

## Workers need a Bolshevik party!

# No vote to Kinnock's Labour Party!



Homeless huddle outside Job Centre; Kneel Kinnock, friend of the City, promises more of the same.

"Mr Kinnock runs well behind his party in popular esteem — why?..."

"His new year message may hold the answer. It brims with the politics of the bland, by the bland, for the bland.... For a left-wing party, such timidity and caution bodes ill for the kind of government that would follow an election victory.... The prospect is that he would be putty in mandarins' hands, a prisoner of the Establishment, a mere figurehead doing the honours at No 10 and diving for cover twice a week at question time."

Take a guess. Is this from any of the Labourite left newspapers (*Workers Power*, *Socialist Organiser*, *Socialist Worker*, etc)? Wrong. It is the *Sunday Times* (5 January). The bourgeoisie at least understands that Kinnock has nothing to do with socialism. But the wretched "lefts" are falling over each other to explain to the workers why it is necessary to elect the Labour Party.

The TUC/Labour tops (the "lefts" as well as the rights) have done all they can to muzzle class struggle in order to prove

*continued on page 10*

## For proletarian political revolution to overthrow Yeltsin's starvation regime

MOSCOW, 18 January—Two weeks have passed since Russian president Boris Yeltsin's "free market reform" sent the prices of food and other necessities skyrocketing. Despite demagogic promises of abundant supplies, the store shelves remain empty and lines remain long. Popular anger is fast bubbling to the surface. As "Tsar Boris" tours Russia, he is greeted everywhere by placards, jeers and shouts attacking the "liberalisation" of prices. And Yeltsin's political allies have started to desert and denounce him.

At the same time, hyperinflation, hoarding and speculation are destroying the links between mine and factory, between collective farm and food store. In Moscow, most industrial enterprises have enough supplies to operate for only another two or three weeks. With the imperialist-dictated "shock treatment" being carried out by Yeltsin and his counterrevolutionary cohorts, the entire economy is grinding to a standstill. Moscow TV *News One* (17 January) reports that miners across the country are ready

to strike: "In Dzerzhinsk, there are 18,000 miners who are unemployed because they ran out of support timbers in the mines" and have no money to buy more. "In Armenia, the lack of gasoline and heating oil is catastrophic. There is electricity only six hours a day in the cities and four hours in the countryside. The enterprises have stopped working. There is energy only for the bakeries and hospitals. Kindergartens are closed down."

Food riots have started erupting in various Soviet cities. In Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, police opened fire on thousands of students marching on the presidential palace; several were killed. A week ago, shoppers in Stavropol broke store windows in outrage against the out-of-reach price of sausage—a kilo now costs up to a month's wages of an average worker. Angry protests in Vladimir over the cost of milk led local authorities to lower the new price from 6 roubles to 1.20 a litre, still massively higher than two weeks ago. Spontaneous food protests have spread to Moscow as well. On 12

*continued on page 6*



Tens of thousands march on Revolution Day, Moscow 1991.

Spartacist

# Robin Blick: anti-communist

We reprint below a letter to Workers Hammer from Robin Blick. All textual errors are the responsibility of the author of the letter.

16 December 1991

Dear Editor,

There are several passages in your attack on the journal 'Revolutionary History' ('Workers Hammer', Jan/Feb 1992) which concern me directly, and contain either errors or distortions of fact. I will correct them in the order in which they occur.

1. I did not wait for the Jaruzelski coup to help rally support in Britain for Solidarity. I was co-founder, in August 1980, with my wife, Karen, and Adam Westoby, of the first and only enduring support group, the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

2. I am not an 'anti-communist',

'unabashed' or otherwise, and since you offer no evidence for this assertion, I would like to know on which of my writings you base it. As an advocate of working class self-emancipation I am, naturally, an opponent of all forms of totalitarianism. Perhaps, like so many others on both left and right, you are unable to appreciate the difference.

3. I did not, as you say, write 'two reviews' for the Autumn 1991 number of 'Revolutionary History', only one. My other offering, as any literate person able to count up to two should have been able to divine, was a not a review (if it was, pray tell me the title of the book reviewed) but a letter, published in the letters section on page 42. Remarkably for an 'unabashed anti-communist', in this letter I defended Trotsky against what I believe was a Stalinoid perversion of his appreciation of the so-called (but never by Trotsky) 'Canton Commune'.

4. Trotsky (drawing on both Stalinist and Menshevik accounts of the events in question) did indeed believe that Stalin's seizure of Eastern Poland in September 1939 awakened hopes for liberation amongst the oppressed classes and minorities of that region. ('In Defence of Marxism' Merit, 19765, pp.87-8)

Or as you put it:  
'The Jews headed towards the Red Army.' But that was exactly my point! I then described what happened to some of them. As I said in my review (you quoted this very passage) 'there were recorded instances of Jewish refugees from the Nazi zone fleeing, or being driven back, to their near certain death under the lash of Stalinist pogroms.' Do you deny this? Your reference to Trotsky offers you no help at all. But mine to the US State Department collection of documents on the Stalin-Hitler Pact, 'Nazi-Soviet Relations', 1948 (which you, for obvious reasons, missed out in the above quotation from my review) most certainly does. There, on page 128, is a Nazi account (dated December 5, 1939) of why 'the expulsion of Jews into Russian territory, in particular, did not proceed as smoothly as had apparently been expected.' Jews driven into the Soviet zone 'came back', with the Russian commander trying to force the German one to readmit the group.' Deny the truth of this if you like. But Trotsky won't be able to help you. Nowhere does he imply, let alone state, that the Jews or any other refugees from Polish (or Nazi) persecution should have expected any better treatment from Stalin. On the contrary. He warned—correctly—that all 'independent activity on the part of the masses in the new territories' would 'on the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures'. (ibid, pp 18-19) Why do you find it so hard to admit, after all that we now know of Stalin's atrocities (free at last to tell the truth, Soviet historians number his victims near the 50 million mark) that Stalin could behave as Trotsky predicted, and as the above case proves? Is it perhaps fear of the sin of 'Stalinophobia' (hatred of Stalinism) that leads you quote with such a sense of outrage my reference to the mass deportation and extermination of the Baltic peoples? Do you deny that this atrocity occurred too? Or similar crimes against the national minorities of the Caucasus and Crimea? Or the Jews again in the last years of Stalin's rule? Or is it simply bad form (i.e., 'anti-communist') to refer to these things in public? ('Not in front of the workers, Comrade') If so, whatever became of Trotsky's injunction to 'say what is'?

5. My review was not, as you say, 'filled with innuendo' about Lenin's dealings with German imperialism. In an article of nearly four pages, I made one reference to the 'controversies surrounding Lenin's precise relations with the Kaiser's government during and after the episode of the "sealed train"'. (In your quotation, again for obvious reasons, you missed out the first two words.) Hardly what you would call 'filling'. And if there was an innuendo, vigilant people such as yourselves would surely have exposed it to your readers. You don't, because there was none. What I did do was refer readers, in a footnote, to two collections of documents on the subject. Surely even you would agree that Lenin did have a 'precise relationship with the Kaiser's government' and that that relationship—whatever it was—has in-

deed continued to provoke 'controversy' down to the present day? Or is this too something communists musn't talk about in public?

I look forward to the publication of my corrections, and any comments you may see fit to make on them.

Robin Blick

WH replies: We are happy for Robin Blick to point out for the record that he "did not wait" for Jaruzelski's counter-coup to support counterrevolutionary Solidarność. The rest of his letter amply confirms our characterisation of him as an anti-communist. (Although, perhaps "unabashed anti-communist" was too strong—witness the fact that Blick is abashed.) Abashed or no, this "opponent of all forms of totalitarianism" cannot even bring himself to state the fact that Jews behind Soviet lines were saved during the Second World War in which the Soviet Red Army smashed Hitlerite fascism. His references also speak for themselves: the US State Department documents, including a "Nazi account" contained therein.

Blick "reveals" that Stalin was no particular friend of the Jewish people—nor, we might add of the Soviet peoples in general—in order to grotesquely place an equal sign between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Here Blick, with his talk of "Stalinist pogroms", sinks to the level of the arguments expected from a David Irving who wants to claim that the Nazis' treatment of the Jews was no worse than the Soviet Union's and at least Hitler was fighting Bolshevism. Even the pronounced anti-communist Martin Gilbert in his history of *The Holocaust* (1985) writes, on the contrary, about the number of Polish Jews who found refuge in the USSR—not because they were "driven" into the Soviet zone by the Nazis but because they fled there for refuge. Moreover, even before the German invasion, many of them had been resettled by the Soviet government in Central Asia and other distant areas to make sure they didn't fall into Nazi hands. Meanwhile the "democratic" imperialists whom Blick blocks with in his "anti-totalitarianism" refused to open their doors.

It's frankly revolting to argue against the likes of Blick—who will use any stick to beat "Stalinism"—on this question. To any decent person, let alone so-called "socialist", the difference between the Nazi mass genocide of peoples and the terror carried out by the Stalinist ruling caste of the Soviet Union is manifest. As the historian Moshe Lewin, author of *Lenin's Last Struggle*, put it: "Jews like anyone who is not instituting pogroms against them. When the Lithuanians came in there were pogroms. When the Latvians, the Estonians, the Ukrainians, came in there were pogroms. When the Soviets came in there were pogroms. Under Stalinism the net was cast very widely, and arbitrarily. It didn't involve nationalities as a matter of course.... In the Soviet Union, I might have been killed, but I joined the Red Army, I was a citizen, I didn't get caught in the net. In the Soviet Union Jews were citizens; by definition they were not condemned to die" (*Nation*, 30 September 1991).

As to Blick's final point that "Lenin did have a 'precise relationship with the Kaiser's government' and that that relationship—whatever it was—has indeed continued to provoke 'controversy' down to the present day" we refer our readers to Leon Trotsky's chapter "Concerning Slanderers", directed against one Keren-sky, in *My Life*. ■



TROTSKY

## In honour of International Women's Day

On the occasion of International Women's Day, 8 March, we print below an extract from *Die Gleichheit* (Equality), the newspaper of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) especially addressed to the question of women's emancipation. This paper was launched in 1891 by the SPD to further the work of the party amongst women. Much of the SPD's pioneering work serves to this day as a model.



LENIN

The SPD went over to social chauvinism at the time of World War I and it is no accident that those who formed the Spartacist group in 1916 and the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1919—the organisations which carried forward revolutionary work among women—included revolutionaries like Clara Zetkin, one of *Die Gleichheit's* first editors. These communists fought unswervingly for special, high-level, agitational and propagandistic work among women; they were among the leading radicals in the SPD who had staunchly defended their revolutionary proletarian vision against all forms of narrowness and chauvinism—from trade unionism, parliamentarism and nationalism to male chauvinism and feminism. *Die Gleichheit's* editors promised that the newspaper would:

"...fight with all energy and sharpness for the full social liberation of the world of proletarian women, because this is possible only in a socialist society. For only in such a society, along with the disappearance of the property and economic relations presently dominant, will the social contradiction disappear between those who own property and those who do not, between man and woman, between intellectual and physical labor. The elimination of these contradictions can however only come through class struggle: the liberation of the proletariat can only be the work of the proletariat itself. If the proletarian woman wants to be free, she must join forces with the common socialist movement.... But the characteristic standpoint, the standpoint of the class struggle, must be sharply and unambiguously emphasized in an organ for the interests of proletarian women. And this must be done all the more sharply, the more the bourgeois women's righters make it their business, by the use of general humanitarian phrases and petty concessions to women workers' demands for reform, to throw up obstructions in the world of proletarian women and to seek to draw them away from the class' struggle. But the schooling of proletarian women precisely for the class struggle will also in the future continue to be the foremost task of *Die Gleichheit*."

—cited in Werner Thönnessen, *Die Frauenemanzipation* (1969)

## WORKERS HAMMER



For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles!  
For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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Our beloved comrade Martha Phillips died on 9 February in Moscow. A professional revolutionist and supporter of the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist tendency (International Communist League) for 20 years, Martha was living and working in Moscow as a teacher of English at the time of her death. As the senior cadre among several comrades who were working to reimplant the revolutionary programme of Lenin and Trotsky in the land of its birth, Martha was engaged in a crucial struggle whose outcome still hangs in the balance. Her death is a bitter blow to the future Soviet section of the ICL and a shattering tragedy for her many close friends in our party. We extend our sympathy also to Martha's family, the Greenbergs, to Jeff, and to her son Lael, who she deeply loved.

Martha was won to Spartacist politics along with several other comrades out of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency/Leninist Faction left opposition inside the Socialist Workers Party. Originally recruited to the SWP as a college student in Madison, Wisconsin, Martha was living in Washington, DC when she and others there came to see in the Spartacist League the embodiment of the authentic programme of Trotskyism. After fighting for their views in the Leninist Faction, they formally fused with the SL in November 1972. This regroupment laid the basis for winning other comrades from the SWP in the US and from their sometime cothinkers internationally over a period of several years.

In 1972 Martha moved to the Bay Area and took up her first party post as organiser of the Revolutionary Communist Youth there. She spent the bulk of her political life as a comrade of the Bay Area SL, including a stint as party organiser. She also spent briefer periods in Los Angeles (1973-74), Detroit (1981-82), New York (1982-83) and Seattle (1987). Always one of our most effective campus activists, Martha also worked closely with young comrades as party representative to campus fractions and as a party educator. A powerful public speaker and public polemicist, Martha led the party in numerous campaigns. She was Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council in the spring 1983 election.

A lifelong fighter for women's liberation, Martha was passionate and thoughtful on all questions of special oppression and was heavily involved in launching the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense. She was an active campaigner and spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee. In 1982 she helped organise the 27 November militant mass demonstration which stopped the fascist KKK from marching in Washington, DC and was on the front lines of that successful action.

In the autumn of 1990, after studying Russian diligently in her spare time over the course of several years, Martha went to Moscow for an intensive language course. Although most of the students had had considerably greater preparation and were half her age, and while pursuing a heavy schedule of political activities, Martha worked hard on her studies and passed her course with flying colours. Her progress enabled her to return to Moscow in May 1991 and take up a job teaching English. Martha was a dedicated teacher who used everything she had learned in politics and in her life to spark her students' interest. Their stories, as well as her own experiences in Moscow, informed her letters home to her comrades.

# Martha Phillips



10 March 1948—9 February 1992



Spartacist

In July 1990 Martha presented greetings from the ICL to a meeting of the Moscow Workers Congress. Her remarks, published in *Workers Vanguard* no 532 (2 August 1991), sought to lay bare what capitalist restoration would mean for the working people of the Soviet Union and to present a fighting perspective of proletarian political revolution to return the Soviet Union to the internationalist programme which animated the October Revolution of 1917. She sharply denounced the anti-Semitism which permeates the Stalinist "patriot" milieu.

After her return to Moscow, Martha wrote up some points for consideration by an SL/US Central Committee plenum held in October 1991. Coming out sharply against "any tendency to write off the Soviet Union in advance", she summarised her observations in light of Yeltsin's triumphant counter-coup against the half-hearted coup attempt by the so-called "hardliners":

"In the absence of active working-class resistance there is certainly not dual power in the sense that it existed in 1917. Nevertheless, all maneuvering here operates under what I'd call, for lack of a better phrase, the 'shadow of the working class'—that is, it is not accidental that the 'democrats' have failed to firmly consolidate their hold, have not moved even more boldly in the situation after their easy victory in August. They are afraid of the 'dark people'—what will happen if they are pushed too far. So there have been a lot of half-measures.... Probably it is in *In Defense of Marxism* that Trotsky makes the point that terminology on the workers states is an attempt to as closely as possible describe the contradictory reality. My best approximation is that Yeltsin has consolidated an unstable bonapartist regime over what remains of the workers state. The bour-

geoisie is attempting to consolidate its hold over the fractured apparatus of the workers state. Nevertheless, that consolidation is far from accomplished.... Greetings from the Trotskyist Group of the Soviet Union."

Martha courageously faced many obstacles in her life, but none greater than the struggle to function as a communist in Moscow as a foreigner, an American and of Jewish background, and as a woman in the face of the pervasive social backwardness towards women as political people and leaders. She confronted this challenge with the courage, intelligence, humour and unswerving determination that were characteristic of her, until her life was cut short with brutal suddenness.

Martha was murdered. Comrades

who arrived at the apartment where Martha was staying on the morning of 9 February, the day of the most recent large demonstration against Yeltsin, found her there having apparently died in her sleep. Although she had recently been quite ill with a kidney ailment, her death seemed medically inexplicable since she had been improving. In the midst of their shock and grief, the comrades asked for an autopsy which, when it was finally performed, revealed that she had been stabbed. At the present time, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this hideous crime may have been politically motivated. The Moscow militia is carrying out an investigation in which our friends and supporters in Moscow are cooperating.

Many moving messages from comrades who knew Martha and loved and valued her greatly have been received and we will share excerpts from some of them in future issues of our press. In the US, formal meetings to honour her are planned in the Bay Area and New York City. Other ICL sections are planning their own commemorations, as we seek to celebrate Martha's life in the communist movement, to rededicate ourselves to the goals she cherished and fought for with all her intelligence and energies, and to come to grips with the shock and sorrow of our irreparable loss.

Comrades in Mexico City plan to lay red carnations in honour of Martha at Trotsky's memorial in Coyoacán. The ICL's French section will gather to remember Martha at Leon Sedov's grave outside Paris. On 16 February, German comrades held a memorial meeting for her at the Friedrichsfelde Monument to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Berlin. At the ceremony held on 15 February at Marx's grave in London, a spokesman for the Spartacist League of Britain told the assembled comrades:

"We are gathered here today to honour Martha Phillips, who died in Moscow on the front lines in the urgent fight against counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. In her work there, on the numerous occasions she was asked why the International Communist League was in the USSR, Martha explained that the Soviet Union was the birthplace of our communist programme, that the Russian Revolution in fact belonged to the workers of the whole world, and that we were coming home to fight to defend the gains of the October Revolution. For us Trotskyists the Soviet Union has never been a foreign country, and we can say truthfully that Martha died in her homeland."



Workers Vanguard

1983: Campaigning for Oakland City Council in California, Martha talks with United Auto Workers members at the East Bay Skills Center.

# Scottish Militant alibies BNP race-terrorists

As we go to press, Tommy Sheridan—head of the Anti-Poll Tax Federation and Scottish Militant Labour's parliamentary candidate for Pollok—is on bail appealing a vindictive six-month prison sentence for "contempt of court". This is the state's revenge for October last when 400 anti-poll tax protesters halted Scotland's first warrant sale. It is an attack on the whole working class and must be defeated. We demand: Drop the charges against Tommy Sheridan! Free all poll tax prisoners!

While defending Sheridan against the capitalist state, we say: No vote for Sheridan—don't help Ramsay MacKinnock and his poll tax-enforcing, wretched Labour traitors into government! Dead but not buried, the poll tax needs to have the final stake plunged into it by some genuine class struggle. Recently, hundreds of NALGO members struck Strathclyde Regional Council's finance department in solidarity with 200 community workers who had been out nearly six months in a dispute sparked by Council redundancies. Immediately the administration of the poll tax was hit and the arrogant Labour Council was quickly forced to plead for terms. But the Militant Labourites, despite holding key official positions in NALGO, have done nothing to raise anti-poll tax demands in this strike!

We print below an article reporting on Sheridan's recent revolting public apology for race-hating fascist scum in Scotland.

GLASGOW—Tommy Sheridan grotesquely alibied and used the very language of race-hate fascist scum at a 20 January public meeting in Glasgow's Langside Hall. Prompted by a question on whether or not Militant would affiliate to the exhumed popular-frontist Anti Nazi League, Sheridan responded with the following Militant version of "fighting fascism": at a Militant meeting six weeks ago in Penilee, the "60 local youth" who appeared included a large contingent of BNP supporters. Spouting such filth as "Hang the IRA!" and "deportation of blacks and Asians" this racist rabble comprised fully two-thirds of the meeting; Sheridan said there were as many as 40-45 of these scum there! Sheridan announced that they "didn't know any better". In keeping with Militant's policy of debating and "exposing" the fascists, Sheridan went on to *defend*—very concretely—the racists welcomed into Militant's Penilee meeting. Of a local Asian shopkeeper whose shop was daubed with racist graffiti and who called the cops after an "incident" with these thugs, Sheridan said: "Of course he was labelled a grass, a Paki grass"! "Don't assume that these kids know who Adolf Hitler is," Sheridan went on, "that's why they go around Paki-bashing".

This outrage was immediately and vehemently protested by Spartacist spokesman Cheryl Myall, an Asian woman and the only non-white person at the Langside Hall event. Comrade Myall sharply condemned the stench of racism emanating from Militant's Labourite politics: "You use the same language as they do.... I don't expect to hear this language from someone who calls himself a socialist! You reflect the racism and chauvinism of the British Labour Party." The Spartacist spokesman recalled a



Jeff Smith



Workers Hammer

Scottish Militant Labourite Tommy Sheridan: he alibies the BNP. Spartacist League contingent at combative Dundee anti-fascist rally, 12 May 1990, demands vengeance for Somali student Ahmed Shekh.

previous meeting where Sheridan used racist epithets against Japanese people. Significantly, nobody even tried to defend Sheridan.

Sheridan's performance is both a scandal and a deadly dangerous symptom of social-democratic putrefaction within the workers movement. Among the some 35 attending the Militant meeting, including a substantial number of SWP members, only the Spartacist spokesman called Sheridan to task for his defence of the BNP and its ilk. And in Scotland there has been a sharp increase in the level of fascist activity, centred particularly on the BNP. A few months ago Niaz Ahmed of Glasgow died after an attack by a racist mob which a year earlier had left him severely brain damaged. A hundred and fifty BNPers massed in Glasgow to oppose the Bloody Sunday 20th Anniversary march on 18 January. That same day in Edinburgh anti-racist protesters marked the third anniversary of the murder of Ahmed Shek by race-hate killers. And the very day after the Langside Hall meeting the BNP attacked the left bookshop Clyde Books in broad daylight.

The Militant has helped to pave the way for these emboldened scum. Two years ago, it gave the green light to the BNP with an offer to debate them in Pollok. We wrote at the time: "It is ABC for Marxists that fascists are not a debating society. Their genocidal programme means terror *in action*: their stock-in-trade is the firebomb, the knife, the gun, the lynch rope. They must be crushed by the mobilisation of the organised workers movement in alliance with all the intended victims of fascist terror: Asian and black people, gays, Jewish people, Gypsies, leftists, Irish and immigrant communities" (*Workers Hammer* no 111, November/December 1989).

How alien the Scottish Militant Labourites are to such a proletarian perspective was laid bare again in Sheridan's statements. This is what Militant means by "working on the estates"; a concretisation of its "Scottish turn". Notorious for economism and blindness to extra-class oppression, the now split pimps for Kinnock's Labour rule in Westminster have a sordid history of pandering to the prejudices of the labour lieutenants of British imperialism as well as to the most backward layers of the working class. Thus Militant refuses to call for the immediate withdrawal of the British army from Northern Ireland; it advocates

organising the racist, strike-breaking cops into trade unions; it has consistently rejected fighting for the defeat of its "own" bourgeoisie from the Falklands/Malvinas War to the recent one-sided slaughter of the Anglo-American led imperialist "allies" against Iraq. In fact "Labourite grass" would sum up very well the role that prominent Militant supporter Jim Cameron played when he fingered Spartacist supporters to the cops on a demo in Glasgow against the Gulf War—so enraged was he by our slogans for the defeat of imperialism and defence of Iraq. And let's not forget Militant's offer to shop anti-poll tax demonstrators to the state after the police riot in Trafalgar Square.

For our part, we defend all the victims of the state vendetta against anti-poll tax protesters and non-payers, including Tommy Sheridan.

The rise of fascism and reaction throughout Europe has been fuelled by the collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, the ascendancy of counter-revolutionary nationalist regimes there and the drive towards capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union led by imperialist-backed Boris Yeltsin. Not only do the likes of the BNP and Le Pen's NF in France take inspiration from the anti-Communist "rollback", but as inter-imperialist rivalry deepens, the working people face rising unemployment and falling living standards in a deepening global economic recession. Such conditions further encourage the fascist bands to step up their murderous attacks against minority and immigrant populations. Militant *hailed* the Yeltsinite counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet Union, enthusing about "people's power" and joining the barricades of the capitalist restorationists in August.

In Scotland, the growth of nationalism has been fuelled by the prolonged historical betrayals of the Labour Party—not least its enforcement of the hated Tory poll tax, widely recognised as an aspect of national oppression. To save Scotland for its rotten Labourite programme, Militant set up "Scottish Labour Militant" to "demand that a Scottish parliament begins to transform Scottish society in the interests of the working class". Militant's "Scottish parliament" would look more like Liverpool City Council, writ large. Like we've said before, if you liked Derek Hatton, you'll love Tommy Sheridan.

Where Militant has stood against official Kinnockites, as in the Liverpool by-election last July—and now in Pollok—Militant offers no political alternative to the Labour Party. On the contrary, it desperately tries to breathe life into what Rosa Luxemburg some 75 years ago called the "stinking corpse" of social democracy, pledging itself to "Real Labour" policies and to a "majority Labour government elected at the earliest opportunity" (*Militant*, 7 June 1991). It is precisely for this reason that we did not advocate even the most critical support to Lesley Mahmood, the Militant candidate in Liverpool.

Militant's chauvinism at home and abroad is in the worst tradition of the social democracy. Indeed Sheridan's statements carry the stamp of Henry M Hyndman, the social democrat, anti-Semite, fervid supporter of British imperialism, the monarchy and parliamentarism (who went on to found the National Socialist Party)—or of Manny Shinwell of the ILP who, as leader of the Seafarers' Union was directly responsible for inciting the seamen to a racist riot against a group of African sailors in Glasgow in 1919 while campaigning to exclude Chinese labour from British ships.

Our tradition is that of the great Bolshevik October, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky, the best of the proletarian internationalist fighters like James Connolly and the Red Clydesider John MacLean. Since the first imperialist war, the dividing line between these two—the social chauvinists and the authentic communists—has been irrevocable. Against the treacherous Labourites—from Kinnock to Sheridan—we struggle to forge a party dedicated to the destruction of capitalism, the defence and extension of the remaining conquests of October. Such a party must be the champion of all the oppressed; as Lenin put it, the tribune of the people.

We in the Spartacist League will certainly not be advocating a vote to Kinnock or his "real", "independent", "Scottish Militant" or other supporters of the upcoming general election. We say: Crush fascist terror through trade union/minority mobilisations! Smash Yeltsin/Bush/Major counterrevolution—for proletarian political revolution to overthrow Yeltsin's starvation regime! Break with the Labour traitors—forge a Bolshevik Party! For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! ■

# ARA/ANL: popular front exhumed

Within the space of a few months two popular-frontist "anti-racist campaigns" have been launched. The Anti-Racist Alliance, backed by many Campaign Group MPs (notably Tony Benn, Ken Livingstone and Diane Abbott), and organisations like the Labour Party Black Section and the National Black Caucus, was formed in November last year. It draws the allegiance of the *Morning Star* — not to mention such "working-class fighters" as Anglican bishop Trevor Huddleston and the Welsh Liberal Democrats. Three peers of the realm also adorn the sponsors' list. Mid-January saw the launch of a rival: the Anti Nazi League. It is a perfect replica of the Mark I model of 1977-79 — right down to the prominent endorsement of Glenys Kinnock (Kneel was with Mark I). A few of the nobles have been poached by the ARA but the politics are just the same. The new ANL declaims: "The Anti Nazi League, which successfully ruined the Nazi National Front in the 1970s, has been relaunched. We must ensure that the growth of the far right in Europe, particularly the Nazi Le Pen in France, does not give strength and confidence to Nazi organisations in this country."

But the well-known reality is that the ANL Mark I did the opposite of "successfully ruining" the fascists in the 1970s. We reprint below a shortened version of an article "ANL Carnival scabs!", from *Spartacist Britain* no 5 (October 1978), which explains exactly how the old ANL betrayed the fight against the growing National Front a few months before the election that brought Thatcher to power in May 1979 at the behest of its Labour, Liberal, House of Lords and other "allies". (In fact it was the promise of hard right-wing racism and economic shock treatment from Margaret Thatcher that took the wind out of the NF's sails.)

Today, to occupy the ranks with something other than simply bringing in the vote for Judas Kinnock the fake lefts bring you the ARA and the ANL Mark II. Suddenly, organisations like the SWP who have ostentatiously ignored or minimised fascist activity in Britain have realised there is a market for "anti-racist" activism, exploiting the dread of a growth in fascism. The social-democratic fake lefts look at the results of their support for DDR *Anschluss*, for Yeltsin-Bush-Major counterrevolution in the USSR and for Mitterrand's popular front across the Channel, and cynically reckon up the score in members retained and contacts gained in Little Britain.

Behind the turf wars of ARA ("we're run by black people themselves") and the ANL ("we've got the numbers") lies the

shared strategy of binding the working class to a bloc with "respectable" ruling class and Labour celebrities. Some leftists like Workers Power and the Workers International League call for a single, united "anti-fascist movement", ie, a bigger, more deceiving, more credible popular-front trap for genuine anti-rac-

Welling) are fostering suicidal illusions in the neutrality of the capitalist state. Nor is there much mileage in isolated run-ins between small groups of leftists and fascists (a speciality of the old Anti-Fascist Action, before it was reborn as prototype ARA/ANL: in November it called a "national demo" in the East End... while

was leading many tens of thousands of people in the *opposite direction*, from Hyde Park to Brixton for the pacifist fun and "magic" of Carnival 2. In the words of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the guiding force behind the ANL: "The sun was out, the faces of the people were bright, happy... All was celebration" (*Socialist Worker*, 30 September).

And the ANL was celebrating in full knowledge of the NF march. A month before, the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* had informed ANL leaders of the impending NF parade. For more than two weeks, immigrant groups in the East End and small left-wing organisations had repeatedly called on the ANL to mobilise its forces to stop the fascists. But to no avail.

Lulled by ANL leaders into thinking that all was well in the East End, an estimated sixty to one hundred thousand people stood in the sun and "rocked against racism" in Brixton, and only a handful of ANL supporters joined leftists and local immigrants in the Brick Lane area for an anti-fascist demonstration called by the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee. In all, perhaps a thousand or twelve hundred anti-fascist militants gathered in the East End. Pitiably weak and woefully disorganised, they had no chance of getting near, let alone stopping, the Front's deliberately provocative "march against communism".

The Anti Nazi League *scabbed* on the struggle against the NF. "Sunday after Sunday" was its slogan for the weekly anti-fascist demonstrations in Brick Lane during the summer. But the pacifist sit-downs failed to drive the Front out of the area, and on the one Sunday when a mass anti-fascist demonstration was *most* important—the day of the first NF national mobilisation since May Day—the ANL was too busy "celebrating" to show up.

And yet the NATIONAL FRONT COULD HAVE BEEN STOPPED DEAD IN ITS TRACKS on "Carnival Sunday". Despite their chronic lack of organisation and manifest ill-preparedness to *fight* the fascists, the sheer numerical weight of the thousands on the "Anti Nazi" jamboree could have been sufficient to stop the Front marching with impunity into Great Eastern Street. Instead, with drums beating and Union Jacks waving, and with the ever-present police accompaniment, the fascists marched unscathed to their rallying place.

Cock-a-hoop at their easy success, NF leaders Webster and Tyndall were able to claim "We have never been stronger" to their followers at the East End rally. And

*continued on page 9*

## workers power Unity in action to smash the fascists!

FOR YEARS the SWP invited the fascist to give out leaflets. The participants were virtually all SWP members. The ANL has refused to organise a national demonstration, which you can do for you cannot send a message to the fascist movement to expose its actions. The police are not interested in the ANL, but they are interested in the SWP. Colin Lloyd chronicles the painful birth of the ANL Mark II and spells out an alternative way forward.

### The LENINIST

## ANL Mark II: How to beat fascism

The relaunch of the Anti-Nazi League is good, but it is only a first step. The ANL Mark II is a new attempt to bring together the anti-fascist forces in the UK. It is a new attempt to bring together the anti-fascist forces in the UK. It is a new attempt to bring together the anti-fascist forces in the UK.

### Join the Anti Nazi League

## NEVER AGAIN!

The Anti Nazi League, which successfully ruined the Nazi National Front in the 1970s, has been relaunched. We must ensure that the growth of the far right in Europe, particularly the Nazi Le Pen in France, does not give strength and confidence to Nazi organisations in this country. We urge everyone to join today.

Sponsors include: Peter Hain MP, Ernie Roberts, Bernie Grant MP, Paul Hoggart, Miriam Karlin, Gloria Kinnock, John Fashanu, Melvin Bragg, Steve Bell, Alex Salmond MP, John Pevy, Doug McVey, Indian Workers Association (GB), Loraine Kelly, Julie Christie, The Firm, Christy Moore, Peter Tatchell, NIM, Lord Lee Deen, Stephen Fry, Hanif Kureishi, Jonathan Ross, US40.

If you would like more information, or would like to join the ANL, then send off the slip below: ANL, PO Box 2544, London SE26 2JG, Tel 071 278 0213

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Tel No \_\_\_\_\_

Donations are warmly welcomed. Make all cheques and P.O.s payable to "Anti Nazi League"

### Fake left leaps to reconstitute ANL popular front.

ists. The fight against fascism means a fight to *break* militants from the ANL/ARA and its Labour Party beneficiaries.

The danger from the fascists is deadly and real throughout Europe. Here, Thatcherism has proved a worthless, futile lie even in terms of the success it promised to the capitalist class. The warmongering Labour Party drones on with "promises" of more of the same austerity and depression. All the parties representing the bourgeois interest have fomented counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc, uncorking the Iron Legion, Arrow Cross, Pamyat Black Hundreds and Nazis.

The fight against fascism cannot be successful unless it is based on the *independent* mobilisation of the working class: in mass, trade-union centred, multi-racial united-front demonstrations and defence guards to crush the likes of the BNP. Those, like the SWP or the centrist Revolutionary Internationalist League, who recommend reliance on the police, the local councils or the courts (as in the demand by all and sundry for Bexley Council to close down the BNP HQ in

the BNP assembled at the Cenotaph). The fight to crush the fascist scum can only be carried out as part of the struggle to build a new revolutionary leadership in the working class, a party of the Bolshevik type.

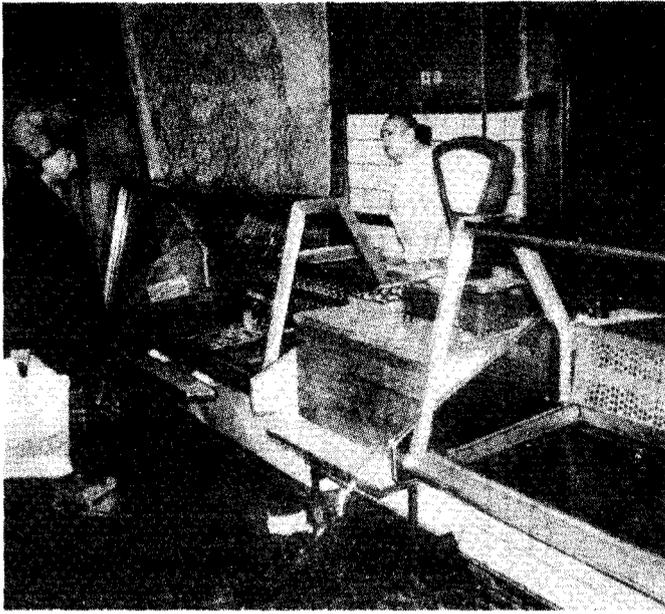
The National Front scored a major political victory on September 24. Under heavy police protection, close to 2000 fascists succeeded in holding a march in London from Embankment to the East End without any serious challenge from counterdemonstrators. Speaking at an end-of-march rally near the new fascist headquarters in Great Eastern Street, NF national organiser Martin Webster was able to boast that there were no "no-go" areas for the National Front. And the fascist thugs let out a loud cheer.

Why was the Front allowed to parade unchallenged into the East End? THE MAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FASCISTS' SUCCESS LIES WITH THE ANTI NAZI LEAGUE. For while the NF was spewing its race-hatred through the City and into Shoreditch, the ANL



September 1978: NF parades near Brick Lane while ANL Mark I "celebrates" at carnival miles away.





Der Spiegel

Yeltsin decrees "free market" price explosion, while state shops remain empty.



AP



Reisinger/Black Star

Desperate people buy soup from Moscow street vendor.

## USSR...

(Continued from page 1)

January, 1500 people linked hands to block off the Kuznetski Most, only blocks away from the Kremlin, after a store ran out of milk—a commodity which has grown so rare that many can't remember when they last saw it in the stores.

The Yeltsin government is in increasing disarray, and is increasingly despised



Niedenthal/Time

Russian fascist blackshirts of Pamyat spew anti-Semitic filth.

by much of the population. Significantly, a recent poll showed that a third of Russians believe the imprisoned Kremlin coup plotters of last August should be freed. Key Yeltsin ally Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian parliament, has now added his voice to the growing chorus calling on the government to resign, denouncing as "utterly senseless" the "uncontrolled, anarchic and runaway price rise". While Yeltsin and Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk squabble over how to carve up the living body of the Soviet armed forces and particularly the strategic Black Sea Fleet, the military is openly expressing its dissatisfaction with all the nationalist governments.

At an assembly of 5000 military officers in the Kremlin on 17 January, the mood was angry and the sentiment was overwhelmingly for maintaining a single army and unified command structure. One young naval officer demanded the

resignation of commander in chief Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, a leading Yeltsin supporter in the military. A senior lieutenant of the strategic rocket forces declared, "The army should not be a toy in the hands of politicians. That is a path to civil war." An officer speaking for the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP), who called "to defend Soviet power as our fathers did", was ordered away from the microphone and badly beaten up.

Organised working-class protests and strikes against the price rises could galvanise the simmering Soviet population around a proletarian axis of struggle and open the way to political revolution to sweep away the fragile counterrevolutionary governments which now hold sway in Russia and the other republics. Already this month Lithuania has been hit by a weeklong strike shutting down the five biggest newspapers in the republic. On 13 January the miners in the Karaganda coal field in Kazakhstan walked off the job. However, their misguided demand was for the state procurement agency to pay higher prices for their lower-grade coal. There is now talk of the Vorkuta coal miners going out as well. And in the city of Voronezh, several hundred miles from Moscow, workers threaten to take strike action if "measures are not taken by February 1".

The uncontrolled price rises are giving the Soviet working people a taste of what capitalist restoration means. It is virtually impossible now for an average working couple to feed their family, and on many goods the prices have continued to escalate sharply after the 2 January *ukase* (edict). In the Ukraine the government has supplemented workers' wages with 200 roubles worth of food coupons per month to soften the blow and prevent Russians coming in to buy goods; the coupons are now trading on the black market at ten times their face value! The consciously engineered free fall of the rouble means that every time hardworking citizens pass a street kiosk they are taunted by the sight of a single packet of Marlboros selling for the equivalent of a week's wages.

One elderly woman staring at the new prices in the state-owned Yelisevsky Gastronom (supermarket) in central Moscow gasped, "It's a nightmare come true" (*Moscow Guardian*, 10 January). Another shopper added, "Only rich people can buy in these shops now." And the prices in the private markets, where plentiful supplies are available, are many times higher.

Decisive and disciplined working-class action to seize the hoards of food supplies from speculators who funnel goods

into the private markets, or sequester them in anticipation of still higher prices, would be immensely popular among all layers of the population. Workers committees to seize and distribute food supplies could lay the basis for genuine workers soviets, drawing in elected representatives from all factories and enterprises, as well as students, pensioners and white-collar workers. Workers defence guards to protect food supplies and distribution points could pave the way to the formation of workers militias, allying with pro-socialist units of the Red Army. Only through seizing political power in its own name, and sweeping away the counterrevolutionary "governments" precariously perched atop the fractured bureaucratically degenerated workers state, can the Soviet working class combat the catastrophe that now faces it.

Revolutionary proletarian leadership is key to deciding the fate of the Soviet proletariat and the deeply battered homeland of the October Revolution. If the proletariat does not act in its own name, the danger exists of fascist and other anti-Semitic and nationalist demagogues seizing on the growing desperation of the working masses and derailing the possibilities for struggle, by raising the old pogromist cry of "Beat the Yids!" Yet the numerous "Communist" remnants of the old Stalinist ruling party either give back-handed support to capitalist restoration or make common cause with Jew-baiting Great Russian chauvinists. This was graphically demonstrated in a 12 January demonstration dominated by the newly formed RKRP. While some 15,000 people, many of them carrying red flags, turned out to denounce the price rises and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, demonstration organisers not only provided a platform for unalloyed Russian nationalism but allowed an organised fascist and monarchist contingent to participate with impunity.

In the midst of this counter-revolutionary turmoil, the International Communist League is fighting to forge the cadre of an authentically Leninist multinational vanguard party. Only a return to the internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky can provide a programme for a struggle to reforge the Soviet Union on the basis of collectivised economic foundations and reverse the counter-revolutionary tide.

### Miners in the vortex

Beginning with the massive strikes in the summer of 1989 in the Kuznetsk Basin of western Siberia, the Donets Basin of the eastern Ukraine and the Karaganda coal fields in Kazakhstan, the miners have been the most combative

section of the Soviet proletariat. However, in the absence of revolutionary leadership, the miners sought to defend their living standards within the framework of Gorbachev's perestroika (ie market-oriented "reforms"), such as gearing miners' wages to the profits of their particular mines. As the promises of the Gorbachev regime were broken and conditions continued to deteriorate, an independent miners union was formed under a hard pro-Yeltsin leadership with open ties to American imperialism.

But now the miners are facing and reacting against the effects of the Yeltsinite drive towards capitalist counter-revolution. The strike in Karaganda was preceded by one in December restricted to one mine, triggered by the fact that many miners had not been paid for two months. Notably, in addition to wage demands, the workers called for doing away with the extortionate "free enterprise" cooperativist stores, a demand being raised again in some areas now. But the main demand of the pro-capitalist (and pro-Yeltsin) leadership of the Independent Union of Miners centres on raising the price of coal paid by the state procurement agency with the extra profits being cycled back to the miners.

Such wrong-headed demands are by no means peculiar to one group of miners but are widespread among Soviet workers facing the disintegration of the economy and the ascendancy of pro-capitalist forces. In the Karaganda case, the local mines are of poorer quality than those in other regions, particularly in the Kuzbass. Only a collectivised and centralised economy would subsidise higher-cost and lower-grade coal, thus ensuring *equality of income for all miners*. If industrial enterprises are "free" to buy what they want and negotiate over prices, they will never pay the same for lower-grade Karaganda coal as for higher-quality Kuzbass coal.

The demand for "workers management" of enterprises within a market economy is the hallmark of social democrat Boris Kagarlitsky, who has functioned as the self-styled "left wing" of the counterrevolutionary camp. Especially as the Soviet economy spirals downward, this would mean ruthless competition between the miners of the different coal fields. Moreover, if the lackeys of Wall Street and Frankfurt led by Yeltsin and Kravchuk open Russia and the Ukraine to the world market, Soviet miners would face competition from South African coal produced by superexploited black miners and from highly mechanised strip mines in the western United States and Australia.

Rosa Luxemburg, in her classic polemic against social-democratic reformism,

*Reform or Revolution*, explains why producer cooperatives (the equivalent of "workers management") under capitalism are always destroyed by market competition:

"As a result of competition, the complete domination of the process of production by the interests of capital—that is, pitiless exploitation—becomes a condition for the survival of each enterprise. The domination of capital over the process of production expresses itself in the following ways. Labor is intensified. The work day is lengthened or shortened, according to the situation of the market. And, depending on the requirements of the market, labor is either employed or thrown back into the street. In other words, use is made of all methods that enable an enterprise to stand up against its competitors in the market. The workers forming a cooperative in the field of production are thus faced with the contradictory necessity of governing themselves with the utmost absolutism. They are obliged to take toward themselves the role of capitalist entrepreneur—a contradiction that accounts for the failure of production cooperatives, which either become pure capitalist enterprises or, if the workers' interests continue to predominate, end by dissolving."

The salvation of the Soviet working class now facing capitalist counterrevolution does not lie in enterprise self-management and profit-sharing schemes. It lies in *defeating* the forces of counterrevolution in order to preserve and revitalise the collectivised economy

remains the conflict between Yeltsin and Kravchuk over the Black Sea Fleet. A week ago, Yeltsin thundered that the fleet "was, is and will remain Russia's". Negotiations last week produced a flimsy compromise which promises to divide up the fleet ship by ship, with the Kiev regime insisting that all ships not armed with nuclear weapons belong to it.

But Air Force deputy commander in chief Col Gen Boris Pyankin has warned that the dispute between Yeltsin and Kravchuk "has created a dangerous ferment among the troops". The commander of the strategic nuclear forces in the Ukraine, Maj Gen Vladimir Bashkurov, practically threatened Kravchuk: "In my division I have more buttons than the President, so you better be careful of me." The 14 January *Pravda* featured a front-page statement from the "Officers Assembly of the Moscow Garrison", the successor to the political commissariat Yeltsin sought to outlaw, warning against the break-up of the army.

Less than 10 per cent of troops stationed in the Ukraine have thus far submitted to Kiev's new loyalty oath, with some 100 units explicitly refusing, and the Kravchuk regime appears to be backing off from its ultimatum to expel all "disloyal" units by the end of the month. Nor is Yeltsin's proposed oath of loyalty to the Russian government faring much better.

Moreover, while soldiers are being buffeted by the same nationalist pressures as Soviet society at large, the divisions over the loyalty oath do not seem to be

not be defended if the army is dismembered, and the Soviet Army will be destroyed if the various counterrevolutionary regimes succeed in destroying the Soviet Union and its socialised foundations. Ominously, if not surprisingly, the voices for maintaining military unity overlap heavily with those of Russian nationalism, seeking to erect a strong Great Russian (bourgeois) state which dominates the other republics and restores the "prison house of peoples" which Lenin's Bolsheviks fought against and uprooted. Thus the Stalinist/Russian nationalist *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (14 January) highlights its coverage of the 12 January demonstration with calls for "The Army, One and Indivisible". This harks back to the old tsarist watchword "Russia, One and Indivisible". In the absence of a communist internationalist perspective, the impulse of many military men to restore social order and a strong state can readily be channelled into suppression of working-class unrest.

As we wrote in December 1991: "The military officer corps is the only remaining genuinely multinational Soviet institution. Yet to preserve the multinational Soviet state and army requires salvaging the socialised property upon which it was created" (*Workers Vanguard* no 541, 27 December 1991). The Soviet Army must return to the internationalist foundations upon which it was created, exemplified by the programme of its founder Leon Trotsky.

### Stalinist "patriots" and Great Russian chauvinists

At the 12 January demonstration the crowd cheered as speakers denounced the renaming of Leningrad and demanded Yeltsin's resignation, and also when a military speaker called on the army to "fulfill its constitutional duty and take authority into its own hands". But the rally's organisers, the Toiling Moscow/Toiling Russia umbrella group dominated by the RKR, had made the focus of its demonstration call a demand that Yeltsin come to address the rally!

The demo brought together all that is disgusting and retrograde about the so-called "patriotic" holdovers from the collapsed Stalinist bureaucracy. Called as a sequel to an earlier protest on 22 December, its chief demand was "Let the voice of the people be heard." The "people" its organisers had in mind were the likes of Nevzarov, the populist-monarchist television commentator who recently linked up with the pro-capitalist "black colonel" Viktor Alksnis to form the Russian-nationalist "Nashi" ("Ours") party. Nashi's banner draped the platform and supporters of Zhirinovsky's fascist Liberal Democratic Party were present. At the 22 December demonstration, Zhirinovsky was even allowed to speak from the platform.

Unlike the huge 7 November Revolution Day march in Moscow which tapped into widespread sentiment against Yeltsin's counterrevolution, the subsequent demonstrations have been much smaller and significantly Russian-nationalist in colouration, with Pamyat and other fascist groups openly participating with their anti-Semitic filth. On 12 January there was even an organised bloc of several hundred fascists and monarchists at the flanks of the demonstration. Red flags and portraits of Lenin (and a few of Stalin) were to be seen alongside tsarist banners and anti-Semitic signs. A call from the podium was made for "unity of all forces, from Communists to monarchists" to preserve "the great state". Nevertheless, for many of those who turned out, the red flags and calls for soviet power were not merely window-dressing for a nationalist programme. Over 1800 pieces of ICL literature were sold to those open to an authentically communist

programme—despite intimidation and threats from fascists and anti-Semites marauding through the crowd.

The Stalinist bureaucracy suffered a decisive political defeat last August when Yeltsin's counter-coup followed the botched coup attempt by Kremlin conservatives. The remnants of the self-styled "patriotic" wing of the Stalinists have no basis for an independent political existence. They have no perspective for the multinational Soviet working class to overthrow Yeltsin and the other counterrevolutionary regimes in the non-Russian republics and to reintegrate the Soviet Union on the basis of proletarian political power. Instead, the Stalinist "patriots" seek to make common cause with Great Russian nationalists of the most reactionary stamp in the name of opposition to Western domination. We are now seeing the most degenerate form of Stalinist "popular frontism"—a political bloc with monarchists and fascists.

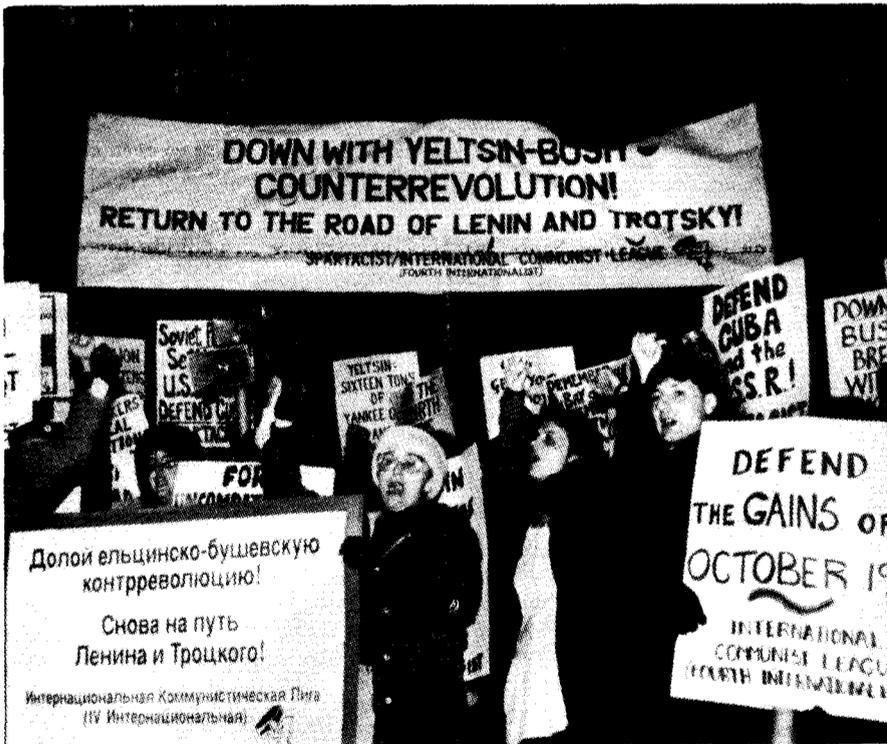
The Russian Communist Workers Party, formed at a conference in Sverdlovsk two months ago, is the largest of the numerous "Communist" splinters cast off by elements of the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracy. Unlike the overtly social-democratic Party of Labour (Trud), whose most prominent spokesman is Boris Kagarlitsky, and Roy Medvedev's explicitly pro-Gorbachev Socialist Party of Labour—both of which accept the introduction of a market economy—the RKR claims to oppose the introduction of the market in principle. Kagarlitsky's outfit openly models itself on Neil Kinnock's British Labour Party and calls for "free wages" to accompany "free prices", while the founding conference of the Socialist Party of Labour last month featured an invited delegation from the German Social Democracy, the labour lieutenants of the Fourth Reich.

Cohabiting the Stalinist swamp with the RKR is the Russian Party of Communists (RPK) and the Union of Communists, both of which issued out of the former Marxist Platform of the CPSU and both of which accept the introduction of capitalism with talk of a "mixed economy" and maintenance of a strong state sector. Yet another, smaller grouping is the All-Union Communist Party (B), VKP(B), composed of various competing "Unity" (Yedinstvo) organisations, including that of notorious Stalin apologist Nina Andreyeva. The VKP(B) explicitly calls for a return to the Stalin era (as well as the traditions of the mediaeval Grand Duke of Muscovy, Alexander Nevsky!) and its leaders make no bones about their virulent Russian nationalism.

The Stalinist United Front of Toilers (OFT) has for all intents and purposes ceased to exist, with its Moscow apparatus going into the RKR and other supporters, such as those around the newspaper *Kontrargumenty i Fakti*, pulling away in an attempt to form a clearing-house for "Marxist" views. At the time of the August coup and counter-coup, *KIF* claimed that the main enemy was the pathetic "Gang of Eight", even as Yeltsin was spearheading pro-imperialist counterrevolution.

As for the RKR, its chief components consist of the commander of the Sverdlovsk military district, General Albert Makashov, a pronounced anti-Semite who ran in last June's Russian presidential election with the open backing of the fascist Pamyat; the Leningrad Communist Initiative, whose chief ideologue was Makashov's running mate, Andrei Sergeev; and Viktor Anpilov's *Molniya* newspaper in Moscow. Despite orthodox-sounding denunciations of capitalism and calls for elected workers soviets to rule, the RKR consistently aims its main fire against "Western capital" and is chiefly characterised by its

*continued on page 10*



New York, 31 January — Spartacist protest outside Federal Reserve Bank where Yeltsin was fêted by his Wall Street paymasters.

on the basis of proletarian political power and centralised planning. This requires a perspective based on down-the-line opposition to the introduction of the market and on the internationalist unity of workers of all nationalities. The ruse of pitting workers of one region or nationality against another is the game by which the bourgeois forces hope to divide and atomise the proletariat in order to crush any workers' resistance.

### Army in an uproar

It is not only the economic situation which threatens to explode in the faces of Yeltsin and his counterparts. The armed forces remain the one significant multinational institution in the Soviet Union, and its very existence is threatened as the various republican "governments" scramble to dismember the Union and divide up the spoils. The focus of the deep divisions between the republics

along the lines of national origin. By all accounts, the military hierarchy remains intact. One appeal circulating within the armed forces from an aviation unit insists:

"The army has been the force restraining fratricidal slaughter. The politicians of the independent states, in pursuit of their aims, have done all they can so that nationalist sentiments reach a point resulting in the intended political and economic dividends for themselves and so force men in uniform to come to power."

The appeal concluded with a demand for "the provision in the transitional period of uninterrupted legal and social protection of officers and their families, produce, food, pay and normal conditions of life".

But conditions of life in the Soviet Union today are anything but "normal". The conditions of officers and troops will

# British troops out of Northern Ireland now!

# Not Orange against Green but class against class!

The twentieth anniversary of the massacre of 14 Civil Rights marchers by the British army in Derry on Bloody Sunday has just passed. Since a Labour government sent the troops in, the occupation of Northern Ireland has meant a continuing bloody cycle of imperialist repression and inter-communal violence. Today, the headlines are filled with "Ulster killings total highest in nine years" and "Political leaders to meet at Downing Street amid fears of slide to civil war". We call now, as we have all along, for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army!

The Bloody Sunday killings were a watershed in the history of the North. Designed to demonstrate the British government's support for the blatantly discriminatory Stormont regime and to cow the Catholic population into submission, the army's slaughter drove a generation of militants into struggle, though mostly towards the nationalist cul-de-sac of the IRA. To add insult to injury, the commanding officer of 1 Para on that day, Derek Wilford, was awarded the OBE while the Widgery Tribunal whitewash exonerated the army and—typically grotesque for such bodies—blamed the killings on the victims themselves.

It is indicative of the sentiment of bourgeois defeatism within Britain, with talk of an "imposed solution" and general weariness of the quagmire, that now even Wilford has called for an end to the British occupation. A former sergeant major in the Parachute Regiment has furthermore admitted that he saw no gunmen, no nail bombs and no weapons in Derry on the bloody 30 January 1972: "I feel in my heart that a lot of these people were innocent" (*Guardian*, 27 January). In the wake of the Birmingham Six, Guildford 4 and Tottenham 3 cases where the British government, its cops and courts, were proved to be criminal liars and brutes, the ruling circles in Britain (and Ireland) feel compelled to "re-examine" the findings of the Tribunal.

In Ulster, there has been heightened activity of reactionary Loyalist death squads acting in concert with the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) and British army. The collusion between the security forces and Loyalist paramilitaries has been underlined by the case of Brian Nelson—a top intelligence officer of the paramilitary Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and agent of British Military Intelligence. A none-too-subtle plea-bargaining managed to bury some of the evidence of the murderous work of the British army agents in the Orange paramilitary organisations. The Stevens inquiry was launched after photomontages of Republican suspects "disappeared" from an RUC station in south Belfast and turned up in Loyalist and UDA hands. Not one RUC officer was charged in the wake of this investigation. *Smash the RUC and UDR!*

On 20 February, two IRA men—Kevin Barry O'Donnell and Sean O'Farrell—were buried in Coalisland, Co Tyrone after they and two others were shot dead in an SAS ambush. They were



Bloody Sunday massacre, Derry, 30 January 1972.

Gilles Peress

buried in the grave beside Tony Doris—killed by the SAS in Coagh less than a year ago. This "shoot-to-kill" operation followed the 4 February shooting to death by an RUC officer of three at Sinn Fein's Republican press centre, the killing of five in a crowded bookmaker's shop in a Catholic area of Belfast by Loyalist gunmen on 5 February (the UFF claimed responsibility ending its statement with "Remember Teebane") and the IRA's criminal sectarian attack on Protestant workers at Teebane in Co Tyrone who were carrying out construction work at army bases on 17 January.

Unlike defensible attacks by the IRA directed against British imperialism and its agents—eg, the bombing of the Aldershot military barracks, the blowing up of Mountbatten or the near-miss at Brighton—the Teebane bombing was aimed at Protestant *civilians*. As was the case with the Birmingham pub bombings, London Underground bombings and Enniskillen and the unabashedly sectarian murders by the IPLO in Belfast, we condemn indiscriminate terror against Protestant (or British) civilians by Republican forces. As we wrote in "Theses on Ireland": "In military conflicts between Irish nationalist organisations and the British army/state authorities we defend the actions of the former since this is still a struggle of an oppressed nationality against imperialism.... Terrorist acts directed against the Protestant community by organisations of the oppressed Irish Catholic community are in no way a blow against imperialism, not justifiable as the 'violence of the oppressed' and are no more 'progressive' or defensible than similar acts by Protestant paramilitary groups."

An indication of revulsion at the Teebane attack, crossing the sectarian divide, was the 10,000 strong rally in Belfast called by the ICTU as well as an integrated strike and march of the Mid Ulster Trades Council in Cookstown on the Monday following the bombing. But for such mobilisations to point the way forward for genuine class unity against Orange and Green sectarian terror it is necessary that a clear stand is taken in opposition to the role of British imperialism in the North; otherwise such movements likely become pro-imperialist stooges as happened with the Women's

Peace Movement. The likes of the British TUC's Norman Willis will pontificate against "violence" at such rallies, but it was Willis' cohorts in the British Labour Party which dispatched the troops into Northern Ireland.

While Sinn Fein/IRA have been successful in frustrating the British rulers' attempts to pacify the North, their nationalist strategy offers nothing to the working class of these isles. Their goal is a "seat at the negotiating table" (as the recent statements by Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams underline), a "solution" worked out between Paisley, themselves and the British. The IRA's military strategy likewise does not seek to defeat the British army but rather to demoralise it and pressurise the government. They consciously seek to cultivate the bourgeois defeatist wing of public opinion that extends from the Tony Benns through to Derek Wilford—a sentiment reinforced by the ability of the IRA to disrupt life in the capital (and specifically Whitehall). Gerry Adams has taken to extolling the capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe as a "process of democratisation" (even as the Lithuanians model their new army on the SAS): Sinn Fein could play its role in the "New World Order".

Sinn Fein's nationalist programme is counterposed to the Marxist struggle for a proletarian solution in Northern Ireland. Our Marxist programme is premised on the recognition that there are two communities in the North; it is 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. Our call for no forcible reunification, for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles, consciously leaves open the question of where the Protestants will fall in the course of the struggle for workers revolution in these isles. It is important to remember that the Bloody Sunday slaughter nearly provoked a general strike in the South that was only defused by the government's call for a "day of mourning" instead.

We struggle for a proletarian axis, on a programme addressing the oppression of the Catholic minority and appealing to the joint class interests of the Catholic and Protestant workers against the reactionary Orange demagogues, the Green

bourgeoisie in the South as well as the Green nationalists in the North. Such a programme would take advantage of situations like the Civil Rights protests in Derry 1968 where joint struggle across communal lines was posed concretely, and would offer a communist solution to unemployment, housing, discrimination and sectarian violence.

This basic application of the Leninist approach to the national question is unique to our tendency. Our opponents on the left partake either of Labourite social-chauvinism or vicarious Green nationalism or both on the Irish question. For instance, a leading member of the Socialist Workers Movement in Ireland, Eamonn McCann, has recently published a book *Bloody Sunday in Derry/What Really Happened* which contains many moving accounts from relatives of those killed. However, referring to illusions within the Catholic community that the troops would serve any purpose other than continued bloody repression, McCann "neglects" to note that chief among those with such "illusions" was his own party! In the notorious words of the 11 September 1969 issue of *Socialist Worker*: "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists." Having been on the wrong (ie imperialist) side from Korea to Afghanistan to the Soviet Union, it is not surprising that the SWM capitulates to imperialism closer to home.

Presently, the British have increased the number of "security forces" sent to Northern Ireland and public opinion is being sounded out as well on internment. In the Republic, the Mary Robinson-supporting *Sunday Tribune* has editorialised on the need to introduce internment north and south. Despicably, the ex-Stalinist leader of the Workers Party, Proinsias de Rossa, has also recommended such a move! Originating as the political wing of the Official IRA, which ceased military operations against the British in 1972, the Workers Party have become notorious apologists for the role of the army and the RUC. Now wracked by an internal crisis over de Rossa's attempt to abandon its "Marxist-Leninist" trappings, the Workers Party's "revolutionary socialist" wing maintains this shameless pro-imperialist stance. That genuine internationalists defend the Soviet Union through supporting class struggle at home is an alien concept to the Workers Party whose TDs all, for example, voted for an all-parliamentary demand that striking ESB (power) workers return to work during an important strike last spring that threatened to smash the class-collaborationist PESP and open the door to widespread class struggle.

Capitulating to both nationalist and social-democratic pressures is the Irish Workers Group, affiliates of the British Workers Power organisation. Politically endorsing the IRA's strategy of unifying Ireland under capitalism, the IWG writes "The national struggle which they [the IRA] lead retains its fundamentally progressive content... to end the Partition of the Irish working class and nation" (*Class Struggle* no 25, February 1992). This nationalist myth is shared by much of the left from the Communist Party in Ireland

continued on page 10

# ARA/ANL...

(Continued from page 5)

in what these thugs no doubt consider a victory celebration, a gang of 50 to 60 NF youth that very night rampaged through a predominantly Asian estate off Brick Lane, smashing shop windows and threatening local residents.

This is the type of fascist thuggery which a strong, well-organised workers defence squad would prevent from ever getting off the ground. Rooted in the organised labour movement, it would be well placed to teach these fascist scum a well deserved lesson and send them scurrying back to their rat holes. No such defence force exists today. But the ANL and its hangers-on have no intention of ever fighting to build one; instead they keep preaching that blowing balloons and holding rock concerts is the way to deal with the NF hoodlums.

## Alibis for betrayal

Both the SWP and the International Marxist Group (IMG), who backed to the hilt the decision to continue the Carnival and denounced calls to divert it to Brick Lane, now have a lot to answer for. Already these Carnival revellers have started producing their alibis.

In the September 30 *Socialist Worker*, SWP patriarch Tony Cliff attempts to defend the Carnival ("the biggest anti-racist demonstration since the thirties"), while bemoaning the "failure of organisation" which allowed the fascists to march unimpeded to Shoreditch. It was just a little slip-up, he claims—like forgetting to bring enough paper cups to a picnic.

But Cliff has another, more honest, argument. He estimates that between twenty and forty thousand militants would have heeded a call by the SWP to go from Hyde Park to Brick Lane. However, if this had happened—if the peaceful, orderly festivities had been interrupted by militant anti-fascist action—"the result would have been"...the "disintegrating of the ANL"! Thus Cliff admits the sorry truth: in order to hold the ANL together its supporters had to be prevented from confronting the fascists.

The SWP consciously used its authority to keep as many people as possible out of the East End, safely listening to music and "anti-Nazi" speeches on the other side of London. Moreover, it did this by lying. At midday, when no more than 500 anti-fascist militants were in the Brick Lane area, SWP leader and ANL secretary Paul Holborow assured the crowd in Hyde Park that everything was under control in the East End: "Several thousand anti-fascists are already there, shoulder to shoulder with the Bengali community."

Cliff claims that there was a "failure of communication"; but Holborow communicated his message very clearly. Exactly as was intended, virtually nobody came from Hyde Park to Brick Lane. Those ANL supporters who finally did make it over to the East End from Brixton at 6pm were several hours too late.

But the SWP's feeble excuses don't hold a candle to the arguments of the IMG. These second division ANL fans—the same people who used to propound adventurist battles with the cops as an anti-fascist strategy—positively glory in the ANL's betrayal. The back page headline of the September 28 *Socialist Challenge* asks: "Were we right to go to Brixton?" and defiantly responds: "YES! YES! YES!"...

After warning that "ALL CALLS TO CANCEL CARNIVAL 2 WILL PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE NF", the IMG adds: "Of course Brick Lane must be defended. All ANL supporters in the East End will be ready to respond to any

NF rampage. The ANL is also prepared to strike off 2,000 more of its supporters." Now everyone knows what the IMG doubtless knew all along: the imposing-sounding "all ANL supporters in the East End" were a meagre handful indeed, and the "two thousand" ANL supporters to be "struck off" from the Carnival turned out to be more like two dozen.

But given that "the best answer to the fascists" was "the mass mobilisation of Carnival 2 itself" the IMG should not be too perturbed by the pitifully small turnout in the East End. Yet such cynical indifference seems too much for even the newly pacifist IMG to swallow in one gulp. So they nod, yes, "physical action is...crucial"—but not now, because the East End immigrant community does not "support" or "understand" self-defence. The answer is to "boost the morale" of the immigrants...by leaving the streets to the fascists and marching off in the opposite direction with the Carnival.

The only alternative to this is supposedly to call for state bans on the fascists: "Any idea of self-defence not based on mass action perspectives [read: Carnivals] will ultimately lead to reliance on the state." But the IMG's sage advice against calling on the state to fight fascism rings completely hollow. What did these people have to say just one year ago, when the government banned an NF march in Tameside?: "can we proceed and say that we are in principle opposed to any bans imposed by the bourgeois democratic State on fascist or racist activity? We reply clearly and say: No, we are not opposed to these bans if they are specifically directed against the fascists..." ("IMG Position on the Bans", *Socialist Challenge*, 6 October 1977)....

## From Lewisham to Brick Lane

The events of September 24 should expose once and for all the rottenness of the popular front "anti-fascist" road. After the Lewisham and Tameside demonstrations last year the SWP, red-baited furiously by the bourgeois press and without a firm base of support in the working class for its street fighting tactics, sought the comfort, respectability and numbers of a class-collaborationist bloc built on the quicksand of abstract "anti-Nazism". The ANL is a perfect replica of the peaceful "anti-fascist" protest movements that the Stalinist Communist Party erected in the 1930s, full of hot air and pious gestures, and with all the fighting strength of a soggy biscuit.

The events of Lewisham shared with the ANL a total failure to see the mobilisation of the *organised working class* as the only way to destroy the fascist scum. They were the outgrowth of a *substitutionist* attempt to replace the weight of the trade unions with "far-left" militancy. But the ANL has spat on and pulverised the fighting spirit and genuine desire to smash the fascists that the Lewisham demonstrators expressed.

The legalist, pacifist antics of the ANL were prefigured last autumn by the SWP and IMG's fatal predilection for state bans as a "method" of halting the National Front. But the members of these organisations would undoubtedly have laughed derisively at any suggestion that, only one year later, they would be dancing to Tom Robinson whilst Tyndall and Webster's vile plague stomped in the East End. There is nothing accidental about this switch of policies. Without a clear programme of *proletarian* action, the fight against fascism will inevitably come to a dead end—either in suicidal adventurist stunts or in the popular-frontist "anti-fascism" of pacifist Carnivals.

The workers of Britain must look to the heroic battle of Cable Street in October 1936 for the answer to the NF threat. Until two days before Mosley's Black-shirts were scheduled to march to the East End, the CP was planning a simultaneous peaceable rally in Trafalgar Square

in support of the Spanish Popular Front. Only under overwhelming pressure from the London working class were they forced to call off this sham and mobilise to stop the Mosleyites in the streets. The hundred thousand workers who joined the demonstration that day were the force that was primarily responsible for arresting the crescendo of Blackshirt activity.

At least the CP—rotten, reformist and popular-frontist as it was—eventually managed to make it to the East End. But the SWP and IMG never got there.

# Abortion...

(Continued from page 12)

To fight for women's liberation must mean a fight for the defence of the workers states against the counter-revolution of Yeltsin/Bush and for worldwide socialist revolution. Those fake-left organisations such as the Socialist Workers Movement (SWM) and the Irish Workers Group which aided the quest for an imperialist "new world order", supporting Wall Street's tool Yeltsin in August last year, are accomplices of the system which would crucify a teenage rape victim.

Now, filled with angst for Ireland's "international reputation" the denizens of the Dail wriggle around suggesting a little amendment for "special cases". Revoltingly, the SWM joins this bourgeois clerical mainstream with the minimal slogan: "Rape victims have the right to abortion". Of course they do—and so does every other woman! Mary "I am against abortion" Robinson is part and parcel of the state perpetrating this obscenity. Robinson, the front-runner for a new Fine Gael/Labour coalition, supports the British troops in Northern Ireland, is a member of the anti-communist Trilateral Commission, a backer of PNR/PESP austerity just like her mentor Dick Spring. We in the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group said "No vote to the Robinson popular front" when most of the rest of the left was cheering her to the heavens.

*The workers must rule if women are to be free!* The whole gang, from the Fianna Fail crooks to the Labour Party lackeys needs to be swept aside. Likewise, the crisis-ridden Workers Party, which supports the presence of the British imperialist troops in the North, of course backed Robinson and has lurched right under the impact of the collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe. And the pressure of bourgeois and Catholic order extends beyond the servile reformist Labour and Workers parties; the republicans of Sinn Fein, in keeping with their nationalism, have repeatedly refused to approach any social issue that might alienate Catholic reaction. Thus one of the most bitterly

If ever organisations aspiring to the leadership of the workers movement have deserved to be excoriated as "scabs", it is the SWP and IMG. Falling at the feet of reformism and liberalism—these are the methods of the rubber-spined ANL and its creatures. The fight to mobilise the united strength of the working class, headed by disciplined, organised and serious workers defence squads—these are the methods of Trotskyism. September 24 has drawn the line. Make your choice! ■

contested debates at the upcoming Sinn Fein conference will be over abortion. North and South, the callous, grinding rule of the religious bigots needs to be smashed so that no more will women travel in secret to London for their right, no more will people be denied something as simple as a Brook Advisory Clinic for the most basic information and counselling! With its 20 per cent unemployment, barbaric clericalism, the constant cycle of British imperialist repression and communal conflict in the North: this island cries out for a proletarian solution. The elementary demand for the *immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army* is imperative in such a perspective.

Socialist revolution will tear down the gomben bourgeoisie here and the Loyalist masters in Northern Ireland: No forcible unification—for an Irish Workers Republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles. The industrialisation and construction of a planned economy alone can provide the quality health care which will make abortion and contraception free and safe for all women, on demand. Such a society would provide a job for everyone and free 24-hour childcare, laying the *material basis* for the genuine liberation of women.

Among the first acts of the workers state which emerged from the 1917 Russian Revolution was not only the abolition of all laws restricting rights to abortion and divorce but also the establishment of *full democratic rights for homosexuals*. Understanding that it was necessary to replace the functions of the oppressive institution of the family by providing social institutions for childcare and housework, the Bolsheviks immediately began to establish collective creches and kitchens. As tribune of the people, Lenin's party fought too against all forms of national and special oppression—just as here the official discrimination and racist attacks on Travellers must be smashed.

We in the DSYG are fighting to build a party in the tradition of the Bolsheviks, a revolutionary party to lead the working class in the overthrow of this rotten capitalist system. *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

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# Election...

(Continued from page 1)

to the bourgeoisie that Kinnock & Co are fit to govern decaying capitalist Britain. During the recent Gulf War, Labour enthusiastically supported Bush/Major's imperialist mass slaughter of Iraqis. The Labour "lefts" such as Tony Benn bayed for tightening the UN sanctions in order to starve the Iraqi people to death. In the coming general election workers and oppressed minorities have no interest whatsoever in the victory of Kinnock's Labour Party. There is nothing to intersect with electoral support. We do not call for a vote to the racist arch-scaabherder "I am a reactionary" Kinnock.

The working class has its back to the wall. Official unemployment rose to a four-year high of 9 per cent in December 1991, taking "the total number of unemployed to 2.55m, a peak last reached in December 1987" (*Financial Times*, 17 January). Behind the statistics lies the agony of millions of workers. Thousands of workers have lost their homes as house repossessions reach record levels throughout the country. Public services such as the National Health Service are a bad joke. Thousands of homeless people sleep rough in inner cities, begging for food. Cops routinely go on the rampage against youth and ethnic minorities in inner-city ghettos. Asians, blacks, and other minorities face escalating attacks by murderous gangs of fascists and skinheads. Among blacks unemployment is running at levels triple the national average.

British capitalism is in terminal decline. In the period from 1979 to 1991, Japanese manufacturing output experienced growth of over 60 per cent, as compared to 4.9 per cent in Britain (*Observer*, 16 February). The situation cries out for a thorough-going workers revolution, to lay the basis for the socialist reconstruction of this society as part of the Socialist United States of Europe.

In the decade of Thatcher's vicious crusade against workers and ethnic minorities, she enacted draconian anti-union laws aimed at smashing the power of the organised working class. Now the treacherous union bureaucracy hides behind these laws to oppose hard class

struggle in the service of the electoral fortunes of the Labour Party. The strike level is the lowest ever recorded. And even Labour's usual promises to repeal Tory anti-union legislation have been dispensed with. Tony Blair, the shadow "employment" secretary wanted to make it forcefully clear to the City and the bankers:

"No doubt over the coming weeks, after the nonsense on tax and defence, our political opponents will next say Labour will return to the industrial relations law of the Seventies. That is false. There is no turning the clock back; there will be no wholesale repeal of the existing trade union legislation. "For example, ballots before strikes, ballots for union elections, restrictions on mass picketing, will stay. Like companies, unions will be subject to proper legal regulation" (*Times*, 15 January).

Labour councils have been key agents enforcing the much hated poll tax, sending bailiffs to seize the assets of non-payers. The Labour Party tops certainly don't feel guilty about oppressing the poor. But ironically it might cost them the election, in a way they didn't anticipate. A *Sunday Times* (19 January) survey reveals that "Fifteen Labour MPs, including a senior member of Neil Kinnock's shadow cabinet and three of his frontbench team, risk losing their seats at the election because tens of thousands of voters have dropped off the electoral register in an attempt to evade the poll tax."

Fearing they would lose newspaper sales due to the suffocatingly boring election campaign, the tabloid press became desperate. An attempt to scandalise Paddy Ashdown over a past affair with his former secretary backfired as his popularity rating soared instead. Another exposé attempted to show that Kinnock had pro-Soviet sympathies, with less luck. Here even the gutter press was attempting the impossible. Kinnock is an anti-communist to the core and he is proud of it. And as we noted in "Hate capitalism—hate Yeltsin, Kinnock!" (*WH* no 126, November/December 1991):

"Many advanced workers may well vote with their feet in the upcoming general election. But Neil Kinnock can count on the loyal support of the British fake left. And their pledge to the British social democracy goes hand in hand with treacherous support to the coun-

terrevolutionary forces driving towards capitalist restoration within the Soviet Union. The fake-Trotskyist left lauded Yeltsinite counterrevolution, joining the imperialist chorus cheering the 'death of Communism'. We Trotskyists have always insisted that those who cannot defend the existing gains of the workers movement are incapable of making new conquests."

Ted Grant, the ex-guru of the Militant tendency, is the living proof of the fallacy of "deep entry": having spent the last 40-odd years earnestly beaver away within the Labour Party in a futile attempt to transform it into a "mass socialist party", Grant has been dumped by the overwhelming majority of his members in a recent split. But at least Grant is honest about his Labourism. The rest of the fake left are in principle no less cretinous in their tailing of the Labour Party, which is why the SWP, Workers Power, RIL et al are out there hustling votes for Kinnock.

The Labour Party—as opposed to the Tories or the SNP—is a *bourgeois workers* party, with a thoroughly pro-capitalist programme but organically linked to the mass organisations of the working class. In the course of mobilising for class struggle and through the exposure of Labour treachery by the communist vanguard, we seek to polarise the Labour Party along class lines, in order to split its working-class base from its pro-capitalist tops. If the Labour Party runs in parliamentary elections independently of the bourgeois parties and is not decisively identified with openly anti-working class or pro-imperialist policies, it may well be advantageous for revolutionaries to extend critical support. But this is manifestly not the case today.

We do not call for a vote to the candidates of the Militant tendency, or to the so-called "independent socialist" campaign of Dave Nellist, expelled last year by the Labour Party for his links to Militant. Just as was the case with Lesley Mahmood in the Walton by-election in July 1991, the Militant candidates call for electing a Kinnock government and offer a programme indistinguishable from Labourite reformism (see article on Scottish Militant, page 4). Nor do we call for a vote to the candidates of the Leninist. While claiming that it is not supporting

Labour, it declares its readiness to campaign for Labour Party candidates (including open Kinnockites) if they accept a programme of reformist "minimum demands". Fuelled by defeatism over the Soviet Union, Leninist's social-democratic trajectory is more than evident. During the Gulf War it refused to take a side for the defeat of imperialism and defence of Iraq. Today it cynically hails the SWP's resuscitation of the ANL popular front.

Only socialist revolution offers a way out for workers and the oppressed in Britain. For this we need to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party in irreconcilable combat with all shades of Labourism and social democracy. For class-struggle leadership of the trade unions! For trade union/minority mobilisations to crush race terror! For proletarian revolution throughout these isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

# Ireland...

(Continued from page 8)

to the Leninist and Revolutionary Internationalist League in Britain. The reality of forcible unification would be the reversal of the terms of oppression, forced population transfers and renewed communalist bloodletting—the logical result of the extension of the Southern bourgeois clerical state over the whole island. The IWG has electorally supported both the bourgeois nationalist Sinn Fein in the North and the wretched Labour Party—advocates of the Anglo-Irish Accord which facilitates the extradition of Republican militants to British jails—in the South. Most recently of course the IWG and Workers Power have embraced the "struggles" of the Nazi-infested nationalists in the Baltics and joined the imperialist-backed Yeltsinite forces of capitalist restoration on the August barricades in Moscow.

An end to bloody imperialist repression and sectarian slaughter requires the forging of a Leninist party committed to altering the course of the conflict towards a class determination and proletarian revolution. It is for this perspective that we in the International Communist League struggle: workers to power! ■

# USSR...

(Continued from page 7)

ever more open appeals to Russian nationalism.

At its founding conference in Sverdlovsk, one RKRП leader praised the Bolsheviks for leading "the people to fight against those who destroyed Great Russia in February 1917" (*KIF*, January 1992). And Sergeev last year dismissed the "idea of international collectivism" as outdated, adding: "If we continue to stick with it, we will do moral harm to the Russian people, but the idea of Russian, or Great Russian, if you please, collectivism will work."

Of late, the Russian nationalism of the RKRП, particularly of its most prominent spokesman, Anpilov, has grown increas-

ingly pronounced. Following the declaration of the "Confederation of Independent States" last month, Anpilov tried to compete with the Great Russian drum-beating of the extreme right-wing "Democratic Party of Russia" of Nikolai Travkin and called for a "united front" to "save the Soviet Union". Earlier this month, at a small 6 December protest against the price rises, Anpilov supporters not only joined with Pamyat but physically blocked with the fascist scum in a fight with anarchist demonstrators.

Yet the RKRП and the other Stalinist rump groups have no coherence and will be ripped apart by their internal contradictions, with the right-wing elements going over to the reactionary nationalist camp outright. Leftist elements of the RKRП have been openly critical of Anpilov's capitulation to Russian nationalism and even speak of an ill-defined "internationalist wing" inside the

organisation. While all these outfits preach popular-frontist nationalist unity, what is needed is authentic *communist* unity around a consistently internationalist programme to defeat the counterrevolution and restore the multinational Soviet proletariat to political power as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

## For an all-Union Leninist-Trotskyist party!

Anpilov and his ilk seek to channel the Soviet masses' desperate struggle to defend their living standards before the onslaught of capitalist counterrevolution into a bloc with reactionary nationalism. This is not only a sinister but a dangerous game, for the fascists whom it fuels and legitimises will treat their erstwhile ostensibly Communist "patriotic" allies no less ruthlessly than they will treat the Soviet workers, Jews and other nationalities, should they be given half a chance. An article on the new "left" organisations in *Pravda* (6 January) observed:

"If the leftist parties can't control the spontaneous protests of the working people and lead them in a civilized political manner, we can have two different political scenarios: either we can have an absolutely destructive spontaneous upsurge of the lower layers or fascist methods of rule by the

upper layers. The elements of both already exist."

The *Pravda* writer would like to see a "civilised" parliamentary opposition along the lines of West European social democracy or the French Stalinists. But the consolidation of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union will be anything but civilised. There is an alternative to anarchy or fascism. It is the restoration of social and economic order on the basis of proletarian political power. Half a century ago Leon Trotsky predicted that the inevitable collapse of Stalinist bureaucratic rule will lead either to bloody counterrevolution or to the re-establishment of genuine soviet democracy such as was established by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

What's required is a proletarian-revolutionary leadership which can direct the elemental resistance of the masses in a conscious struggle for proletarian political revolution. The possibilities for defeating the counterrevolution are ample: hatred for Yeltsin and his cohorts grows by the day. Our comrades seek to forge a new Bolshevik vanguard nucleus through a regroupment of all those who would be communists on the programme of Red October. For an all-Soviet Leninist-Trotskyist party built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International!

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# Scotland...

(Continued from page 12)

or another form of disadvantage or discrimination ie, the whole of the Celtic peoples and in fact everywhere outside the Home Counties. The compacted Catholic republic, now largely purged of Protestants, should have full option in the context of working people taking power to do as it wants. The rest of the still interpenetrated peoples might want to move their capital out of London, leaving the ex-queen behind.

Scottish nationalism has been a reaction not to the expansion of British imperialism but its decline. From misty Tartanry to Tom Nairn-style intellectualising, the search for a liberating national culture and identity is reactionary. Recently the columnist Joyce McMillan provoked great debate when she suggested the Scottish people include anyone living within the current Scottish boundaries, with Neal Ascherson retorting that Scottishness was "not just postal". Today's Scots are the product of successive waves of invasion, migration, intermixing of the Picts, other Celts, Norsemen to Irish industrial workers into nineteenth-century Glasgow. On a broader scale, the Angles, Saxons and related tribes were colonising peoples who thoroughly intermixed both with preceding and successive waves of peoples. A future workers' history would likely vastly diminish that emphasis which received history places on the Norman Conquests (1066 and all that). The Normans were more a layer of feudal conquerors from above, who yet—in England and lowland Scotland if not in Ireland and Wales—merged to play their part (like the Bruce in Scotland's wars of independence leading to Bannockburn). Dublin was originally a Viking settlement and York of course was capital of Viking England. A longer view of history, as well as current attributes might suggest Edinburgh, Dublin or even York as a future capital of the workers republics of the offshore isles.

As Leninists we uphold the right of the Scottish nation to self-determination, ie the right to a separate state. This has nothing to do with the issue of "economic viability" of independence, about which much has been written in the bourgeois press. Indeed, none of the options within a capitalist framework are "economically viable" for the exploited working people. Our support to the *right of independence* is motivated not by nationalist support for separation but rather internationalist commitment to remove barriers to the class unity among workers. However, whether or not we advocate independence depends on the depth of national antagonisms between the working people of the different nations. At present we do not advocate independence, since there is no evidence that proletarian class unity can only be resolved through separation for Scotland. There has been no lack of joint class struggle uniting workers throughout Britain—of which the miners strike was the most powerful example. The problem has been absence of revolutionary leadership.

The shutting down of Clydeside ship-building in the early 1970s was greeted by an occupation of the yards, which was betrayed by the CP and other "left" bureaucrats. The steel strike of 1981 was knifed by the TUC, and the recent announcement of the closure of Ravenscraig is a direct product of that policy of betrayal. But by far the bitterest conflict was the heroic year-long miners strike of 1984-85. Virtual civil war raged in the coalfields, and twice the dockers went on strike in solidarity with the miners. But the Labour/TUC tops sabotaged the miners struggle, because they preferred to lose the strike rather than unleash the trade unions in a situation which posed

the question of proletarian class power.

The miners strike illustrated the link between anti-Sovietism abroad and hatred of class struggle at home. On the eve of the strike Scargill was viciously witch hunted by the TUC bureaucracy for his opposition to counterrevolutionary Solidarność. The most virulent of the TUC Cold Warriors like Eric Hammond were also the most open scabherders during the strike, but the "left" leaders as well as the Kinnockites betrayed the miners. The Communist Party's Mick McGahey sat mute through the red-baiting attack on Scargill, and then negotiated a secret deal to run scab coal into the Ravenscraig plant during the strike. Today all but one of the Scottish pits have been shut down, and Ravenscraig is going too, while scabherder McGahey hails counter-revolutionary Boris Yeltsin's suppression of the CPSU.

The Scottish nationalists and their ideologues explicitly appeal to the model of counterrevolution in Eastern Europe to motivate their slogan of "independence in Europe". Referring to such factors as the assumption of power by Solidarność in Poland, the "overthrow of the Berlin Wall" and "the end of the Soviet external empire", Neal Ascherson writes that "All these changes...made the project of a Scottish national unit acting autonomously within some European framework very much more plausible" (*New Statesman & Society*, 20 & 27 December 1991). The SNP particularly enthuses over the Nazi-infested Baltic nationalists; thus at their conference last September SNP parliamentary leader Margaret Ewing urged Scots to "follow the Baltic peoples to national freedom" (*Scotsman*, 20 September 1991). Meanwhile "democratic" Lithuania was busy "rehabilitating" thousands of Nazi collaborators sentenced for war crimes by Soviet courts!

In the Soviet Union, where the very existence of the workers state is sharply threatened, nationalism is being used as a battering ram to mobilise counter-revolutionary forces in what is essentially a wrecking operation for capitalist restorationism. Russian chauvinist Boris Yeltsin, and his counterparts like Kravchuk in the Ukraine, promise "free market" starvation and fratricidal nationalist bloodletting. In Poland, eastern Germany and the other areas of Eastern Europe where capitalist property relations have been restored, fascist and racist gangs wreak bloody havoc against minorities. Class-conscious workers in Scotland, where there has historically been strong sentiment in support of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution, will certainly not fall for this nationalist bunk that tries to glorify racist capitalist counterrevolution.

There is no such thing as a genuinely benign, or "progressive" nationalism, and that includes the nationalism of the oppressed. That is because nationalism is a bourgeois ideology, and is premised on the existence of a class society where the bosses necessarily pit workers of different nationalities or races against each other. There are many articles today in the Scottish press which point to the venal and brutal character of the Home Counties-centred government of Britain. Much of what is written is true.

However, the underlying assumption is generally that if the English were out, a Scottish-run society would be inherently fairer or more humane. This is simply not true. Small nations can be very nasty, too. How about Catholic clerical Ireland's monstrous denial of abortion rights, even to teenage rape victims? Or take the instance of the literal witch hunting of recently arrived residents of the Orkneys by "social" workers there and the "Royal Scottish Society for the Preservation of Cruelty to Children". The level of racist attacks against the Asian community in Scotland is as high, if not higher, than in England. And with the resurgence of Scottish nationalism has come a sharp

rise in the activity of fascists like the BNP, who also feed off Loyalist sympathies and target Irish republican organisations. And these scum will not be wiped out for good, short of a workers revolution, because the poverty and blight inherent in capitalism is a constant breeding ground for racism.

## SNP — junior imperialists in training

With the collapse of Stalinism there has been a resurgence of inter-imperialist rivalries, and it is in that context that the nationalists hope to loosen their ties with England. Thus Ascherson suggests that "The end of the cold war meant, less visibly, that certain 'strategic' inhibitions about what happened to Scotland faded. Anxieties in Washington about the security of the Holy Loch bases, about the patrolling of the 'Faeroes Gap' through which Soviet submarines passed between the White Sea and the North Atlantic...were sharply reduced." Although today the SNP uses a lot of populist rhetoric, seeking to shake off its "Tartan Tory" ifnige, the bottom line for these bourgeois nationalists is that they want to become the exploiters in their own right of the Scottish workers, and are fishing around for a larger imperialist power to become their sponsor.

A common nationalist argument is that association with England may have been useful in its period of ascent, but now with British imperialism on the skids, it's time to part company. But if British capitalism has been decaying for years, what about Scotland? The SNP's promises to rebuild the Scottish steel industry are so much bunk, at a time of deep economic recession where far more productive and efficient steel mills, as in the German Ruhr, are being shut down. And as for North Sea oil going to benefit "Scotland", as long as there's production for profit the workers will continue to be sacrificed in Piper Alpha-style disasters, while a handful of oil companies rake in billions. SNP leader Alex Salmond revived the mantle of Scottish colonialism when he posed the alternatives as "Scottish sheiks or tartan coolies" (*Blowout*, December 1989). Well, we Marxists are on the side of the "coolies" against the "sheiks" and not least in the days of the opium imperialists Jardine and Matheson in Hong Kong and tea plantations in Ceylon called Glen-this and Loch-that. We believe that the oil wealth should benefit not a small number of bankers, capitalists, colonels and sheiks but the working people of the entire world.

As would-be junior imperialists, the SNP has supported British imperialism in every war since it came into existence. It supported the war in the Gulf and refuses to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland, Labour having sent them there in the first place. During the squalid Falklands War the SNP's then president William Wolfe justified its support to Thatcher by presenting the issue as one where Protestant Falkland Islanders would fall under the control of the "cruel and ruthless fascist dictatorship of a Roman Catholic state". Wolfe was finally dumped after an anti-Catholic diatribe during the Pope's visit to Glasgow in the early '80s.

The SNP are pretty timid even by bourgeois nationalist standards. They are in fact deeply opposed to republican principles, supporting the continuation of the monarchy. Their Constitution Policy declares: "Scotland will retain a limited and constitutional Monarchy, with the Headship of State vested in Queen Elizabeth and her successors according to Scots law..." (*Sunday Times [Scotland]*, 2 February). And while separation of church and state is an elementary democratic principle, the SNP's new-found interest in ingratiating itself with the Catholic hierarchy has led it to support

state funding of Catholic (and other religious denominational) schools.

## Forge a Leninist vanguard party!

There are several organisations that make left-sounding criticisms of the SNP and Scottish nationalism, but from the standpoint of Labourite social democracy. A typical example is an article on Scotland in the February issue of *Workers Power*, entitled "Separation no answer". Thus while pointing an accusing finger at the SNP, *Workers Power* alibies the British Labour Party. Like the other fake leftists campaigning to put Kinnock into No 10, *Workers Power* takes its political cues from the Union Jack-waving Labour Party tops. (We are led to recall Alan Thornett's Labourite paroxysms in 1980 over our evocative placard for a "Scottish workers republic as part of the USSR" which our American comrades carried at a protest against Prince Philip.)

The Militant tendency supports a Scottish parliament in Edinburgh, which in their typical parliamentary cretinist way they believe can be transformed into a workers government. But they don't only capitulate to nationalism. They too support the election of a Kinnock government, and they go so far as to assert that if only there were more Labour leftists elected, there would be no problem with Scottish nationalism: "In the early 1980s when the left held a majority on Labour's national and Scottish executives, the SNP was marooned in its rural outposts of northern Scotland and the Western Isles" (*Militant*, 20 September 1991).

But the Labour "lefts", like Militant itself with its antics on Liverpool Council of passing out thousands of redundancy notices, have been plenty culpable in selling out the interests of workers. Militant et al want to "save" the Labour Party by pressuring it to the left and thereby making it more palatable to working people. But genuine Trotskyists understand that *the central obstacle to proletarian revolution on this island is the British Labour Party*. The Labour Party must be split, and the working-class base won from the pro-capitalist tops.

This requires the intervention of a proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist party. Such a Leninist party must be a "tribune of the people", addressing all forms of oppression, thereby enabling the working masses to transcend national and other divisions in the interest of united class struggle. Because of the deep treachery of British social democracy such issues as the national question involving semi-assimilated peoples in the British Isles—which would have been easily resolved within the context of proletarian revolution—have not diminished but become inflamed. As we have noted previously:

"Counterposed to Labourite Unionism and English chauvinism as well as to the NATO-loyal SNP, we communists fight for a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. We uphold the right of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh nations and a working class revolutionary resolution in Ireland. The prospects for an independent Scotland however would be bleak, and for Wales even more so. Our perspective of triumphant, unified class struggle to overthrow capitalism points to amiable and easy resolutions of national questions. Its defeat leads less clearly in other and likely miserable directions. The subjective factor of the revolutionary party may well be the decisive factor in what remains an unresolved question."

— *Workers Hammer* no 111,  
November/December 1989

Above all, we seek to be guided by the experiences of the Bolshevik Party, which in the more complex circumstances of the tsarist prisonhouse of peoples, led the working masses and oppressed to power through proletarian internationalist means. ■

# WORKERS HAMMER

**For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles!  
For a Socialist United States of Europe!**

## Tory ravages, Labour perfidiously fuel Scottish nationalism

GLASGOW—A recent opinion poll commissioned by the *Scotsman* showing that 50 per cent of Scots favour independence has thrust the question of the national oppression of Scotland into the limelight. The ultra-reactionary *Sun's* Scottish edition emblazoned the cross of St Andrew across its front page and exhorts Scots to "Rise now and be a nation again", explicitly supporting the SNP (while campaigning for John Major in England). In the past this rag has been known for its virulent waving of the Union Jack. The Tories are reduced to a handful of MPs, and the announcement last month that Ravenscraig is shortly to close, throwing thousands on the dole and finishing the steel industry in Scotland, could seal their fate. While the Tories are publicly campaigning that they will maintain the status quo, a shaken party establishment is mooting it about that there could be "constitutional changes" after a general election if the Tories lose more seats in Scotland.

There is a sharp sense of political disenfranchisement here: the Scots have voted overwhelmingly for Labour in the last three elections, yet Labour has been trounced south of the border. It was hardly a secret that Thatcher in particular hated the Scots, and she imposed her despised poll tax a year earlier on Scotland than in the rest of Britain. But the upsurge in nationalist sentiment is not simply directed at the Tories. The Labour Party is widely resented for being the

local enforcer of the poll tax and other capitalist austerity policies. The SNP has gained rapidly at the expense of the Kinnockites, seeking its place in the "New World Order" with the slogan "independence in Europe".

The influence of nationalist sentiment is not limited to SNP supporters—in fact, support for the SNP in the polls is only at about half the level of support for one form or another of independence. Having deduced that if Scotland goes independent it would doom their electoral chances in Westminster, Kinnock's John Bull Labour Party is itself playing a version of the nationalist card with the promise of a "devolved" Scottish parliament—which in practice would amount to a glorified regional council. But perhaps the most interesting barometer of the impact of nationalism on the left is the tartan transformation of the Militant tendency. This staid Labourite grouping, for years among the most unionist on the left, now has set up a separate organisation called Scottish Militant Labour with its own press.

In this industrially devastated country there is little future for the youth: in Glasgow, for example, among the few jobs on offer is work in fish and chip shops for 80p an hour. Support for independence is highest in the 18 to 24 age group, popular rock bands include the Gaelic-singing Runrig and nationalist-inclined duos like Hue and Cry and the



Piper Alpha: 167 workers slaughtered for bosses' profits. Daily Mirror

Proclaimers, and the rectors at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh are nationalists. At the same time, however, the organised workers movement has shown little support for the SNP. A reflection of this is that the Scottish TUC, which supports Labour's devolution proposals, is opposed to independence.

The mushrooming of pro-independence sentiment in Scotland has met with a vile chauvinist backlash in England. Nor is this limited to Tory right-wingers or the gutter tabloid press. Thus Edward Pearce, a columnist for the liberal *Guardian* (and the Labourite *New Statesman* &

*Society*) wrote a notorious article entitled "The meanness of Scottish nationalism", where he accuses the Scots of having "littleness of mind, a meanness and a burden of resentment...an inferiority complex masked by aggression, one which also leads to self-delusion" (*Guardian*, 29 January).

Close to 80 per cent of the population of the British Isles lives in England. Besides the politically independent south Irish Catholic state, the peoples of Scotland, the north of England, Wales and perhaps the Cornish, also experience one

*continued on page 11*

### Free abortion on demand!

## Irish clerical state blocks abortion for teenage rape victim

*We print below the text of a leaflet entitled Down with the injunction! Free abortion on demand! Workers must rule in Ireland if women are to be free! distributed by the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group on 22 February at a mass demonstration. The ICL has also intervened in protests in New York City and London.*

The 17 February court ruling banning a 14-year-old rape victim from obtaining an abortion anywhere in the world is an unspeakable outrage which must be fought. "Mr Justice" Costello's

edict made clear that similar action can be taken against any other woman leaving Ireland to get an abortion. This is the police-state "morality" of clerical reaction; it is an attempt by the church and the Irish state to bolster the existing ban on abortion and extend it to a virtual house arrest of the thousands of women who seek abortions outside the country every year.

Foul state interference has multiplied a thousand times the tragedy faced by this young woman. Throwing into stark relief the depraved, corrupt and repressive character of the Republic's capital-

ist rulers, this case has rightly outraged broad layers of Irish people and could well backfire on the wretched gang lording it over the working people. We demand: *Down with the injunction now! For free abortion and contraception on demand! For the right of divorce! For the complete separation of church and state!*

The "new world order" onslaught on abortion rights extends far beyond the particular viciousness of the Irish clerical state. The same nightmare threatens and blights the lives of women in the countries of Eastern Europe which

have fallen victim to capitalist counter-revolution such as Poland and East Germany. Attacks on the rights of women world-wide are the inevitable product of the capitalist system in decay. And from Warsaw to Dublin, from Belfast to Teheran, social reaction, chauvinism and clerical domination are the handmaidens of anti-communism. The Karol Wojtylas and Ian Paisleys as well as the likes of Costello are the enemies of working people and profoundly committed to the enslavement of women.

*continued on page 9*