



Jobless, homeless and broke: capitalism stinks!

Break with the Labour traitors – workers must rule!

Depression Britain: 49 per cent would emigrate if they could. Over four million unemployed; hundreds of thousands homeless. A rising scale of racist terror—murders, beatings, petrol bombings—which has left in its wake the long litany of black and Asian youth and workers dead or maimed at the hands of fascist skinhead thugs. A government whose “modest solutions” include throwing the youth population behind bars in the name of “law and order”. A Labour Party of unpeakable subservience only too happy to embrace these “solutions”. “No future” reads the bleak graffiti on a North London housing estate. The widespread popular alienation can and must find its expression in hard class struggle. As the *Sunday Times* recently noted in an article headlined “Rank and file drives unions into pay strikes”:

“There might be 3m unemployed, but Britain is showing signs of industrial unrest. Is this the return of the national disease? Union leaders say no, but disputes in the private sector show a pattern that could emerge in response to improvements in the economy. The workers concerned have agreed to many changes to improve their competitiveness. Now they want their reward.”

This bourgeois mouthpiece consoles itself that: “Thanks to legal reforms [read: union-busting legislation], unemployment and falling union membership, strikes this year are likely to be fragmented affairs.” But it nonetheless expresses genuine anxiety that the trade union officialdom may not be capable of maintaining the bosses’ “discipline”, citing the strikes of Yarrow shipyard workers and Timex workers in Scotland as well as strike ballots at the Midlands Peugeot Talbot plant and Ford Dagenham in Essex. Dagenham workers walked out twice in “unofficial” stoppages on 3 and 4 March. And the miners, the British Rail workers and London bus drivers have all voted for strike action—which the union bureaucrats are seeking to limit to “co-ordinated one-day strikes”. If the bureaucracy’s stranglehold can be broken, this could be a hot “spring of discontent”.

The British bourgeoisie has good reason to fear, if only dimly at present, the spectre of heated class battles. A taste of the seething discontent came with the massive protests over the pit closures, demobilised into legalistic wrangling in the courts and government, very much with the connivance of Arthur Scargill himself. The RMT’s Jimmy Knapp sold out the London Underground workers, calling off the strike overwhelmingly demanded by the ranks in exchange for exactly nothing. The limitless treachery of the trade union bureaucracy is an obstacle to the defensive battles which must be waged by the working class. The pro-capitalist trade union tops must be



Themina Boman

Massive outrage over pit closures brought a quarter of a million out in October; Scargill & Co worked overtime to defuse class anger. Below: the faces of depression Britain.



Sunday Correspondent

dumped and replaced by a genuinely revolutionary leadership, in the context of sharp class struggle.

The weak and mean Major government lashes out—now at the youth, then at the already very truncated rights of the press—particularly in the gross case of its libel vendetta against the *New Statesman & Society*. The *NSS* printed a tedious article in its 29 January issue entitled “...the curious case of John Major’s ‘mistress’” which says they don’t think there is a “shred of evidence to suggest” that John Major has a mistress. For this, Major and Clare Latimer are threatening

the *NSS* with financial ruin in the libel courts. The *NSS*, despite its moderate Labourite politics, has irritated the government with its exposés of violations of civil liberties, such as the Scottish BBC/Zircon affair. We defend the *New Statesman* against this government attack—and any publication in the workers movement with an ounce of principle (or instinct of self-preservation) should do likewise.

A full-blown crisis of the monarchy now intersects the Maastricht debate (in which the government has threatened to go around parliament and enact the

treaty on the authority of the crown). And an index of the depth of social alienation is provided by polls that show that pride in the monarchy has dropped from 86 to 26 per cent of the population, only 36 per cent have confidence in the legal system, and only 35 per cent in parliament. The scandals roll on—Squidgygate, Camillagate, Threshergate, “freelance Birt”, Maxwell pension-robbing, arms dealing, Supergun. The grey litter left behind by Lady Thatcher adds insult to injury as they intone that unemployment is the “price that must be paid”. Major’s advice to the jobless is “to get on a bike” and go to France!

The “stability” of the bourgeois order has long depended on the labour lieutenants of capital. Where would the British bourgeoisie be without the decades of loyal service provided by the Labour Party, the “lefts” as well as the right wing, working overtime to strangle potentially revolutionary situations from the 1926 General Strike to the virtual civil war in the coalfields in the miners strike of 1984-85. After hailing the one-sided imperialist slaughter in the Persian Gulf, aiding and abetting the capitalist restorationist counterrevolutions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, enforcing first the hated poll tax and now the capitalist jobs slaughter, John Smith’s curtailing of the union block vote is a perfectly fitting act of servility. Not to be outdone by Major’s grotesque “law and order” sabre-rattling, Labour’s former “left” David Blunkett wants to introduce compulsory national service for British youth.

Small wonder that the Labour Party’s membership is at a record low. According to an article in the *Observer* (28 February) it has “fewer than 90,000 paid-up members, and is rapidly becoming the preserve of white-collar ‘hobby politicians’ who drop out after a few years”. Only two per cent of those who vote Labour belong to the party. In Scotland the constituency parties average only 283 members while Greater London has the biggest decline in membership. We can just envision Labour Party constituency meetings consisting of one or two representatives from every fake socialist outfit hoping to make the demoralised “lefts fight”.

With the whole rotting edifice in shaky condition, the missing element is the revolutionary leadership of the working class. The bourgeoisie’s self-recognition of the hopeless economic decline of Britain finds its reflection in the profound pessimism and demoralised inertia of the Labour traitors and trade union bureaucracy. The pit closures demanded a fighting class answer. Instead, Scargill and the NUM leaders joined hands with Liberals, clergymen and captains of British industry before the quarter of a million angry workers and youth who rallied at Hyde

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Rediscovering the "British road to socialism"

"CPGB": pit closures mean don't strike

"Effective industrial action is practically impossible within the law. The barriers which have to be overcome before unions can actually call a strike are enormous and require vast amounts of money and legal expertise.

"... That is not to say that all strikes now going on should break the law.... As has often been repeated... we need to keep our powder dry. We do not want our funds sequestered now, but we need to make plans."

Not the *Daily Mirror*, not Norman Willis, not even John Smith — this cring-

ing legalism comes from the tiny, reformist and theatrically "restored" Communist Party of Great Britain (once known as the "Leninist" group). Its miserable bowing and scraping continues *ad nauseam*: "During this careful preparatory period... There must be no preemptive actions that cost us our union structures and finances.... Stay within the law until we are strong enough to smash it!" (*Daily Worker*, 13 February). They should tell that to the Timex strikers in Dundee who defied the law, set

up mass pickets and are battling the scabs! Pickets, not lawyers, win strikes — the only illegal strike is one that loses — and fighting is what union funds are for!

Ever since Scargill last October climbed onto the platform with the CBI and the Liberals in praise of "people's power" — a polite way of saying "shake hands with your boss" while embracing capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe — the rump CPGB has been the pimple on the popular front, soft-soaping the Scargill/TUC/Labour line which is demobilising the working class in favour of collaborating with the bourgeoisie. Instead of class struggle, the bureaucrats appeal for import quotas, pleading to "save British jobs". This is chauvinist poison and it won't save a single worker's job. Since October 5000 miners have already been forced into redundancy. Right on cue the CPGB's non-daily "Daily Worker" counsels miners to wait, while pitting against the very idea of an "instant pit strike". The CPGB "fights" for every do-nothing "day of action" or whatever else might be endorsed by Scar-

gill, Willis & Co, urges unity with the scabby UDM, and even went so far as to submit a "Plan for Coal" to Heseltine's DTI.

Notwithstanding the occasional criticism of Scargill, these "communists" are up to their opportunist necks in the wretched Labourite "National Miners Support Network", emanating from the offices of the "Campaign Group" Labour MP Jeremy Corbyn and sponsored by the NUM leadership. Support *what* — certainly not a strike! At a Glasgow Miners Support Group meeting on 18 February (TUC "Jobs Action Day"), the CPGB's Tam Dean Burns once again urged workers to "not rush into things and not be breaking these laws.... The last thing we need is any more heroic defeats." But the miners did not lose the 1984-85 strike because they took on the capitalist state and its laws, as the bureaucrats claim. They were defeated because they were stabbed in the back by the TUC and Labour Party tops — the same scoundrels the CPGB is in bed with today.

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International Women's Day

To commemorate the socialist working-class holiday of International Women's Day, we print excerpts from a presentation given by our comrade Martha Phillips on 8 March 1983 in the San Francisco Bay Area. Martha herself was an inspiration to many younger women comrades. Her burning indignation at every act of oppression and her commitment to learning from and extending the Russian Revolution were hall-



TROTSKY



LENIN

marks of her entire political life; her forum on International Women's Day well reflected these two central themes of her life.

On the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Lenin chose to speak on the woman question. And I believe it's one of his greatest speeches, and I wanted to begin basically with that. He says, "The bourgeoisie and its supporters, they charge us with having violated democracy. We on the other hand assert that Soviet democracy, the revolution, has given an unprecedented impulse to the development of democracy. That is, democracy for the working people as distinct from bourgeois democracy for the rich. Who is right?"

And then he proceeds to examine the woman question. He says, "Bourgeois democracy promises equality and freedom, but not a single so-called democracy has ever passed laws that made women the equal of men." And that remains the case. It's now 200 years since the French Revolution and in this country, supposedly the land of the free, the bourgeoisie — Democrats and Republicans — is completely incapable of passing a simple statement saying that women should have the same legal rights as men.

Now Lenin in his speech continues in this vein, and he talks about how the whole canon of bourgeois law is to do everything they can to give privileges to the male, to humiliate and degrade women. And I thought about that word "humiliate." Because what else can you call it but humiliation — the right-wing reaction in this country, the fight against abortion, against contraception, the "squeal rule," the unemployment, the black women on welfare. This is precisely what Lenin was talking about, the humiliation of working women, of the oppressed, even in the context of the law.

Within weeks after the 1917 Revolution, the Bolsheviks, Lenin and Trotsky's party, passed laws that in every way struck down everything that said that women were unequal. And they did much more than that. Now, the Russian Revolution, the gains of it remain today: the workers planned economy, the monopoly of foreign trade. And today it is the Trotskyists, we as the continuity of Leninism in the modern world, who are the only ones who say something very simple: that you have to defend the revolution that was made in order to go forward to make the new one, that you have to defend the Soviet Union.

And that means that the interests of women, the interests of the workers, must not be subordinated to the narrow, nationalist, petty concerns of the Soviet bureaucracy. Because from 1924 on, it was Stalin's bureaucratic clique, riding the wave of conservatism that swept Russia after Lenin died — after the failure of the German Revolution — that consolidated this national bureaucracy and usurped power away from the working class. What we stand for is getting that power back.



Workers Vanguard

Martha Phillips

10 March 1948 — 9 February 1992

It has been a year since our comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in Moscow. At the time of her death, Martha was the most visible fighter for the programme of Trotskyist internationalism in the former Soviet Union. The destruction of the Soviet workers state and associated ravages of capitalist restoration cry out for the construction of a party that can organise and lead the urgent battle against fratricidal nationalism, chauvinism, and all forms of bigotry. Martha Phillips dedicated her life to building such a party, a Leninist tribune of the people.

Our anguish over the irreplaceable loss of a beloved comrade and cherished friend is compounded by the fact that we still do not know who murdered Martha, or why. Our efforts to press for a serious investigation into this tragedy continue to be met with utter indifference by the American consulate and deliberate evasion and incompetence by the Moscow authorities.

As stated in the preface to the document of our recent international conference, "the International Communist League dips the red banner of the Fourth International in honor of comrade Martha Phillips, who died on the front lines of the struggle to reimplant Lenin and Trotsky's communism in the homeland of the October Revolution." On this first anniversary of her death, we salute our fallen comrade. We honour her spirit, tenacity, courage and intelligence in our resolve to continue the struggle.

WORKERS HAMMER



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

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Scotland: Yarrow's workers knifed - Victory to Timex strike!

Picket lines mean don't cross!

GLASGOW, Friday, 5 March: Today workers at the Yarrow shipyard here voted to go back to work. It was the second meeting at which union officials and most of the shop stewards had tried to get the workforce to accept a derisory "improved" offer. Lacking a clear alternative a majority voted to return to work on Monday.

The 1300 plus workers at Yarrow's went out on strike on 5 February, in defiance of their union leaders who desperately tried to prevent a strike. After seven months of pay negotiations management provocatively offered a cynical £300 "lump sum", effectively a pay freeze this year, a longer working day and a reduction in shift allowances! Having taken it in the neck for long enough the outraged workforce decided the bosses could stuff it and they walked out in their first strike since the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders struggles over twenty years ago.

In the two decades since, shipbuilding on the Clyde has been reduced to two yards, Yarrow's and Kvaerner Govan. Hundreds of thousands have been thrown on the scrap-heap as heavy industry has been devastated and the reformist trade union leaders accepted one sell-out after another. The industrial devastation of Britain, graphically illustrated on Clydeside, is not the result of "mistaken policy" but of the iron logic of capitalism and its drive for profit.

The Yarrow's workforce thought long and hard about this one, and concluded that it was better to stand and fight. They saw orders on the Yarrow's books worth £700 million, and wanted wage parity with the Govan shipyard workers, which comes down to a paltry £3 a week more than the company was prepared to offer. Timorous yard convenor Eddie Horan said: "I can see the lads digging in their heels and wanting to go for a lot more than £3 extra now. In a situation like this it can be difficult to get people to go back to work. It could get ugly" (*Scotland on Sunday*, 14 February). At a meeting on 26 February, the workers rejected an "improved" pay offer, endorsed by shop stewards and full-time officials. The company threatened mass dismissals if the strike continued. Meanwhile the STUC's Campbell Christie offered to "mediate", that is give the strike the kiss of death. And the reformist Socialist Workers Party appealed to Christie - to call a demo!

Yarrow workers reflect the bitterness and anger felt by vast numbers of workers at the savage attacks on jobs, yet it could hardly be clearer that the main obstacle to a successful counter-offensive is the reformist misleadership of the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy. A genuinely communist leadership must be forged in the unions to fight a class war, linking up the sectors in the front line of the bosses' threats - the miners, railway workers, oilworkers and Leyland DAF. The time to strike is now! This requires building a leadership which is prepared to fight to root out capitalist exploitation, rather than to degrade workers by pleading for help to axeman Heselstine, parliament in the Palace of Wimpminster, or illusory EC guardians.

Given the original stand by Yarrow workers, it is unlikely an accident that the workforce at Leyland DAF's Glasgow plant, separated from Yarrow's only by a wall, voted to strike against redundancies when the company went bust. On 3 Feb-



Steve McTaggart

Striking Timex workers in Dundee

ruary receivers moved into the Dutch-owned DAF's Lancashire headquarters, announcing 5500 redundancies including 70 in Glasgow, while Dutch and Belgian DAF workers are also being sacked. The effect on what remains of engineering in the West Midlands will be devastating. Workers were in some cases given half an hour's notice that they are on the scrap-heap; the redundancy payments, which should average over £18,000, will average less than £3000. The union bureaucrats are pleading with the government and bosses to bail the company out. And they have told the Glasgow Leyland DAF workers to wait for Leyland factories in England, who have voted not to strike. Lately, noises have been made about a management buy-out to "save" the company. Don't buy the buy-out!

In Dundee some 320 workers, mainly women, at Timex are battling for their jobs, including setting up mass picket lines in defiance of the capitalist court. The company is seeking to replace them with scabs. Facing a lockout, union officials accepted a back-to-work deal, only to find that the company had upped the ante and demanded even more savage attacks on the working conditions and a pay cut! Rejecting this the workers were locked out a second time, then dismissed en masse, the largest such incident since News International sacked all its print workers and moved to Wapping in January 1986. It's high time to stop playing by the bosses' and the TUC's rules! Occupy Leyland DAF - shut down Timex completely with mass pickets that nobody crosses! Oust the boot-licking bureaucrats! Elect strike committees to shut production down tight and appeal to the whole workers movement in defence of DAF and Timex workers! Rail and transport workers: black scab goods!

Elsewhere 800 finance department workers have been on strike since December against the Labour-controlled Strathclyde Council because of additional work demanded to implement the council tax. Their NALGO leadership, in which Scottish Militant Labour is very prominent, has left them to twist in the wind. Meanwhile, the hated poll tax is still being collected by the same department!

George Galloway spoke for the beg-on-your-knees line over Leyland DAF, whining that the government is a "specta-

tor in tragic events" and "deserved the workforce's contempt" (*Glasgow Herald*, 13 February). And what does he and his Labour gang deserve? Well known for class collaboration through "Scotland United" in alliance with the STUC and the bourgeois nationalist Scottish National Party, Galloway's nationalist popular front feeds off defeats and betrayals of the working class by the Labour Party and their union bureaucrat cohorts. Political independence of the workers from their class enemies and their agents within the workers movement is a prerequisite for victory. Popular front alliances tie the workers hand and foot to the capitalists; nationalism is poison, attempting to pit Scottish workers against English, with Rosyth naval dockyard workers competing with Devonport workers over jobs.

As the EC unravels, the potential for national chauvinism on all sides increases. On 27 January 1300 people demonstrated in Dijon when the US company Maytag decided to shut the French operation and transfer work to Cambuslang outside Glasgow. In Cambuslang the Scottish engineering union leader Jimmy Airlie - who played a central role in the sell-out of shipyard workers during the UCS "work-in" in the early '70s - had negotiated a

sweetheart contract including a no-strike agreement, a pay freeze, and no sickness benefit. The bosses are pitting workers of different countries against each other, in a dog-eat-dog competition to save a dwindling number of jobs by working harder for less pay. Labour Party talk of the "social chapter" as a means of defending living standards is pure hogwash, as if the capitalists of Europe will come to the aid of workers anywhere! The only way to save jobs is through *hard class struggle across national boundaries*. Hoover workers in France and Scotland, Leyland DAF workers in Britain, Holland and Belgium: strike together against the capitalists!

The deindustrialisation of Britain has hit Scotland hard, devastating whole areas which were once heavily industrialised. But nationalism and protectionism are twins that go together, pitting worker against worker, and escalating trade wars that are the precursor of shooting wars. We uphold the right of self-determination for the Scottish nation, and have had much occasion in the past to assert this against the mean English-centred chauvinism of the Labour Party and its camp-followers. But because the necessity and possibility of joint class struggle across Britain are real, as the miners strike powerfully demonstrated, we have never advocated separation. The English very much need the Scottish component, and it is better for the Scots, too, not to be locked into their own little piece of land. Today our opposition to this course is reinforced; the Scottish nationalists now reach out for the prospect of independence within the EC, in the context of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the SNP's identification with the most anti-communist East European nationalists. Should the nationalists achieve their end, the result would be venal, virulently anti-working-class rule.

Instead we call for a federation of workers republics on these isles. Workers of Eastern Europe face not only economic immiseration but imperialist-manipulated wars of nationalist slaughter such as in Yugoslavia; workers of West Europe face attacks on their living standards and renewed racist and fascist threats. What's needed is hard class struggle for workers revolution and the construction of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

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Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League

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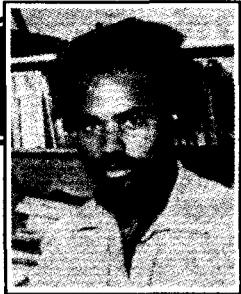
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From death row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Down with flags of racism!



If the saying, "a picture is worth a thousand words," is even remotely true, then the picture I saw must be worth, at least, two thousand words.

The picture, published in the *Workers Vanguard*, shows a man with suspenders, holding a long metal pole with a scythe-like cutting device on its end, ripping a huge flag from a wall mounting in June 1992.

The flag?

A dark field with a light circle in the center, boasting a massive black swastika—the symbol of Germany's fascist past; the symbol of the Third Reich, the Nazis.

The wall from which it was hung? Not a dingy beer-hall, where neo-Nazis gathered, but high, on a public wall near the Brandenburg Gate, in the heart of Berlin, part of a so-called government "historical display."

The man-in-suspenders, a supporter of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (or Spartakist Workers Party of Germany), instead of being publicly applauded, found himself and several SpAD comrades taken into police custody for daring to disrespect the symbol of the Nazi terror.

He, Toralf Endruweit, Werner Brand, Ronald Krüger and Renate Dahlhaus, found themselves under

arrest, until the spontaneous demonstration formed by people who witnessed the action, including supporters of the Kurdish Workers Party, demanded and got their immediate release.

Now Endruweit, Brand, Krüger and Dahlhaus are going on trial, by a state that seems bent on honoring and resurrecting the symbol of Nazi state terror—the swastika.

The picture of Endruweit ripping the Nazi death symbol down brought to mind pictures of southern black legislators, climbing atop state capitols in Dixie, to tear down the flag of the Confederacy, a symbol of slavery. Several were arrested.

As offensive as the crossed bars and stars of the Confederate flag was to African-Americans, so too must the swastika flag enrage and offend Jews, Romani (Gypsies), Communists and homosexuals, all of whom were fed to the gas chambers and death ovens, while the Nazi banner flew above carnage.

In the ripping down of the Nazi flag from the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, the SpAD supporters did the right thing—better still by burning the racist rag.

For over a year since the flag was torn down, newly

reunited Germany has exploded in a murderous orgy of *Ausländerfeindlichkeit* (German for hostility to foreigners) aided, abetted and exploited by unprincipled politicians from the major parties.

Since Reagan's salute to the Waffen SS in the Bitburg cemetery a mushrooming of neo-Nazi and skinhead terror has gripped Germany, marked most recently by the firebombing murder of a Turkish family of longtime immigrants several months ago.

In this hour then, as the state tries to embark on its Fourth Reich, progressive forces must put aside their partisan interests and applaud the ripping down of the racist rag bearing the swastika.

Demand freedom and acquittal for Endruweit, Brand, Krüger and Dahlhaus!

Support the SpAD defendants!

Down with the flag of racism and reaction!

Aus der Todeszelle, hier spricht Mumia Abu-Jamal.

From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

14 January 1993

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX.

If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652, USA.

Statements of solidarity

*We reprint below a small selection of the statements of solidarity made with the Anti-Nazi Four. Protest letters also came from Eva Brück, a writer and representative of the East Berlin Jewish Women's Group who fled the Nazi Holocaust with her parents, Ernst Duschinski, a German soldier who went over to the Red Army to fight the Nazi war machine and who was jailed by the West German state in the late 1950s for being a member of the banned Communist Party, and the Klarsfeld family, French Zionist Nazi hunters who tracked down mass murderers such as Klaus Barbie. Their statements and others are reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* no 568, 29 January and no 570, 26 February.*

A symbol which awakens agonizing memories

Milano
10 February 1993

The Jewish Community of Milano bears witness to its spiritual closeness with and understanding for those who have been prosecuted for having shown their utterly democratic and anti-Nazi sentiments by ripping up the symbol of an aberrant system, a symbol which awakens agonizing memories among those who

suffered its persecution.

The Jewish people, who above all others suffered under the Nazi boot, ardently hopes that Germany can free itself from any legacy of the tragic past, and express with concrete acts of justice a sincere anti-Nazi and democratic consciousness.

Chief Rabbi
Dr. Prof. Giuseppe Laras

History of hate must not repeat itself

Dr Henry Morgentaler is a pioneering champion of abortion rights in Canada, whose clinic was fire-bombed by right-wing bigots.

Toronto
16 February 1993

Dear Friends,

As a survivor of the Nazi Holocaust I commend the supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party and the Committee for Social Defense for removing the swastika flag near the Brandenburg Gate.

The swastika flag is not an "art object." It is the most powerful and well-known symbol of hate in the history of humanity. The charges against the four individuals who removed this offensive

flag must be dropped. These people are not only courageous, but also representative of the majority; democratic, free-thinking individuals who will not tolerate the rise of neo-Nazism. The history of hate, prejudice and injustice must not repeat itself.

Yours sincerely,
Henry Morgentaler, M.D.



Spartakist
Atiye Eksi gives solidarity greetings at 17 February Berlin rally.

What happened to justice?

Atiye Eksi is the mother of a Turkish youth whose murder by fascists a year ago sparked mass protests.

Displaying a swastika flag is not permitted; in another sense, it cannot be allowed to wave as a work of art.

All Nazi flags are an expression of inhumanity. They are a violation of the dignity of humanity. They serve to incite racial hate.

My son Mete Eksi was slain a year ago by racist youths. They have not yet been placed on trial. They were set at liberty.

But those who on 23 June 1992 destroyed the Nazi flag are to be hauled into court on 17 February 1993. Are we still living in the Third Reich? Has Germany not yet overcome that period? Every day foreigners, hostels for asylum-seekers, apartment houses for immigrants are set on fire. People of different skin colour are injured and killed. But the murderers are either not punished or get very mild punishments.

I ask you, where is justice!!!

The mother of Mete Eksi,
Atiye Eksi
6 January 1993

Flag case...

(Continued from page 12)

survived the fascist assault in which he was killed.

The charges against the four Spartakists, Werner Brand, Renate Dahlhaus, Toralf Endruweit and Ronald Krüger, were brought amid a monstrous rise in Nazi terror and racist murders throughout Germany. In Rostock it has now been confirmed for all to see that the police made a pact with the Nazi gangs who burned down an immigrant hostel, in which 115 Vietnamese barely escaped death. As KfsV spokesman Werner Brand said: "This was a state-authorized pogrom! Now the Bonn regime is carrying out the Nazis' programme on a national scale, with the energetic support of the SPD, by destroying the right to

asylum. Now they are employing 1500 Nazis on the Polish border in order to hunt down refugees."

The Nazis are cold-blooded killers. After the racist pogroms in Rostock and the Nazi murders in Mölln, everything indicates that SDAJ member Olaf Heydenbluth in Suhl, Freiburg activist Kerstin Winter and Mühlhausen leftist Mario Jüdecke must be added to the list of murdered leftists and anti-fascists which already includes Mete Eksi and Silvio Meier.

After first bringing charges against the four Spartakists, in January, as the case was becoming a cause célèbre, the Academy of Arts in Berlin withdrew the charges, saying it did not want to "be placed in the position of defending a Nazi flag". Showing the political pressures in play, the judge wrote that there is "no public interest in trying them under the

present circumstances (right-wing radical tendencies)". Still the state prosecutor continued to press charges, until the case was finally dismissed in today's proceedings.

In its call for today's protest demonstration, the KfsV declared: "Let's put the successor state of the Third Reich on trial, the state that protects the swastika flag and makes use of the fascist gangs." Renate Dahlhaus, Spartakist candidate in the 1990 federal parliament elections and speaker at the anti-fascist mass demonstration on 3 January 1990 at Treptow Park, stated: "In order to bring down the capitalist state that is the breeding ground for fascist terror, we need a revolutionary party which leads the working class to revolution as the champion of all the oppressed."

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard*
no 570, 26 February 1993.

An honour to be brought up on charges in this country

Hamburg
15 February 1993

Concerning: charges of burning a Nazi flag

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is indicative of the condition of this country when on the one hand people are brought up on charges for having destroyed Nazi emblems, while on the other hand judicial hearings against the culprits are dropped.

Thus a couple of days ago, preliminary hearings were dropped against Ruth Kellermann, who in the days of the swastika flag prepared racial-diagnostic reports on Gypsies, and thus participated in the

We ripped down Nazi flag, and we'd do it again

We print below the excerpted statement by Toralf Endruweit to the Berlin court on 17 February on behalf of the four Spartakist defendants.

First of all I want to state that the swastika is no "art object". This Nazi symbol is a threat and means murder. The swastika stands for the horrendous murder of six million Jews, of Roma, Sinti, homosexuals and other minorities, of communists and anti-fascists. We won't allow this blood-soaked banner to just hang anywhere. We ripped it down on 23 June 1992 and burned it. We are proud of that and will do it again if necessary. We did it in the name of all anti-fascists. And to make it clear who put an end to the horror of the Third Reich, we hung up the following banner: "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime!" For this state would like to eradicate the memory of this, would like to avenge the victory of the Red Army and the expropriation of the capitalist enterprises.

We were charged with trespassing and material damage, by a court of the German state in which no Nazi judge has ever been condemned for his crimes. We and many others call this state, which is ruled by the same bourgeoisie that brought the Nazis to power in 1933, the Fourth Reich. And this state, which feels itself stronger than ever following capitalist reunification, is now carrying out a monstrous witch hunt against those who have fought and are fighting against fascism. And the flip side of this coin is state repression of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrant workers and all immigrants. The state repression that has kindled the flames of the daily and deadly Nazi terror.

I would like to emphasise that from the very beginning we Spartakists said openly and unambiguously: "No to capitalist reunification!" It was on this programme that I ran for the DDR Volkskammer in March 1990. Today our struggle against its devastating consequences goes on.

We Spartakists defend the victims of the anti-communist witch hunt affecting all layers of society. We Trotskyists demanded the freeing of Honecker, and continue to demand the freeing of the other representatives of the DDR such as Kessler, Stoph and Mielke.

And we demand the freeing of all the anti-fascists who are being brought up on charges for having relieved fascists of

their insignia, jackets and propaganda, and now are sitting in investigative detention for supposed politically motivated "theft".

We have received the support of Karl Kielhorn, a member of the Dachau Survivors Association, who says, "The only swastika I like is the one crushed beneath the boots of the Soviet soldier with the child on his arm at the memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes in Treptow Park." I am proud that Spartakists initiated the 250,000-strong mass rally in Treptow against the Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial and in defence of the Red Army on 3 January 1990, which is plenty



Yevgeni Khaldei

April 1945: Red flag raised over the Reichstag. Spartakist banner hung after swastika ripped down read: "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime!"

of proof of the deep anti-fascist sentiments of Berlin working people.

The court claims we illegally destroyed objects of art. Was the flag installation supposed to be provocative, shocking art according to this state? Well, as a communist and active lover of art I let myself be provoked, and spared the anti-fascists, Jews, immigrants and tourists near the Brandenburg Gate additional terrors. You don't have to hang up swastika flags to be terrified at the Nazi horrors, you only have to open the paper or turn on the TV to be shocked at the real, deadly terror of the Nazi bands.

We received much international support, including from Israel Shahak in

Jerusalem, a survivor of Bergen-Belsen and fighter for human rights, from the Klarsfeld family of Nazi-hunters in Paris, and from Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row in the state of Pennsylvania. Our comrades also destroyed a Confederate flag in San Francisco in 1984. It hung on a flagstaff in a square adjacent to City Hall, and Richard Bradley climbed up and cut it down. The flag of the Southern Confederacy is, so to speak, the swastika of American fascists, who would reverse the outcome of the Civil War.

Last June we ripped down the swastika flag, and then, following the state-approved pogrom in Rostock, following

those who supported us in this case.

Many of those supporters were present on 30 January in Berlin at a trade-union-supported hostel defence. We are proud to have made certain, on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's seizure of power, that at a large hostel, hundreds of Vietnamese and Mozambican contract worker colleagues could spend a safe night. We initiated this for political reasons, because the organised workers movement must be mobilised to stop the Nazis effectively. We know Trotsky and the Left Opposition in the '30s had the right programme for stopping the Nazis, but the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders allowed the Nazis to come to power without real resistance. Hundreds of thousands of trade unionists, linked in a united front with all anti-fascists, have the social power to put an end once and for all to the Nazi rabble that today is again murdering anti-fascists and immigrants under the sign of the swastika. We demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Sitting in the spectators' seats here are representatives of thousands of youth who wish to fight the Nazis. To you I say the fact that these charges were brought against us is yet another proof that the call for banning the Nazis is only an impotent appeal to this court, designed to lull us to sleep. In 1932 the SA [Nazi Stormtroopers] was banned, and despite this Hitler was able to come to power. Ultimately it will take socialist revolution to eliminate the breeding ground for the Nazis. Class struggle is necessary to put an end to capitalism, which at every crisis brings the fascists out of their rat holes again. Stalinism is dead, communism lives. The paralysing influence of the Social Democracy must be repelled. We need an international party armed with the revolutionary programme which can take on the bourgeoisie of the Fourth Reich and of the entire world. This is what the Spartakists are fighting for.

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It takes money to fight the Fourth Reich! To defray the costs of this campaign, send donations to the Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX, writing "No Nazi Flag" on the back of the cheque.

systematic murder of many thousands of Roma and Sinti.

Under these circumstances, it is an honour to be brought up on charges in this country!

Best wishes,
R.J. Kawczynski
Chairman, Rom & Cinti Union

Demand charges be dropped

Dr Israel Shahak is a renowned fighter for Palestinian rights and a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

Jerusalem
10 February 1993

As a Holocaust survivor and as a fighter for human rights for all human beings in the Occupied Territories and in Israel, I want to express my horror at the rise of the neo-Nazi or other fascistic movements in Germany. I want to support the Spartakists who protested courageously against this horrifying phenom-

enon and are charged with destroying a so-called "work of art." I want to remind the German people that it was such behavior of being tough on defenders of democracy and human rights, while really supporting or at least being lax to the Nazi forces before 1933, which allowed Hitler and his Nazis to come to power. I demand that all charges should be dropped against the Spartakists and in the same manner that all those who fight for democracy and human rights and who oppose the neo-Nazis should not be prosecuted. Convey my feelings of support and encouragement to your comrades, especially those who are awaiting this unjust trial.

Israel Shahak

Never again fascism! Down with swastikas!

Karl Kielhorn is a member of the PDS who, with Gerhard Bögelein, was put on trial last year on charges that in 1947 they executed a Nazi military judge who had sent

hundreds to their deaths under the Third Reich. Kielhorn was released, but Bögelein was sentenced to life imprisonment.

The order for my arrest, dated 4 June 1940 (IVc2 Haft Nr. 2503/1273/40g.), signed by Heydrich, bears the seal of the Gestapo with the cursed swastika eagle.

My via dolorosa through concentration camp and penal battalion was accompanied by swastika flags.

And then in the midst of Berlin, where 60 years ago the brown SA columns marched with torches and swastika flags through the Brandenburg Gate, a gigantic swastika flag is hung up.

I understand the righteous anger of the four young people who pulled down and burned this flag. Toralf Endruweit and his three comrades are now supposed to answer for this as defendants in February 1993 at the Tiergarten District Court.

With this statement I raise my protest!

The only swastika that I like is the one crushed beneath the boots of the Soviet soldier with a child on his arm, which

stands atop the memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes in Treptow Park.

Karl Kielhorn, PDS
Member of the Presidium of the Dachau Camp Association
Berlin, 7 January 1993

Symbol of genocide and slavery

Esteban Volkov is the grandson of Leon Trotsky.

Coyoacán, Mexico
16 February 1993

It is inconceivable that it be considered a crime to carry out the removal of the flag of one of the bloodiest dictatorships and of the attempt to revive one of the bloodiest and most unjust of regimes. Any person who is in favor of human rights and social progress must oppose the type of atavism and historical regression signified by the Nazi flag, symbol of genocide and slavery.

Esteban Volkov

We print below the edited transcript of a presentation given to a London gathering of the Spartacist League/Britain and the Dublin Spartacist Group in January this year by Central Committee member Jon Branche.

We noted at our international conference that the related questions of immigration, nationalism and fascism will determine the political activity of all sections of the International Communist League (ICL) in Europe in the next extended period. As opposed to candlelight vigils, or impotent appeals to the racist state to "ban the Klan", we in the ICL fight to smash fascist attacks through trade union/minority mobilisations which bring to bear the power of the integrated workers movement. And we recognise that a genuine communist party must have an orientation to recruiting a key component from among immigrant workers and their children. Indeed, such workers—who have the least illusions in racist capitalism and the most to gain from its overthrow—will play a role in the fight for socialist revolution far out of proportion to their weight in the general population.

One can make analogous points about the role of black workers in the United States. However, it is important to recognise that there are differences in the situation of American blacks, as compared to the South Asian and black Caribbean communities in Britain. American blacks have been in that country for 350 years. We don't use the term "Afro-American" because they are Americans, not Africans. But the non-white, non-European population here is of relatively recent origin. The fascists and racists not only seek the limiting of immigration but ultimately deportations and forced population transfers. That's what's so important about our slogan "full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers"—anyone who makes it here has the right to stay.

Most of the population from Asian and Caribbean backgrounds emigrated to Britain in the period after World War II. But there was an earlier component of the black population that goes back to the period of the slave trade, which was a triangular trade that was operated by the British slavers and merchants between Britain, Africa and the New World. One of the leaders of the Chartists was a black tailor named William Cuffay, who was subsequently exiled to Tasmania after the British government smashed the mass Chartist movement in 1848.

The attitude to the question of racism has always been a real litmus test for any movement that claims to fight oppression. The revolutionary plebeian elements in Britain who were most sympathetic to the French Revolution also had connections to the movement for abolition of slavery in the British empire and the United States.

The slave trade itself was abolished in the British empire in 1807 and slavery was abolished in the 1830s. This was not so much a question of altruism on the part of the English rulers, as it reflected the fact that the slave trade was no longer profitable. The American slave-owners were no longer importing slaves from Africa. New generations of slaves were born in one part of the South and then transported to the plantations of the Deep South. So the slave trade itself was not that lucrative and useful. The successful smashing of slavery in Haiti by the movement led by Toussaint L'Ouverture also frightened the British slave-owners in Jamaica.

The American Civil War was a very important question for the workers movement, particularly in Britain. Karl Marx was very active in mobilising support for

British imperialism and immigration



Frank Martin



Workers Hammer

Tamil refugees who were refused asylum by racist British state then persecuted in Sri Lanka. They were able to return to Britain on appeal. Right: integrated contingent of Dagenham workers march in support of miners, June 1984.

Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

the Union cause, and this example of solidarity provided a key impetus in the founding of the First International. And largely because of the opposition of the proletariat, the British government was prevented from entering the war on the side of the South. And I emphasise this mainly because today in Britain many fake leftists deny the significance of the defeat of slavery in the American Civil War, thereby also denying part of the better heritage of the British workers movement.

The smashing of slavery also stimulated anti-colonial struggles in the British empire. In 1865 there was a rebellion of the black peasantry in Jamaica against the British authorities in which 439 blacks were murdered, more than 600 were brutally flogged and otherwise tortured. The colonial governor of Jamaica at the time, Governor Eyre, was an ardent supporter of the Confederacy. He was also a member of something called the Anthropological Society of London which carried out pseudo-scientific studies supposedly proving that blacks were inferior to whites. In the Victorian period such pseudo-science became a virtual obsession, and in fact is the precursor to similar crackpot "research" carried out today to support racist ideology. This whole culture of pseudo-scientific racism arose basically not because it suddenly popped into somebody's head but as a justification for British colonialism. Governor Eyre personified the link between this racist pseudo-science and colonial oppression.

The revolt in Jamaica polarised British society. Charles Dickens, who wrote *A Tale of Two Cities* against the French revolutionary Jacobins, was also a supporter of Governor Eyre. Other favourites of the Victorian order such as Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson and Matthew Arnold, supported Eyre. On the other

hand, more liberal elements including John Stuart Mill and notably Charles Darwin were against the racist Eyre.

Origins of anti-immigrant laws

The Jewish presence in Britain goes back many centuries. There were big pogroms directed against the Jews at the end of the 12th century and they were finally expelled from Britain around the year 1290. This had to do with the beginnings of the disintegration of the purely feudal mode of production. And they really did not get back into Britain until the time of Oliver Cromwell in the 17th century. Cromwell had a good position on tolerance towards the Jewish population.

From 1880 to 1905, a substantial percentage of the people who emigrated to this country were Jews mainly from Eastern Europe. The first real immigration laws that were passed in this country were passed in order to curb the immigration of Jews and the rationale behind this was very political. Many of the Jewish refugees from tsarist Russia were socialists and they were seen as dangerous to the maintenance of British capitalism. In fact you very often find this combination of anti-immigrant hysteria combined with anti-communism not only here but in many other countries. In the United States there were the Palmer Raids after World War I, where many foreign-born radicals were deported.

If you look at the dates when the Aliens Act and the Aliens Restrictions Acts were passed in Britain, it drives home the point. The first one was passed in 1905 and the others were passed in 1914 and 1919 around the period of World War I and the Russian Revolution. That was the precursor of present-day legislation directed against "dangerous" immigrants in this country.

And then later, in the period around

World War II, the Trotskyists waged a campaign internationally to admit Jewish refugees in the period after Hitler took power because the so-called democracies, as in Britain and the United States and France, mainly excluded Jewish refugees. The figures are really telling in that respect in terms of how few Jews were admitted to this country. Between 1939 and 1945 only about 10,000 Jews were admitted into Britain. On the Isle of Man concentration camps were set up in which Germans and Austrians were interned during World War II and most of these Germans and Austrians were refugees from fascism including a large number of Jews. There was an MI5 memo to the Cabinet in 1938 saying that the Germans were anxious to inundate the country with Jews with a view to creating a "Jewish problem" in the United Kingdom. That summarised the anti-Semitic attitudes of the British bourgeoisie.

I want to return to the question of the black and Asian component of immigration. The next wave—not really a "wave" because it was fairly small numbers—were mainly merchant seamen who sailed on British vessels. Some of them settled in such ports as Cardiff, Liverpool, Bristol towards the end of the 19th century. Again it is interesting to see the correlation with the United States because after World War I there were some vicious race riots in American cities. The same kind of riots took place, on a somewhat smaller scale in such places as Cardiff and Liverpool. The area of Cardiff called Butetown—which is where they framed up the Cardiff Three—is an older area of black settlement that goes back to the days of the seamen. It was the scene of a vicious race riot in 1919. And the black people were able to defend themselves. There is very little tradition of armed self-defence in this country but in Cardiff the black popula-

tion—many of whom served in the British military in WWI—were able to prevent a massacre because they were armed and prepared to defend themselves.

Many of these seamen and demobilised soldiers returned to the British West Indies and in 1919 there were attacks against the British colonial authorities in Trinidad led by many of these people who had experienced race riots in Britain. There was also a big dock strike that followed on the back of that. So the experience of racial oppression in Britain once again had reverberations throughout the colonies.

At the same time there were Asian *lascars* or seamen who had employment on British vessels. The shipping companies discriminated very much against black, Asian and Arabic seamen. They couldn't get jobs on British ships. In fact the unions collaborated to get these non-white seamen classified as aliens and therefore liable to deportation. Discrimination against foreign-born seamen still exists in the British merchant navy.

During WWII, which was not a war against fascism and racism by the British government but an imperialist war, black West Indians were brought into the country to provide manpower for the economy. Many of them were highly-skilled workers. There were something like one thousand West Indians who were part of the flight crews of the Royal Air Force, as well as several thousand who worked as flight mechanics. There were also a number of Jamaican and other West Indian women who worked as nurses and did various other skilled jobs. It's important to note this because after the war the kinds of jobs black and Asian immigrants were given—dirty, low-paying and often unskilled—were very different from the kinds of jobs they had during wartime.

During the war, when large numbers of American troops were stationed in Britain, the American military brass demanded that social facilities for soldiers be segregated. Churchill's government enforced this. But this was not accepted by any means by the whole British population. In some instances there were pubs with signs that said "No Americans except blacks". In one incident outside a military base in Bristol, a whole bunch of English women—singing a popular song called "Don't Fence Me In"—tore down a fence in order to be able to visit their black boyfriends.

Post-war immigration

In common with many other West European countries there was a large wave of immigration into Britain after the war. The immigrants were largely drawn from the British empire or what was previously the British empire. In other countries like Germany which didn't have an empire they came from places like Turkey, parts of southern Europe and so forth. You do not have to believe in the idea of a post-war economic boom to understand why there was a labour shortage in Europe after WWII. The answer is pretty simple. It has to do with the depletion of the labour force because of the huge numbers killed in the war. The British government was initially very reluctant to bring in blacks and Asians. For the first couple of years after the war they tried to satisfy the labour shortage by bringing in East Europeans and Irish. And they could not get enough people.

The people who traditionally had done the hardest work in Britain were the Irish. Irish immigration began in the 17th century and really took off in the middle of the 19th century at the time of the famine in Ireland. In the period of the Industrial Revolution, Irish labour was instrumental in the building of railways, canals and construction work generally.

After World War II, Irish immigration again increased. And as well about 100,000 East Europeans were let in. London had been the headquarters of the Polish Home Army, the Pilsudskiite nationalists, who were put out of business by the Red Army and the subsequent establishment of the Polish deformed workers state. Britain became a magnet for anti-communists fleeing Poland, the Baltics and other areas of Eastern Europe. Some of these were outright Nazi collaborators and war criminals, and the post-war Labour government of Clement Attlee helped run the "rat line" that facilitated war criminals using Britain as a transit point to Canada, South America and other places. In fact, about the only refugees *not* let into Britain were the Jews! From 1946-51 a third of a million Jewish survivors migrated from Europe to Palestine, 120,000 went to the United States and Canada, but only 1000 were admitted to Britain.

It is also important to note that Britain has long been a country of net emigration. Because this is a declining capitalist power, more people have sought to leave here than to come in. Thus, half of the East Europeans who came to Britain after the war left within five years for more desirable countries. Prior to 1952, Jamaican emigrants largely went to the US and not Britain. Up until that year, there was a fairly liberal quota on British immigration to the US, and black West Indians were admitted to America as part of that quota. But with the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act—which barred communists from entering the US and further tightened racist restrictions on immigration—a very tight quota was placed on black Caribbeans who wanted to enter the US. The result was that emigration from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands was redirected to Britain.

In this period when there was a labour shortage, the British government actively recruited manpower from the Caribbean and South Asia. London Transport, for



London, 1956: West Indian immigrants arrive at Victoria Station. Black and Asian immigrant workers were given worst jobs in post-war Britain.

example, set up a large recruiting station on the island of Barbados—about 5000 blacks were brought over to work on the London buses from the West Indies. Large numbers of West Indian women worked in the health services. Sikhs who served in the army during the war were among the first of the Asian immigrants to Britain. Asians were also employed in the foundries, car plants and as sweated labour in the textile and garment industries.

Under the 1948 British Nationality Act, everyone in the UK, the colonies and the Commonwealth had a British passport of one sort or another. And if you had such a passport, you could freely take up residence in Britain and work here. This reflected the need that the British bour-

geoisie then had to import labour to do the hardest, lowest-paying jobs no one else wanted. But as the post-war labour shortage ended, the immigration laws were made increasingly discriminatory. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act ended the automatic right to enter Britain for residents of Commonwealth countries, which then included India, Pakistan and former British colonies in the West Indies. Instead quotas were set up, supposedly based on such criteria as skill levels and the willingness of an employer in Britain to offer you a job. Of course, this law was used to discriminate against blacks and Asians, and in favour of immigrants from Europe and white Commonwealth citizens from Canada, Australia and South Africa.

Although the Labour Party opposed the 1962 Act, when it came into government in 1964 under Harold Wilson, almost immediately it began to extend anti-immigrant legislation. In 1965 quotas on non-white immigrants were tightened. By 1968 the East African Asians were

under increasing attack by the black nationalist governments of Kenya and Uganda. The East African Asians did not have citizenship rights in those countries, and continued to hold British passports. However, when the Asians sought to exercise their "rights" to emigrate to Britain, the racist Labour government said "No, we are not going to allow that." On the grounds that their fathers and grandfathers had not been born in Britain, the Asians were largely excluded. And this so-called principle of "patriality"—first introduced by the Labour government—became the basis of all subsequent British immigration and nationality law. The Wilson government also established entry certificates which made it more difficult for family dependants to



Southall, April 1979: Martyred anti-fascist fighter Blair Peach and victim of racist murder Gurdip Singh Chaggar defiantly honoured by Asian workers.

John Sturrock (Report)

come into the country, as well as instituting the notorious "virginity tests" for Asian women.

After 1971 you had the right to immigrate and work in Britain only if your grandparents were born here. This applied to many white Canadians, Australians and South Africans, but excluded black Caribbeans, Indians and Pakistanis. Black and Asian immigration was generally limited to those who could prove they were dependants of family members already here. The purpose of the new laws was not to eliminate all immigration, but to exclude blacks and Asians, without explicitly saying so. The percentage of the population that is black or Asian is only about 5 per cent. In fact by 1981, of the 3.4 million people residing in Britain who were born overseas, a majority of them—1.9 million—were white.

What's decisive in politics is not parliament; to the contrary, laws themselves are a reflection of the relationship of forces in the class struggle. Enoch Powell, who made his notorious "rivers of blood" speech in 1968, was able to incorporate a section of the white working class in his racist marches. And the fascists of the National Front were an active factor throughout this period which saw a tide of racist anti-immigrant legislation. The Labour Party as well capitulated to this racist extra-parliamentary pressure. What was sorely missing was the mobilisation of the trade unions and minorities to decisively break up the racist and fascist mobs.

The main reason for the decline of the National Front in the 1980s was not the Anti Nazi League (ANL), as the SWP claims. The ANL then as well as now was a popular front obstacle to the necessary task of creating a class-conscious workers movement that would sweep away the fascists and the racist capitalist system. A bloc of liberals, Labourites, churchmen and "leftists", the ANL feared proletarian-centred anti-fascist mobilisations. In 1978 the ANL permitted the National Front to march through the predominantly Asian Brick Lane area of London, diverting anti-racists to a rock concert miles away. But these liberal politics, premised on convincing the ruling class that anti-racism was "respectable", proved a fiasco. Anti-immigrant racism was not stopped—it was simply channelled into Thatcher's electoral campaign. In one notorious speech of this period, Thatcher said: "People are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture." The Thatcher years saw an intensification of racist legislation, such as the 1981 British Nationality Act (whose main provisions had been prepared by the previous Labour government).

Very often you find the term "black" continued on page 8

Immigration...

(Continued from page 7)

used indiscriminately as an umbrella term designating anyone who is non-white. That is fundamentally skewed. It is important to understand that the minority communities do not have a common cultural experience. The conditions of life in Kingston, Jamaica are very different from those of rural peasant existence of the Punjab. The Asians from East Africa and the Bangladeshis had yet other experiences. The immigrants who came here had no common language or religion. Yet for the British ruling class they were all just "blacks". This is essentially a racist mentality.

In Britain as well the conditions of life for the minorities are by no means uniform. The Asian community is more heterogeneous than the black community. Among the Asians in Britain, there is a middle class, as well as a small minority who are very well off. On the other hand, the poorest and most deprived layer of the population is also Asian. In 1990, the official government figure for the rate of unemployment was nine per cent. The rate for blacks and Asians all together was 14 per cent. But the figure for families whose origin was either Pakistan or Bangladesh—the Asian Muslims—was 25 per cent. And if you look at the Asian-derived Muslims, the settlement patterns are quite distinct. Thus, the largest concentration within the Asian community in West Yorkshire are from Pakistan, many of whom got jobs in the textile mills in such cities as Bradford and Leeds. The majority of the Bangladeshis settled in London, particularly the East End, with its garment factories and sweatshops. This is an area which was at one time settled by Huguenots—Protestants expelled from France in 1685—who came over as skilled silk weavers. Then came the Irish, and after that Jewish immigrants. Here was the famous battle of Cable Street, where a mass mobilisation of Jewish workers and communists stopped Mosley's fascists in 1936. Today there is a heavy concentration of Bangladeshis, as well as a significant Somali community.

Despite the common experience of racism in Britain, there is no automatic unity among the oppressed minorities. The colonial experience is another important factor here. The British colonialists used divide-and-rule tactics to maintain their empire. In East Africa the Asians had a somewhat privileged status, and the blacks were on the bottom. After independence the black nationalist regimes exacted their revenge on the Asians. In the Indian subcontinent, the British fomented communalism between Hindus and Muslims, and between Hindus and Sikhs as well. The overwhelming majority of immigrants from India and Pakistan came from the Punjab and Kashmir, which were heavily scarred by the Partition. In fact, prior to coming to Britain a substantial percentage of these immigrants had been forced to flee from India to Pakistan, or vice versa, at the time of Partition. And even today there are reverberations here from communalism in India.

The situation in Britain is qualitatively different than that on the Indian subcontinent. But what is required is a Leninist party that functions as a tribune of the people, mobilising the workers movement as a whole to address all forms of special oppression. And the class axis is key. Although residential segregation is less rigidly enforced than in the US, the main form of integration in this society is at the workplace. Blacks and Asians and other minorities are more heavily represented in the trade unions than their percentages in the general population.

And the unions can be mobilised in effective actions against the fascists, through the intervention of a Leninist organisation of even modest size.

The Ku Klux Klan in November 1982 tried to stage a march in Washington, D.C., a heavily black city. They put out hate propaganda directed at immigrants. The Spartacist League/US initiated a countermobilisation against the Klan. Almost 5000 mainly black working people turned out in response and prevented the fascists from marching. Earlier that year the Nazis had threatened to stage a march on Gay Pride Day in Chicago. They figured that the working class and other sections of the oppressed would ignore this provocation. But we proved them wrong. Trade unionists, blacks and Hispanics came out to send the Nazis packing.

Now in dealing with the question of immigration, there is an intersection of class, racial and sexual oppression, as well as the question of assimilation and what that means. Let me refer comrades to Lenin's work *Critical Remarks on the National Question*. Now the situation of immigrant minorities in Britain is not identical to the conditions prevailing in tsarist Russia, which was a virtual prison-house of nations and involved complex instances of interpenetrated peoples. But there are certain important principles in what he was talking about that do apply here. Lenin's first point was that Marxists were opposed to privileges for any nation or nationality. Thus, the Bolsheviks fought against the status of Russian as the state-sanctioned language, and all aspects of Great Russian chauvinism, which of course was the chauvinism of the dominant majority.

Lenin declared that the proletariat "welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege". Now there is an important distinction between assimilation and forced assimilation. When Lenin was attacked as an "assimilator" by a Ukrainian petty-bourgeois nationalist, he replied sharply that the "intercourse, amalgamation and assimilation" of the proletariat of different nationalities was essential, breaking down parochial barriers and infusing the common workers movement with the highest level of class consciousness. We seek to incorporate into the workers movement here the combative militancy and greater internationalist traditions of black and Asian workers, as well as Irish, Scottish and Welsh workers.

In certain quarters "assimilation" has a derogatory meaning. In France there is a word *assimilé*, used to describe immigrants who turn their backs on the mass of black African and North African toiling people in order to ingratiate themselves with the white French bourgeoisie. However, to assimilate does not mean to repudiate one's national origin—it is the normal mechanism by which immigrant communities "make it", usually over the course of two or three generations. In this country, many minority youth refer to themselves as "Asian British" or "black British". They do not want to deny their origins, but at the same time they insist that they are British and correctly demand full rights in this country. In reality, it is the racists and fascists who fight violently against assimilation. Enoch Powell says that if you are a black person, even if you are born in this country that does not make you an Englishman. The fascist alternative to assimilation is *forced deportation*, the expulsion of minorities from Britain. That underscores our slogan: Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

In the case of forced assimilation, however, we are dealing with situations where the dominant majority seeks to impose its culture on minorities. We are totally opposed to that. For example, in

the 1960s Sikhs were not permitted to drive buses if they had turbans or beards. The leaders of the Sikh community pointed out that the British imperialists had no objections to Sikhs with beards and turbans driving tanks in World War II! This racist attack against the Sikhs was stopped only after a mass protest campaign in which one Sikh threatened to burn himself alive. More recently, a young Muslim was sent home from school because he refused to shave his beard on religious grounds. Now of course as materialists we are philosophically opposed to religion, and we stand for the strict separation of church and state. But Muslims in their private life have as much right to practise their religion as Jewish schoolchildren have to wear *yarmulkas* or Christians to wear crucifixes. This was an act of racist discrimination against the Muslim student.

Now the second key point that Lenin made was that our position on "national culture" is essentially negative. We are *against* privileges for any nationality or religion, but that does not mean we are advocates of nationalism, however refined, or any particular national culture. At that time Lenin was engaged in polemics with the Jewish Bund, as well as the Austrian social democrat Otto Bauer. The Bund argued that Jewish workers should have their own separate party and trade unions which would, as the Bolsheviks pointed out, have split the specially oppressed Jewish workers—often in the vanguard of their class—from the rest of the Russian working class. Bauer was an advocate of "cultural national autonomy", a scheme by which the various nationalities would each set up their own separate cultural institutions, including schools. In reality, such segregated schools would reinforce existing inequalities and, as Lenin pointed out in that context, strengthen clericalism.

Now in Britain today there are in fact established churches, and beyond that Protestants, Catholics and Jews are permitted to get state funding for their own denominational schools. This does not apply to Muslims. Moreover, there is a law against blaspheming the Christian religion. At the time when lynch-mob hysteria was first being whipped up against Salman Rushdie, some people began to demand that this law be extended to cover the Muslim religion. Well, we are against discrimination, but our solution is not the same as the anti-Rushdie bigots. In fact, the answer is fairly straightforward. Abolish the blasphemy law, eliminate all state funding to religious schools, and abolish the established churches!

In his book *Black British, White British* Dilip Hiro writes eloquently against racism. At the same time he claims that,

as opposed to Britain, India and Pakistan "can best be described as pluralistic, where many linguistic, religious and racial groups co-exist peacefully"! This is obviously not a very bright statement. From this dubious premise, he concludes that religiously based family laws be given legal status in this country as in India. Now it ought to be quite obvious that in these societies, which have never experienced a bourgeois revolution, women are horribly oppressed. For Muslims it is very easy to get a divorce...if you are a man. India is nominally secular, but only nominally so. In many parts of the country it is almost unheard of for Hindus and Sikhs to get divorced, and that is nothing compared to the fact that every year there are thousands of dowry murders. This kind of cultural nationalism, as advocated by Dilip Hiro, shows no way forward for the women of Asian origin in Britain.

Now recently there was a case involving an Asian woman in Scotland who successfully sued for annulment of her marriage. Years earlier, when she was only fourteen, she was taken back to Pakistan by her father. A few days later she was married to a man she had never seen before. The arranged marriage turned out horribly. However, she took considerable heat from sections of the Asian community, who charged her with violating the cultural traditions of her community. It took considerable courage for this young woman to dissolve her marriage, and we defend her right to do so 100 per cent. And unlike the "cultural relativists" we certainly are not apologists for such horrible practices as female genital mutilation, which is widespread in parts of Africa, and sometimes practised among immigrant communities in Europe. We Marxists do not have a double standard—we do not believe that emancipation from oppression should be the preserve of white, European women.

Build an integrated Bolshevik party!

The imperialists have a material interest in keeping the Third World in a condition of abject poverty, maintaining the legacies of rural, patriarchal pre-capitalist societies that foster communalism and the horrible oppression of women. At home the bourgeoisie import a reformed version of the colonial system. Race discrimination isolates minority workers and their families from the rest of the working class, reducing integrationist tendencies and reinforcing pressure from the culture of their origin.

In this work the bourgeoisie is aided by the chauvinist labour bureaucracy, whose defeatist policies and subordination

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JUST OUT!

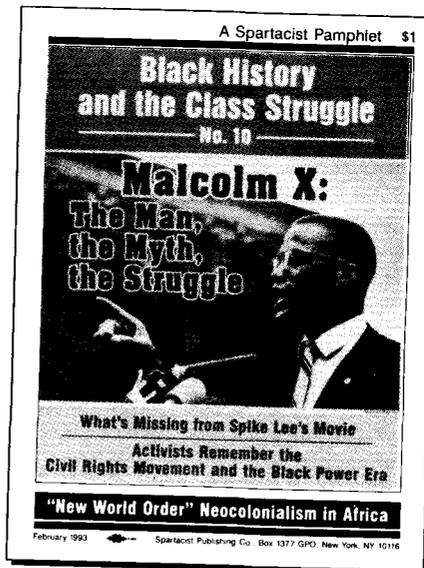
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Vigil at Bexley Council: Craven SWP begs state to shut BNP HQ

Question: how does the Anti Nazi League fight fascism?

Answer: it doesn't.

On 17 February the Socialist Workers Party-dominated Anti Nazi League (ANL) along with the Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA) held a candle-lit "vigil" outside the Bexley Council offices in southeast London. The explicit, shameless purpose of this crawl-in was to plead with the council — ie the capitalist state — to ban the fascist British National Party (BNP). *Socialist Worker* (13 February) boasted of a planned meeting of ANL representatives with the Bexley mayor "to urge an immediate clampdown on local Nazi activity" — the meeting with the mayor was "a result of three years campaigning by the ANL and other anti-racist organisations for the closure of the Nazi British National Party headquarters in Welling, Bexley".

Three years, in other words, of scabby betrayal. For revolutionary Marxists, it is elementary that you do not call on the racist, capitalist state to "ban" the fascists! The task of smashing fascism can only be successfully accomplished by the mass, militant mobilisation of the working class in alliance with all the oppressed. Any laws passed by the capitalist state aimed at proscribing "extremist" organisations will be used not against the race-terror thugs but *against the left*. Such has manifestly been the case with the osten-

sibly anti-Mosley Public Order Act. Furthermore, such calls on the capitalist state foster suicidal illusions in its "neutrality". As any decent anti-fascist militant, let alone avowed "socialist", knows well, the cops, courts and the rest of the repressive apparatus of the state *beat and jail* anti-fascists while *protecting* the race-hate scum. ANL activist Blair Peach was murdered by the cops in 1979 when a Labour government deployed the infamous Special Patrol Group to invade Southall and protect the National Front. The racist, capitalist state is the purveyor of terror against minorities and the working class and in the last analysis the bourgeoisie will unleash its fascist dogs of war when "normal" methods of bourgeois rule no longer suffice.

Two years ago Rolan Adams, a black youth, was brutally murdered in Thamesmead by marauding racists. During the protests against this outrage the SWP — joined by virtually the entire fake left — demanded that Bexley Council (which happens to be Tory-run) close down the BNP headquarters. The SWP even circulated a petition "calling for the police to act" against the fascists (*Socialist Worker*, 23 March 1991). Of course the police *did* act — by preventing demonstrators in Thamesmead from coming within a mile of the BNP provocation; the fascists were allowed to march unhindered. In stark contrast to

this reformist grovelling to the "good offices" of the class enemy, the Spartacist contingent at the Thamesmead demonstration in May 1991 explicitly denounced illusions in the state — whether Tory or Labour-run — and called for trade union/minority mobilisations to crush the BNP.

The SWP, ANL, ARA et al take their cue from the Labour Party administrators and would-be administrators of capitalism. It is no accident that Ken Livingstone has been waxing eloquent about the British government banning fascists, using Kohl's government in Germany as some sort of model. It has, of course, been the Kohl/SPD racist consensus against "immigrants" which has fuelled the murderous racist violence in the Fourth Reich, Kohl's cops which have arrested leftist protesters while the hostels of foreign-born workers burned.

The SWP's treachery in Bexley is of a piece with its work in the original popular-frontist Anti Nazi League of the 1970s. As the National Front paraded near Brick Lane in the East End, the SWP/ANL was leading many tens of thousands of people *away, in the opposite direction* — to Brixton for a carnival and "rock against racism". Tony Cliff put it bluntly: had the anti-fascist demonstrators been mobilised to confront the NF rather than listen to the likes of Neil Kinnock and progressive churchmen at the Brixton carnival, "the

result would have been" ... the "disintegrating of the ANL". Certainly, SWP mythology to the contrary, it was not the ANL pop front that would for a time take the wind out of the NF's sails but rather Margaret Thatcher's hard anti-immigrant stand which successfully co-opted much of the NF base into the Tory right.

For its part, the SWP cheered the very forces of capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe which today fuel vile anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant fascist terror throughout Europe, it was the SWP which scabbed on the struggle against the National Front in 1978 and today it is the SWP and its allies who criminally beg the capitalist state to ban the BNP. That the SWP's recent pamphlet *Killing the Nazi menace* states "we cannot rely on formal bans by government.... Fascism, as we have seen, is ultimately a tool of the state. We cannot, therefore, expect it to be stopped by the state" simply proves paper will take anything that's written on it.

A determined mobilisation by the integrated working class of London could shut down the fascist BNP rathole once and for all. In the struggle for such a perspective, the touching faith of the ANL in the police, courts and councils is a pernicious lie, an obstacle that must be swept aside. For trade union/minority mobilisations to smash the BNP! ■

Labour traitors...

(Continued from page 1)

Park, and pushed the nationalist poison of protectionism. The NUM's proposals to the government centre on the halting of imports of subsidised foreign coal, as well as redirecting the energy subsidy given to nuclear industry and gas power stations to coal. With several thousand miners already driven to take redundancy, the axe hangs over those who remain as the government moves slowly but inexorably towards the pit closures, even if cutting back on the scale of the original hit list.

We said at the time of the pit closures announcement: Dump the Labour sell-outs! No coalition! For workers action committees to stop the pit closures and to run the country! Miners, rail, transport, power workers: strike now! We warned against the bogus "general strike" calls issued by the likes of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) — in fact a call directed at the wretched TUC as an extra-parliamentary tactic to make John Smith the next James Callaghan. We pointed out that it is necessary to forge a Bolshevik party in the course of sharp class struggle, splitting the working-class base from the pro-capitalist tops of the Labour Party. As our statement, distributed in the tens of thousands to miners and their allies concluded: "Not a call for new elections to install an anti-working-class Labour government, but revolutionary class struggle to point the way to a federation of workers republics in the British Isles, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe!"

In the Europe of the New World Disorder workers and youth from Germany to Italy, Greece to Poland have sought to struggle in spite of the reformist misleadings. Nor are these struggles simply the defensive economic reflex of the working

The Ruhr, Germany: coal miners demonstrate solidarity with steel workers. For internationalist class struggle!



Kartenberg/Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung

class against capitalist austerity and recession, but entail key questions of the fight against resurgent reaction. In Germany, the defence of immigrant workers and the need to combat the rise of Nazi fascists has radicalised youth repulsed by the social democracy. In Poland, as well as Ireland, the question of women's rights and particularly the battle against the Catholic Church hierarchy over abortion rights calls out for working-class-centred mobilisations. The imperialist crowing over the "death of Communism" has given way rapidly to the national chauvinist language of trade war and heightened inter-imperialist rivalry while the respective domestic crises of the capitalist countries deepen as the working class begins to resist. "Buy British coal" (Scargill), "Produce French!" (French CP), "You need German coal and German steel" (German social democrats): this is the language of the bourgeoisie's agents in the workers movement. What's needed is *internationalist class struggle*.

Turmoil on the left

Today, the largest so-called socialist outfit on the British left is the state-capitalist Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff. Cliff has noted that: "There is also

a vacuum on the far left. Groups like the Labour left Tribune and the Democratic Left — the leftovers of the Communist Party — have dwindled enormously." Seeing an opportunity to recruit to its reformist programme, the SWP's attempts to take advantage of this vacuum have evidently provoked internal debate; its public pronouncements and recent conference resolutions have also produced an outbreak of polemics within the rest of the left.

While ostensibly preparing for a revolutionary situation, Tony Cliff's programmatic perspectives are anything but revolutionary. Thus, he says: "Imagine if we had 15,000 members of the SWP and 30,000 supporters: the 21 October miners' demonstration could have been different. Instead of marching round Hyde Park, socialists could have taken 40 or 50,000 people to parliament. If that had happened, the Tory MPs wouldn't have dared vote with Michael Heseltine. The government would have collapsed" ([our emphasis] *Socialist Worker*, 23 January). So the task of a revolutionary party is to... lobby parliament! And Cliff might have added, to force new elections and get a Labour government. The rhetoric about "socialism from below" notwithstanding, the SWP is no less parliamentary cretinist

than the Labour Party which it purports to criticise.

It is noteworthy that in their polemics Cliff's fake Trotskyist critics nowhere address his real betrayals — his virulent anti-Sovietism, his Labourism, his appeals to the bourgeois state to ban the fascists. The British Mandelites in Socialist Outlook attack the SWP *from the right* — sneering at Cliff's "visions of storming the Winter Palace" and lecturing about the "long process of reconstructing the labour movement". Similarly the right centrists of Workers Power devoted a two-page polemic against the SWP, including its failure to grasp, as WP so clearly does, "that our side is pretty battered and shell-shocked and that our leaders are waving the white flag or sounding the retreat!"

Tony Cliff has all the theoretical and political integrity of a third-rate Kautsky but he's also a consummate opportunist with a nose for the take. The SWP postures as a left alternative of some sort to the wretched Labour Party; its newer members frequently react in surprise upon learning that the party advocated a vote to Kinnock in the last general election. In fact the SWP was particularly pathetic after Labour's fourth consecutive defeat, wailing "Where do we go from

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Labour traitors...

(Continued from page 9)

here?" Advocating a vote to Labour is a way of life for the SWP, just as it is for Tony Cliff's grandchildren in Workers Power and the entrists of Socialist Outlook. They position themselves in such a way to channel outrage back into the Labourite fold.

Look at the SWP during the Gulf War. After acknowledging that Marxists should defend Iraq from the imperialist attack in the fine print of one issue of its newspaper, the SWP junked all pretence of "principle" in order to embrace the Tony Benn/CND committee explicitly in favour of UN sanctions against Iraq, proclaiming that it did not want to hold its demonstrations "in a phone box". And on Northern Ireland: in 1969 the SWP grotesquely supported the Labour government's dispatch of troops, writing that "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969). As for its posturing as some sort of militant anti-fascist organisation, the SWP-dominated ANL has lately "distinguished" itself by shamelessly crawling to the bourgeois state to ban the BNP in Bexley (see article, page 9).

For Trotskyists, the SWP's pro-imperialist scabbing on defence of the deformed and degenerated workers states ever since its expulsion from the Fourth International for refusing to defend North Korea in 1950 is the question. It speaks volumes about Socialist Outlook, Workers Power et al that their main line of attack on Cliff is not his programme but his alleged over-optimism! Having themselves backed every counterrevolutionary force in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, they're hardly about to attack Cliff for supporting Boris Yeltsin, Lech Walesa, reactionary Baltic nationalists and many more. Having made, however pitifully small, their own contribution to the ravages of capitalist counterrevolution, the less said about this question the better.

So, the "debate" is among like-thinking anti-Soviet Labourites and extremely British parochial to boot. Workers Power is at pains to attack the SWP's "theoretical" categories of downturn, upturn, sideways steps and the rest. To be sure, the SWP's "downturn theory" was in full swing as the greatest class battle in decades was waged in the coalfields and mining villages of Scotland, England and Wales. Declaring that the miners strike was "an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the 'downturn' in the movement", Cliff

Socialist Outlook: an unappetising old tradition

—February 1993

Bulletin in Defense of Marxism

—13 February 1993

socialist
OUTLOOK

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism (Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928) Edited by Emily Turnbull and James Robertson. Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. 624 pp., \$22.50 hard back, \$14.50 paperback.

This book is available for sale from Socialist Outlook at a cost of £11.50 (incl. p&p). Please make cheques payable to Socialist Outlook and send to: Socialist Outlook, PO Box 1109, London N4 2UU

Reproduced on the right are excerpts of two reviews of the collection *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism: Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928*, published by the Prometheus Research Library, the library and archive for the Spartacist League/US Central Committee. Both reviews were generally favourable, but there is a notable and curious difference.

The first review is from *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, brought out by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT), a grouping of American supporters of Ernest Mandel's inaccurately named United Secretariat. As a matter of course, it includes the names of the publisher and the editors. But the review by some British supporters of the USec in *Socialist Outlook* (13 February) has "disappeared" the Spartacists and thus implies that this publication is one of theirs.

Socialist Outlook has a really weird problem — recognising that the book is valuable but suppressing its publishers.

And they've made a mess of this since anyone who buys the book is going to know who published it. One dedication in our book is to George Breitman, the general editor of the American Socialist Workers Party series of Trotsky and Cannon writings, who encouraged the Prometheus Research Library to begin compiling the material for this book. Breitman was expelled from the SWP in 1983 for opposing Jack Barnes' open attacks on Trotsky and was a leader of the FIT until his death in 1986. Political

differences we surely had, but his crucial contribution to making important works of Trotsky and Cannon available should be, and has been, acknowledged appropriately.

As schools of falsification go, *Socialist Outlook's* is not very adept but it certainly is unappetising. (Did their old Weasels choke on our very name?) In the meantime the anonymous publishers are delighted if people buy the book through this organisation which is so shamefaced they can't say who published it.

sent his members sailing across picket lines from Ravenscraig to Redcar. (For its part, Workers Power's addiction to "democracy" meant joining Thatcher and Kinnock in supporting a ballot of the striking NUM.) But, just when has the SWP ever cared about "theory"? State capitalism is the ultimate example: a rationale after the fact for anti-revolutionary impulses and programme.

As for Ernest Mandel's co-thinkers in Britain, one suspects that the occasional verbiage spouted by the SWP against the Labour Party is anathema to these best builders of the "labour movement". Over the past decade, the Mandelites have liquidated their operation into the Labour Party, becoming cheer-leaders for "left" Labour MPs like Tony Benn, and in the process losing most of their membership. And with notorious scab Alan Thornett at the helm, Socialist Outlook has eagerly hired itself out to do the donkey work for the traitorous trade union bureaucracy, today helping to broker the "miners support networks". While some of SO's members undoubtedly would prefer more of an "independent" face, Mandel himself attacks the SWP from the right, falsely asserting that it "counterposes itself systematically to the Labour Party" (*International Socialism* 56, Autumn 1992).

Similarly the Workers International League (WIL) attacks the SWP and Militant because they "argue that the Labour Party is an empty shell and have effectively

washed their hands of the whole business". But far from being the kind of ultra-lefts that Lenin polemicised against in "*Left-Wing*" Communism, the SWP and Militant are common-or-garden left reformists. They both campaigned for a Kinnock government, when Labour ran on a blatantly anti-working-class programme, dropping even a ritual reference to "socialism".

Given the current bedraggled state of the Bennites, it's not easy to whip up enthusiasm for a line of "make the 'lefts' fight". Claiming that a victory for Smith's "modernisers" would mean the "transformation of Labour into a party on the lines of the Democrats in the United States", WIL's slavish Labourism is reflected in its "fight the right" headline: "Smith, Brown, Beckett and Blair... clear them out" (*Workers News*, February 1993). While Marxists, for example, would oppose the abolition of Clause 4, this is essentially ornamentation — adopted after the Russian Revolution as a way of heading off support to Bolshevism — and is not *per se* essential to maintaining Labour as a social-democratic party, as witness the German SPD. As if the Labour Party tops ever took socialism seriously! The point of Leninist tactics towards the Labour Party is not to give it a left face, but to *split* the LP, regrouping its working-class base under Bolshevik banners.

Forge a Bolshevik party!

Leon Trotsky, in *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth*

International, wrote the stark truth in 1938:

"The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat.... All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten."

The answer to the question "Can there be a revolution in Britain?" which the SWP has been debating is emphatically yes. The old order is already riven with terminal disease. It is urgently necessary to break the stranglehold of the Labour traitors and trade union bureaucracy to unleash the social power of the organised working class to fight for jobs for all; for a sliding scale of wages and hours; to smash the fascist scum and defend the victims of race-terror; to stop the bosses' offensive against the working people from the pit closures to the dismantling of the NHS; to expropriate industry from the corrupt, incompetent capitalist rulers and establish proletarian state power. Abolish the monarchy, House of Lords, Established churches and the licensing laws! Nothing short of the revolutionary overthrow of the entire system and its state will open the road to a decent life on these islands. Forward to a soviet Britain! ■

James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928



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CPGB...

(Continued from page 2)

In response to this belly-crawling before Willis and the TUC (to say nothing of the bosses and the Tory laws!), a Spartacist spokesman called for "class-struggle unity which is how the unions were built in the first place". The SL has fought for joint strike action of miners, rail and power workers, posing the need to smash the capitalist system itself. The SL speaker emphasised: "For workers action committees to stop pit closures and to run the country! Not John Smith in No 10 but a workers government on the ruins of Westminster. And you'll only get that by building a genuine Bolshevik, that is, Trotskyist party."

Vancouver...

(Continued from page 12)

East Indian shopkeepers posted the leaflet in their windows. Students at the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University and Langara Community College took stacks to distribute.

The Vancouver local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers voted unanimously to endorse the TL/PDC call, issuing a leaflet calling for labour/minority mobilisation, and sent a capable squad of union members to the demonstration. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 500 put out their own leaflet as well, which was posted all over the waterfront, calling on longshoremen to go "All Out to Stop the Fascists" and "Join the Trotskyist League/Partisan Defense Committee Contingent!" (while repeating the Labour Council tops' plea that the government stop Metzger). A solid crew of longshoremen turned out, as did truckers and tugboat workers from two locals of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Union. Saying they came "to make a point here", one union official expressed the widespread determination to make short shrift of the Nazis: "We'll stop them if they show."

Other labour contingents came from International Woodworkers of America-Canada Local 1-357, Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391, Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1 and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Some of these workers joined the TL/PDC contingent, supplying the main body of our marshals squad.

Official trade-union banners were everywhere to be seen outside the Art Gallery on Friday night. People from the city's Japanese, Chinese, black, Iranian and other communities were there, as well as women's groups and gays, and a Jewish peace group carried a sign in Hebrew, Arabic and English. The prospect of having to face a united front of organised labour, minorities and other anti-fascists sent the Nazis scurrying to find a new meeting site at a planetarium a couple of miles away. Tony McAleer, the would-be führer of Canadian Liberty Net, and a few skinheads strutted around for the bourgeois media and bragged about how they were going ahead with their "secret meeting".

At the Art Gallery, the BCOFR and others wanted to contain opposition to the fascists by trying to lull the crowd with music and insipid "love thy neighbour" speechifying—including in their roster a Tory MP who spoke as the representative of the racist, labour-hating federal Conservative government! The New Democratic Party loyalists of the BCOFR never intended to mobilise the battalions of labour to crush the fascists. They refused

Once a version of "critical Stalinists", the "Leninist" organisation never broke from the lie of "building socialism in one country", which outside the Soviet Union meant support to popular frontism and class collaboration. With the disintegration of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the "Leninists" became increasingly disoriented. Within 24 hours of Yeltsin's counter-coup in August 1991, these fainthearts had given up on the Soviet Union, and eagerly concentrated on reclaiming the "tradition" of the CPGB. Well, they got it! For its final six decades the old CPGB was a miserable reformist party, devoted to slavish tailing of "progressive" Labour bureaucrats and betraying class struggle. Now the "Daily Worker" can at last fully bask in the heritage of the infamous "British Road to Socialism", with its grovelling to parliament and the capitalist state. ■

Immigration...

(Continued from page 8)

of the workers movement to capitalism relegates minorities to poverty, the dole and victimisation by racist attacks. In turn, moods of pseudo black nationalism and seeking solace in religion often represent a despairing response to betrayal of social struggle. We noticed that during the miners strike the nationalist groups were not that active among the black and Asian population. All sections of the oppressed—blacks, Asians, lesbian and gay groups—understood that victory of the miners strike would be their victory, and its defeat would be their defeat. In turn, the black and Asian communities proved to be the most steadfast sup-

porters of the strikers, which had a real impact on the consciousness of the miners themselves. This is an invaluable historical lesson which the Leninist party—as the memory of the working class—must keep alive.

The miners strike was betrayed by the Labour Party and TUC tops. What was missing was an authoritative Bolshevik party rooted in the working masses that could have led the strike to victory and contested for proletarian state power. We seek to create such a vanguard party, and in doing so we wish to incorporate in its ranks the minority workers who will be the most steadfast fighters against capitalism. That is the way forward, towards establishing a genuinely egalitarian socialist society that will finally sweep away racism, poverty, war and all forms of social degradation. ■

**"Stop the Nazis!"
Spartacists led
500 to the site
where Nazi Tom
Metzger was to
spew his filth;
Cliffite IS joined
marshals in
attempt to stop
anti-fascist
protesters.**



to call for union contingents, and at a 19 January Labour Council meeting BCOFR spokesman Paul Gill explicitly opposed going after the Nazis if they dared show their faces in the vicinity of the Art Gallery.

Although the BCOFR rally was designed to head off any genuine mobilisation to stop the fascists, militant and serious unionists representative of the powerful B.C. labour movement meant business, and they kept the fascists out. Trotskyist League spokesman Oliver Stephens was widely applauded when he said from the rally podium:

"The fascists want to destroy us and ours! They want to split us apart, to open us up for attack, to poison any kind of integrated struggle, like winning strikes. They are the shock troops of the racist ruling class. They can and must be stopped, and the organised working class has the power."

There were two *counterposed* political programmes on how to respond to the fascist threat in Vancouver. The policy of the reformists and labour bureaucrats, which comes straight from the ministerial offices of the social-democratic NDP, was to preach reliance on the capitalist state and its police. In practice, this meant allowing the fascist provocation to go ahead. Against this the TL leaflet argued:

"Reformists believe that the capitalist state is 'neutral' and can be pressured to 'ban' the fascists. As Marxists we understand that this state enforces the rule of capital and that the fight against fascism is the road of class struggle leading to the forging of a revolutionary workers party and socialist revolution."

At a BCOFR marshals meeting on 20 January, spokesman Alan Dutton made perfectly clear their intention that any Nazis outside the perimeter of the rally would be left alone to spew their racist filth. A representative of the Coalition United to Fight Oppression (CUFO), a rad-lib sandbox which includes the Freedom Socialist Party and the International Socialists, argued that if the skinheads showed up and tried to march through the rally they should just be "ignored"! A speaker for the IS advised the marshals

not to remove known fascist provocateurs from the demonstration but just "keep an eye" on them!

These reformists tried to put their wimpy programme into action at the demo. As marchers headed off for the Century Plaza Hotel to get the skinhead thugs, CUFO marshals first tried to slow the protesters down and then they (including the IS) linked arms in front of the hotel to bolster the line of cops who were shoving the crowd back.

Last March, a gang of half a dozen skinheads waving swastika flags marched right through a "Rally Against Racism" that was held at the Art Gallery. TL supporters sought to mobilise demonstrators to defend themselves against these fascist thugs. But the rally organisers—the IS and CUFO—*let the Nazis parade with impunity!* The social-democratic IS is not guided by such Gandhian pacifism when it comes to anti-*communist* exclusions, launching a savage physical assault to keep Trotskyist League members out of a "public debate" in Toronto last August.

The Cold War "socialists" of the IS urged solidarity with every imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary force aimed at destroying the former workers states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The result has been a tidal wave of reactionary nationalism and fascist terror which is the cutting edge of capitalist restoration. Those who cheered these forces in Eastern Europe and the ex-USSR are hypocrites when they claim to want to "fight fascism" at home. The class-collaborationist appetites that underpinned the reformists' virulent anti-

Sovietism can be seen in their supine response to the fascist terrorists here.

Forge a revolutionary workers party!

After 16 years of union-busting rule under the ultraright racist yahoos of the Social Credit Party, the powerful B.C. labour movement thought it would get a break under an NDP government. But since their election in 1991, the NDP social democrats have imposed even further austerity, jacking up taxes and slashing social services, while alibing racist cop terror against minorities. This is hardly new—the last NDP government in 1975 launched the most massive strike-breaking assault in the province's history. The social democrats serve as the labour lieutenants of capitalist class rule—"left" guardians of the decaying system that breeds fascist terrorists. In the course of class struggle, the NDP must be split, its working-class base won to a revolutionary party.

While small in numbers now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow. When the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and '30s—the bourgeois will finance the fascist killers and grease their rise to power in order to smash the workers organisations. Without revolutionary leadership the working class of Europe paid a terrible price, as the Nazi Holocaust devoured tens of millions of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, leftists and others. As the TL leaflet concluded:

"Unionists, minorities and a lot of others who oppose everything the fascists stand for are looking for a way to fight back against a system that has condemned them to poverty, degradation, homelessness, broken unions and broken lives. A genuine class-struggle mobilization to stop the fascists of 'Canadian Liberty Net' would give a taste of the power that must be brought to bear in the fight for a socialist revolution to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist bosses which finds its degenerate expression in Metzger's Nazi-lovers, and bring to power the working people who built all the wealth of this country."

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Vancouver trade union/ minority mobilisation

3000 drive off fascist skinheads

VANCOUVER—The Nazis of “Canadian Liberty Net” and their gang of skinhead punks were put on the run here Friday night, 22 January. The Hitler-lovers had boasted they were going to rally in front of the Vancouver Art Gallery at 7 pm, and organise a “secret meeting” to “welcome” infamous American Nazi Tom Metzger. What happened instead was no secret. The Nazis’ intended site was occupied by 3000 anti-racist protesters—organised contingents of trade unionists, youth, minorities, gays and other opponents of fascist terror.

When word ran through the crowd, as the rally was winding down, that skinheads had been sighted at the Century Plaza Hotel, hundreds took to the streets, joining with the Trotskyist League of Canada and Partisan Defense Committee in chanting, “Stop the Nazis, this is the hour! Labor, minorities have the power!” As the 500 marchers neared the hotel, the handful of fascists cowered in a side alley. Pursued by the demonstrators, the Nazis jumped walls, scrambled over fences and fled into the darkness.

“This was a victory,” PDC spokesman Miriam Scribner declared. “What happened tonight was a vindication of our call for a mass union-centered mobilisation to sweep the fascists from the streets.” After the two-bit Hitlers fled, the TL led part of the crowd down-town to a victory party, chanting “Off with the hoods! Off with the sheets! We drove the fascists from the streets!”

The *Vancouver Sun* headlined “White Supremacist Skinheads Flee Hotel,”



Spartacist Canada

Vancouver, 22 January: trade unionists, minorities rally; Spartacists had called for massive union/minority mobilisation to stop the fascists.

reporting: “As thousands of anti-racists demonstrated outside the Century Plaza Hotel, a small group of white supremacist skinheads escaped like terrified prey out a side entrance.” The cops took their revenge by arresting two anti-fascist protesters, threatening them with charges including “weapons” possession and wearing a mask! *Drop all charges against the anti-fascist demonstrators!*

“All Out to Stop the Fascists”

The attempted “Liberty Net” rally was a deadly threat aimed at all labour and

minorities in Vancouver. The race-terrorists have firebombed the homes of East Indian and Chinese Canadian families and burned a cross outside the house of Iranian immigrants. A Jewish synagogue and a cemetery were defaced with Nazi slogans and swastikas, and a gay bookstore was bombed. Metzger’s “White Aryan Resistance” skinheads brutally murdered an Ethiopian man in Oregon in 1988. Now the fascists announced a provocation at the Art Gallery, the traditional site for leftist and labour demonstrations in this city.

In response, the PDC, the legal and

social defence organisation associated with the Trotskyist League, issued an urgent appeal on 11 January to labour and minority organisations, calling for a “massive, disciplined display of labour power mobilizing minorities and all the fascists’ intended victims—when and where the fascists say they intend to be.... Stopping this Nazi provocation is a matter of basic survival.” This struck a real chord in Vancouver—a solid union town, with tens of thousands of East Indian and other Asian workers.

Two days later, the British Columbia Organisation to Fight Racism (BCOFR) put out a press release calling for an “Anti-Racism Rally” at the Art Gallery to “Say no to W.A.R.” The BCOFR rally, endorsed by the Vancouver and District Labour Council tops, was *not* called to stop the Nazi terrorists, but billed only as an “alternative to the advertised visit” by Metzger.

Intent on assuring that outrage against fascist terror was not diverted into an impotent talkfest, TL and PDC supporters distributed 30,000 copies of a mobilising leaflet, addressing trade-union meetings and immigrant communities across the city. “All Out to Stop the Fascists!” said the TL leaflet, insisting:

“Official union contingents, under their union banners, together with East Indians, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, Native Indians, Jews, gays and socialists, can see to it that this Nazi ‘rally’ never happens, and that these scum are swept off the streets.”

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Germany

Case dismissed against Spartakists who tore down Nazi flag



Spartakist

Spartakists were put on trial for “crime” of ripping down giant Nazi flag near Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate.

BERLIN, 17 February—In a trial at the Tiergarten Administrative Court today, the case was dismissed against four supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) who were charged with tearing down an enormous swastika flag at the Pariser Galerie next to the Brandenburg Gate in June 1992. Toralf Endruweit, Spartakist spokesman and former SpAD candidate in the March 1990 DDR (East German) parliamentary elections, declared in a statement to the court: “As the numerous statements of support show, the court has, to put it mildly, got heart palpitations.”

He continued: “We won’t allow this blood-soaked banner to just hang anywhere. We tore it down on 23 June 1992 and burned it. We are proud of that, and will do it again if necessary. We did it in the name of all anti-fascists.”

About a hundred demonstrators gathered before the beginning of the trial in front of the entrance to the court, chant-

ing: “Swastika means genocide, destroy the flag everywhere!” and “1, 2, 3, 4—No Nazi flag here! 5, 6, 7, 8—Stop the Nazis with workers power!” Representatives of the Jewish Group of Berlin, the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), the SDAJ (German Socialist Young Workers), the KPD/ML (Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist), as well as the SpAD, spoke in the demonstration organised by the KfsV, in which many anti-fascist youth participated.

At the demonstration, Atiye Eksi said in a moving declaration: “My son Mete Eksi was slain a year ago by racist youths. They have not yet been put on trial. They were set free. But those who on 23 June 1992 destroyed the Nazi flag are to be hauled into court on 17 February 1993. Are we still living in the Third Reich? Has Germany still not overcome that period?” Also today the Berlin prosecutor brought charges against Turkish friends of Mete Eksi for the “crime” of having

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