requiring a large reserve of unskilled and therefore relatively uneducated labour. Apartheid evolved out of and was dictated to a large extent by these conditions. The ANC seeks an accommodation with "progressive sectors" of the apartheid ruling class, like Anglo American's Gavin Relly. But the black miners who toil and die in Relly's gold and diamond mines know that their lives will not fundamentally change unless Relly and his class are put out of business permanently.

Forge a Trotskyist vanguard in South Africa!

For the Stalinist South African Communist Party, the debate over the "work-

ers charter" evoked the terrifying spectre of Trotskyist "ultraleftism": "Those who champion... the cause of 'workerism' against so-called 'populism' betray... a bias toward Trotskyism" ("What Is Trotskyism?", *African Communist*, Fourth Quarter 1988). The SACP revealed the extent of leftist opposition to the bourgeois-democratic Freedom Charter by reporting in their subsequent issue that they had received a slew of letters disputing the article's conclusions. (They cynically decided "not to publish" any of them!) But even the wretchedly tailist SACP, which has been submerged inside the pro-capitalist ANC for decades, acknowledges the socialist aspirations of the South African proletariat with its stagist slogan, "For a Democratic Victory and Advance to Socialism".

Yet there are self-styled "socialists" who explicitly oppose the struggle for socialism in South Africa. Jack Barnes' American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) insists that the South African revolution will have one stage only—democratic capitalism. "We could say", says Barnes in a 1985 report (reprinted in *New Internationalist*, Fall 1985), that:

"Yes, the key tasks of the revolution in South Africa are clearly national and democratic in character. Yes, it would be completely ultraleft for South African revolutionists to wage the struggle around a socialist program. But, given the development of modern capitalist industry and mining, and the size of the Black working class, won't the overthrow of the imperialist apartheid state actually establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and open what we might call the democratic stage of the socialist revolution?"

But even such a hackneyed Stalinist apologetics for betrayal in the name of revolution in stages is too "ultraleft" for Barnes, who in 1982 explicitly denounced the SWP's distant Trotskyist past. He replies to his hypothetical question:

"The answer is, 'No.' What is on the agenda in South Africa is a bourgeois-democratic revolution, not the democratic stage of the socialist revolution."

Barnes insists to the black workers: this far and no further!

The SWP's "democratic" programme is flatly counterposed not only to the class interests of the black proletariat but to the struggle for democratic rights. South Africa is a quintessential example of the validity of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution: in this country the black working class is patently the decisive force in the struggle against apartheid. Trotsky explained:

"The theory of the permanent revolution... pointed out that the democratic tasks of the backward bourgeois nations led directly, in our epoch, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the dictatorship of the proletariat puts socialist tasks on the order of the day."

—Introduction to *The Permanent Revolution* (1930)

The black proletariat of South Africa has already amply demonstrated its capacity to fulfil its historic mission. What it lacks is a revolutionary leadership worthy of its courage and aspirations. Forward to a Trotskyist party, section of a reformed Fourth International! For a black-centred workers government! Smash apartheid! For workers revolution!

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Smash SPUC offensive against Irish women!

On 11 October the High Court in Dublin threw out attempts by the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) to prevent student unions from distributing information on abortion in student handbooks. SPUC's application to jail four students was also quashed. SPUC's offensive comes six years after the notorious referendum on the Eighth Amendment to the Irish constitution which tries to legalise abortion forever. Irish women face life imprisonment for terminating an unwanted pregnancy. The sinister SPUC works hand-in-glove with the Catholic church.

When student leaders defied injunctions to distribute abortion information, their stand inspired support on the campuses. At the Trinity College Dublin freshers fair many students wore badges reading "SPUC Off" while SPUC lawyers wandered around trying to serve their injunction. On 9 October several hundred students staged a sit-down protest outside the law courts.

There are a number of avowedly "socialist" organisations at Trinity—the Socialist Workers Movement (SWM—Irish co-thinkers of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party in Britain) and the Socialist Society, a bloc of "anarcho-

communists", independent leftists and the Irish Workers Group (IWG—international affiliates of the centrist Workers Power group in Britain). Yet none of these groups raised the call for the right to free abortion on demand. This should be the minimal starting point for revolutionaries! The Irish Workers Group limited its calls to scrapping the Hamilton Judgement, by which SPUC first gained injunctions in 1986 against women's health clinics for giving out abortion information, the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act which prohibits abortion and the Eighth Amendment. The decriminalisation of abortion is

necessary but not the same thing as the right to free abortion on demand—a particularly critical question in Ireland where even modest proposals for a "Mother and Child Health Service" were decisively spiked by the church.

Spartacist comrades visiting Trinity as part of our autumn subscription drive reported that *Women and Revolution*, with its front-page coverage of the abortion issue, was enthusiastically snapped up. Smash SPUC's reactionary crusade! For free abortion on demand! For separation of church and state! Women's liberation through socialist revolution!

Abortion...

(Continued from page 1)

the imperialists. As yet the "pro-life" reactionaries in Britain have not broadly embraced the terrorist and draconian measures seen in the United States and West Germany. Currently they figure to make headway in that bastion of social conservatism, the palace of Westminster. Last year, the likes of the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC)—the same people who fronted for the Catholic church's successful drive for the constitutional banning of abortion in the Republic of Ireland—tried (and failed) with the Alton Bill. And as was the case with the draconian anti-homosexual section 28, Kinnock's vile Labour Party aided and abetted the Alton Bill in Parliament. With its own crop of "right-

to-life" bigots and riddled with male chauvinist conservative complacency, the Labour Party will lead no fight for women's rights.

The fight for abortion rights cannot be isolated from the struggle for decent living conditions and democratic rights for all. Just calling for "legal abortion" begs the question: the 1967 abortion law, while providing a legal right to abortion, did not compel health authorities to provide the service. As with other medical needs, the dilapidated and threatened NHS cannot provide timely and proper treatment and half the recorded abortions in Britain are done at expensive private clinics. The advanced state of decay of this society renders meaningless Labourite patchwork reforms. Only hard class struggle under revolutionary leadership with the aim of expropriating the wealth stolen from those who produce it will

provide the solution. *Free quality health care for all! Free 24-hour childcare!*

As we wrote in *Women and Revolution* (no 22, Spring 1981):

"...reforms can be granted or taken away at the bourgeoisie's whim, depending on which way the political winds are blowing. Abortion reform itself, as an isolated issue, does not threaten the institution of the nuclear family, which remains the main source of women's oppression; thus we have always linked our fight for abortion and contraception rights for all, without cost, to the fight for a socialist, working-class program for women's liberation."

Today, the anti-abortion fanatics are the ideological servants of the ruling class, seeking to prop up the patriarchal family as a basic institution of bourgeois rule. More often than not the "right-to-life" crowd is the same that clamours for the death penalty and seizes on the trag-

edy of AIDS to promote anti-homosexual hysteria. They seek to instil fear and impose social conformity in the service of all-sided reaction.

The power of the working class must be mobilised to defend women against this latest attempt to roll back the minimal rights that exist and to extend them. This is not a fight which can be won in the Houses of Parliament but rather as an inseparable part of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and oppression. We communists fight for a society where the bourgeois family will be replaced by socialised housework and childcare, enabling women to be full participants in social and political life. An authentic Bolshevik party, a tribune of all the oppressed, must be forged to lead that struggle. *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

Estonia...

(Continued from page 4)

Baltic nationalism. Where Mandel & Co hail the Nazi "Forest Brothers", we salute the real Estonian freedom fighters, who were the soldiers of the Red Army's Estonian 8th Rifle Corps, which included 250 Jews. In June 1944 these Estonians helped liberate their homeland from the Nazi butchers and the "Forest Brother" collaborators.

Workers Power lost in East Europe without a compass

While the Mandelites embrace Baltic Nazis in the name of "national liberation" and "independence", the left-centrist Workers Power group mimics Stalin's opposition to any national secession from the Soviet Union. In reprinting excerpts from the 26 August statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the threat of civil war in the Baltics (*WV* no 484, 1 September), we stressed that the statement "leaves out the critical element, insisted upon by Lenin, that all nations not seeking counterrevolutionary social change were promised the right to fully administratively disaffiliate from the rest of the Soviet Union". Workers Power says nothing about the danger of capitalist counterrevolution in the Baltics today but simply declares, "we oppose calls for independence in the sense of secession from the Soviet Union" (*Workers Power*, September 1989).

At the same time as it falls into line behind the old tsarist doctrine of "Russia—One and Indivisible", Workers Power capitulates to some of the worst nationalist excrescences of the Baltic movements, supporting the demand for "recognition of non-Russian languages as official languages". The very idea of an

"official language"—which was attacked by Lenin even before 1917—is inherently anti-democratic. Ever since 1944, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian have been used in their respective republics' governments, schools, media, etc, along with Russian. Now the Baltic nationalists demand that *their* languages be made the *sole* "official" languages of the republics, thus degrading millions of Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian and other inhabitants to second-class citizenship.

The large and largely proletarian Russian-speaking population has resisted this anti-democratic measure, mainly through the "Internationalist Movement". But here is one mass movement Workers Power explicitly refuses to support, slanderously dismissing the mass protest strikes organized by Inter-Movement against the reactionary language laws with the canard that the "KGB-organised 'Intermovement' is coordinating a chauvinist campaign". In its strikes, Inter-Movement has raised the demand for "equal rights for all nations". In speaking with the *New Yorker* writer, its spokesmen were a Georgian, a Jew and a Russian who had lived in Estonia virtually their entire lives. Even Boris Kagarlitsky, a leader of the Moscow People's Front, reported after visiting Estonia that "the program of the Inter-Movement looked much more democratic than the [Estonian] People's Front program" (*International Viewpoint*, 20 February).

For the first time in decades, the Soviet workers—including in the Baltics—have begun to assert themselves as an independent social force. The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, for Trotskyist parties, to whose construction the slick centrists are an *obstacle* as they trot eagerly behind the illusions and false consciousness of the masses.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 486, 29 September 1989

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Smash apartheid! For workers revolution!

South Africa: blacks defy apartheid elections

As South Africa's whites trekked to the polls on 6 September to vote for the racist candidate of their choice, the country's oppressed and disenfranchised black majority registered its vote—and its power—in the factories and streets. Mines, mills, shops and schools were shut down and buses, trains and taxis idled as some two to three million black workers—far more than the number of whites voting—staged a massive two-day stay-away strike to protest the apartheid elections. The *Independent* (7 September) reported: "With 90 per cent of urban workers estimated to be on strike, Cape Town, like Johannesburg and Durban, was as deserted as on a Sunday, eloquently demonstrating the degree to which the country's economy depends on non-white labour...." Once again, the black proletariat has shown it has the power, standing at the head of all the oppressed, to bring down apartheid capitalism.

The general strike capped a six-week "defiance campaign" against the apartheid elections. Organised by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), which includes the now-banned United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), this was the first sustained and most widespread wave of anti-apartheid protest since the brutal suppression of the township rebellions of 1984-85. The MDM protests directly defied the "state of emergency" imposed three years ago and a frenzy of murderous repression called out by National Party president FW de Klerk. And on election day there were protests in at least 20 cities.

Armoured cars terrorised the townships, cops chased down demonstrators,



AP/Wide World

15 September—Ten thousand at Johannesburg police headquarters protest state terror against blacks in racist elections.

and riot police charged into groups of schoolchildren peacefully demonstrating, whipping them with heavy leather *sjamboks*. In the days leading up to the elections, police stormed a cathedral to suppress an anti-apartheid rally and arrest liberal anti-apartheid leaders Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak. Cops invaded the offices of COSATU and the home of its general secretary, Jay Naidoo, arresting eleven trade unionists. On 30 August, over 200 women were arrested while on their way to present a petition to the British consulate in Cape Town. On election day alone, 29 demonstrators were

killed in the apartheid butchers' bloody crackdown.

Black anger has been fuelled by a flood of executions and death sentences meted out by the white-supremacist regime in recent months, many on the basis of the Hitlerite "common purpose doctrine" under which anyone present at the scene of killings of police agents and informers is deemed guilty of murder. In late May, the Upington 14 were condemned to death for being part of a large crowd which killed a black policeman in 1985. Two weeks later, four blacks were hanged in Pretoria, including the first woman to be executed in two years. Twelve others from the Ciskei bantustan ("tribal homeland") were sentenced to hang for a 1987 "necklacing" (executing informers and other apartheid collaborators by placing burning tyres around their necks). Now, in the Delmas III trial, 12 Pretoria anti-apartheid activists charged with being "ANC terrorists" face possible death sentences.

The outcome of the election reflected increasing polarisation within the white minority, as the National Party emerged with its narrowest majority in 41 years. The "Nats" lost ground on both flanks, though the ultrarightist Conservative Party gained less than expected while the "liberal" Democratic Party increased its vote substantially. While successfully appealing to Indians and "coloureds" (of mixed race) to boycott elections for their

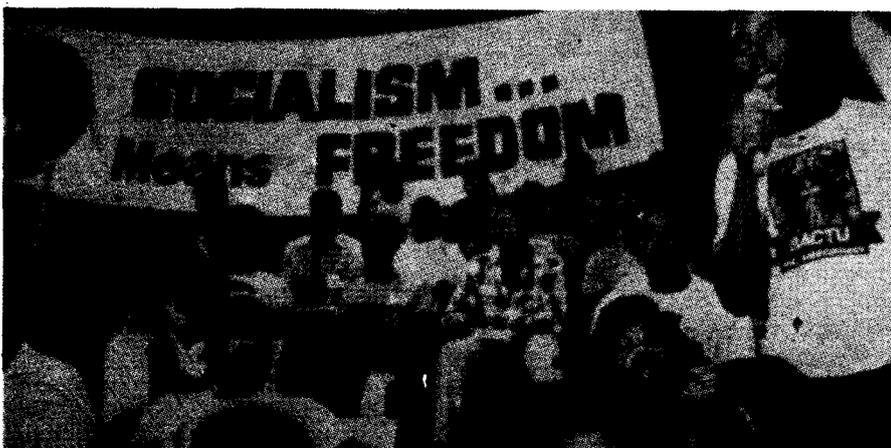
segregated sham parliamentary chambers, the anti-apartheid MDM implicitly called on whites to vote for the Democratic Party. The DP was recently formed out of a merger of two smaller parties with the Progressive Federal Party, voice of the giant mining conglomerate Anglo American Corporation.

"Peace" with the apartheid regime

The election was seen as a referendum among whites on de Klerk's five-year "action plan", which claims to offer reform of the apartheid system while firmly maintaining white control. De Klerk took over as acting president in August after finally forcing PW Botha, the long-time head of the apartheid state, to resign. Botha provoked a storm of outrage from ultrarightists when he had tea with jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela on 5 July, the first time a government official openly met with a representative of the banned organisation. Then the *Weekly Mail* revealed that foreign minister Pik Botha and other leading National Party officials had been meeting with Mandela regularly for almost three years. Immediately after taking over from Botha, de Klerk flew off to discuss the ANC's new "peace plan" with Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda as a show of his "moderate" credentials.

For years, the ANC has sought to

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Work in Progress

Many of South Africa's black trade unionists see need to smash apartheid system of capitalist exploitation.