



## Surge of class struggle across Europe **Dump the Labour/TUC sell-outs!** **Forge a revolutionary workers party!**



Daily Record

**Dundee, 22 March: Angry Timex strikers confront scabs being bussed into factory. Timex struggle has galvanised workers movement by defying bosses' strike-breaking laws in face of sabotage by STUC/AEEU misleaders.**

After years of mounting depression conditions and sackings, class struggle is noticeably sharpening. On 2 April miners, railway workers and London busworkers struck, crippling economic activity in the capital. Significant numbers of workers stayed away from work, and sympathy for those battling for jobs was pervasive. On the same day in Italy, some 13 million workers stopped work for four hours, paralysing transport and mail networks. Millions of trade unionists not only in Italy but in Germany, Greece, Portugal and Eastern Europe took to the streets in a "day of action" called by the Confederation of European Unions. The day before some 100,000 metal workers in eastern Germany struck against the arrogant bosses who have ripped up agreed pay increases while in the coal and steel-producing region of the German Ruhr there have been massive protests against job losses. And as we go to press, east German workers have

*continued on page 10*

## **Chris Hani gunned down in right-wing plot**

# South Africa: black outrage over apartheid assassination

### **"Power Sharing" fraud exposed**

On 10 April, Chris Hani, leader of the South African Communist Party and former head of the African National Congress' armed wing, Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto we Sizwe - MK), was gunned down by an émigré Polish fascist with links to South African state intelligence. Hani was shot four times about 10.15am as he stepped out of the car he had just parked in the driveway of his home in a newly integrated neighbourhood in Boksburg, a staunch right-wing suburb of Johannesburg. As news of the assassination spread through the impoverished townships, black anger exploded in the streets from Cape Town to Soweto. Millions participated in mass protests, funeral processions and perhaps the biggest general strike in South African history.

Six million blacks stayed away from jobs on 14 April. Apartheid rulers answered with tear gas and pistol shots. Police who were lined up in front of the police station in Soweto shot directly into the crowd of thousands, killing three. At a march in Johannesburg, police stood by while Nazis jumped out of a car and shot three protesters. With Hani's murder, black youth in their outrage took to the streets in dozens of cities. Windows were smashed, vehicles and government offices burnt, grenades thrown at soldiers. On the day of his funeral thousands filled a Soweto stadium while bands of angry youths threw stones at the police "hippos" (armoured cars) patrolling the area.

A few days earlier in the Cape Town area, protesters blocked a highway with

*continued on page 11*



**Township youth take to the streets 14 April in anger over murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani.**

AP

## Clinton and FBI mass murderers!

We print below the text of the press release issued by the Spartacist League/US immediately after the Waco massacre on 19 April.

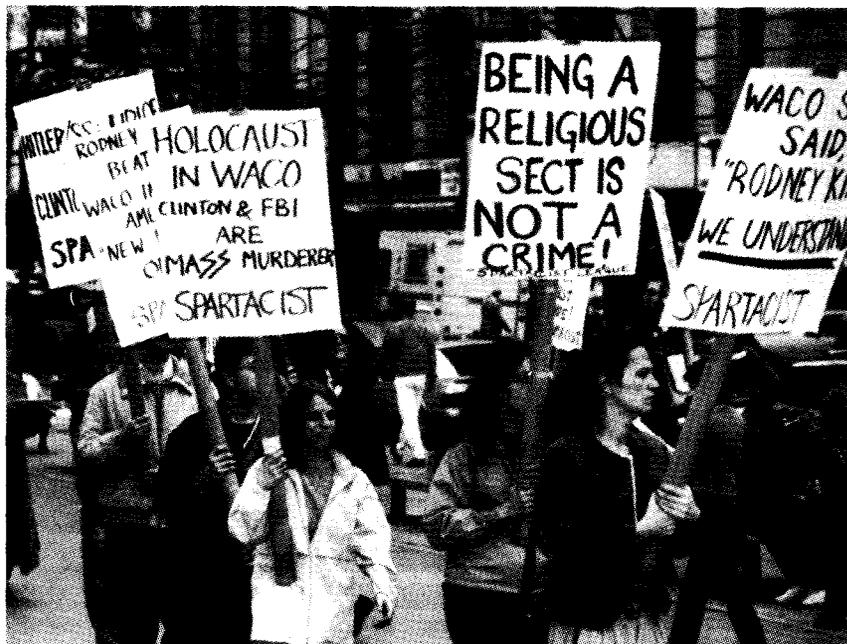
The charred corpses of 87 men, women and children who perished in the fire-storm resulting from the FBI's barrage of CS gas, flash-grenades and battering rams are the direct responsibility of the White House. President Clinton gave the green light, Attorney General Janet Reno personally supervised the plan, and the FBI's storm troopers moved in to carry out the government's "final solution" against the small, integrated Branch Davidian religious sect in Waco, Texas. After a murderous raid by federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents armed to the teeth and a 51-day siege, almost a hundred people have now been subjected to a flaming apocalypse for the sole "crime" of being a non-conformist religious sect which dared to defend itself against government assault.

The Spartacist League/U.S. and Partisan Defense Committee have called emergency demonstrations of protest and outrage, at 5:00 p.m. today, Monday, April 19, outside the Federal Building in Manhattan, New York City and at federal offices in other cities around the country to denounce the government mass murder in Waco. An SL spokesman, in condemning this outrage, noted that the Branch Davidians received the same

death sentence meted out to the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, bombed by the Philadelphia police on Mother's Day (May 13) 1985, using C-4 plastic explosives donated by the FBI. Eleven black people were murdered there, including five children, and an entire black neighborhood was laid to waste. "Like the racist cop beating of L.A. black motorist Rodney King," said Spartacist spokesman Marjorie Stamberg, "the Waco holocaust is the domestic image of America's 'New World Order.' This is U.S. imperialism's Desert Slaughter in Iraq brought home."

A banner outside the compound of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious sect said, "Rodney King—We Understand." It is no accident that the feds' onslaught in Waco came two days after the slap-on-the-wrist verdict for two racist cops in L.A. With troops poised to occupy the inner cities coast to coast, amid a massive police-state mobilization, the racist rulers breathed a collective sigh of relief that the urban ghettos and barrios did not explode in outrage over another outright racist acquittal. They seized the moment to incinerate the Waco commune.

In the gray light of dawn, the FBI moved in the heavy artillery—M-60 Combat Engineering Vehicles, Bradley fighting vehicles and heat-seeking reconnaissance planes—in a bid to drive



Workers Vanguard

New York City, 19 April: Spartacist-called emergency demonstration in protest over Democrat Clinton/FBI massacre of Branch Davidians.

out or exterminate the 70 adults and 25 children still inside the wooden structure. The whole area had already been ringed with razor-sharp concertina wire. Electricity and water were cut off. The intent was to create a firetrap with no escape. Naturally there were no fire-fighting vehicles present to put out the flames. Now the government wants to blame the victims, but the Waco assault was deliberate mass murder, decided at the White House.

On Sunday, Vice President Al Gore wept tears for those who died 50 years ago in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. But the methodical burning down of the Waco commune, carried "live" on television, recalled nothing so much as the Nazis' razing of the Warsaw ghetto. Clinton-Gore have carried out their own

holocaust against another religious minority who evidently have "no right to exist" in this racist capitalist society. The Clinton administration has carried out its own Operation Prairie Slaughter, igniting a massive firestorm against its perceived domestic "enemies," a small group who did no harm to anyone.

The Spartacist League spokesman noted, "From Republican Bush to Democrat Clinton, the racist rulers show what they have in store for anyone who dares to defy the state. The murder of these innocent people, burned at the stake by this bloodthirsty government, cries out for vengeance. It will take a socialist revolution to mete out real justice to the police torturers of Rodney King, to the FBI arsonists in Waco, to the U.S. military bombers of Baghdad." ■



TROTSKY

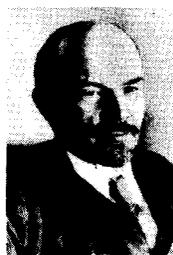
### Karl Marx on the permanent revolution

The situation in South Africa today cries out for a proletarian solution, for the millions strong black working class to lead all the oppressed and exploited in a struggle to smash apartheid capitalism. The theory of permanent revolution—that in backward countries even the tasks of the bourgeois revolution can be solved only by the proletariat in power—was the achievement of

Leon Trotsky. But the concept was first introduced by Karl Marx in 1850. In his address to the Central Committee of the Communist League, Marx made a powerful polemic against those, like the petty-bourgeois ANC and Stalinist SACP, who seek to shackle the power of the working class to "power-sharing" with the apartheid rulers.

It is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one.

—Karl Marx, "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League", 1850



LENIN

## WORKERS HAMMER



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For a Socialist United States of Europe!

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## Spartacist Public Forums

German Spartakists fight for workers mobilisation to smash the fascists

### Class struggle in the Fourth Reich

Speaker: Renate Dahlhaus, member of the Central Committee of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

In January 1990, when our comrades initiated a rally at Treptow Park, in East Berlin, protesting the fascist desecration of the Red Army war memorial, Renate Dahlhaus spoke before the 250,000 who turned out to protest the fascist scum and to honour the role of the Red Army in smashing Hitler's counterrevolutionary hordes. The SpAD and the ICL uniquely stood against the capitalist reunification of Germany and fought against the restoration of capitalism throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR. Recently the Fourth Reich was forced to drop the charges against Dahlhaus and others who ripped down a Nazi swastika flag hung near the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. Today, when there is a wave of workers' struggles across Europe, we Trotskyists seek to mobilise the power of the working class to smash cop and Nazi terror through worker/immigrant mobilisations, for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, against the attacks on women's rights, and for the Socialist United States of Europe. Comrade Dahlhaus is making a tour of a number of European countries as part of the ICL's internationalist struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

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# Rescue America terrorists target Britain

## Defend abortion clinics!

But, as *Guardian* correspondent, Martin Walker noted:

"Britain is not alone as a target; Mr Treshman and his supporters are planning to move on to France and to a Germany where the easy abortions of the old eastern half have provoked social tensions with the restrictive provisions in largely Catholic Bavaria. The power of the Catholic Church in tightening the restriction on abortion in Poland suggests that Europe's own cultural wars are under way."

On 10 March, abortion doctor David Gunn, courageous fighter for women's rights, was gunned down by Rescue America supporter Michael Griffin as he arrived for work at the Women's Medical Services Clinic in Pensacola, Florida. Rescue America's Pensacola leader is one John Burt, a "former" Ku Klux Klansman who took part in lynch mob violence against school integration in the 1960s.

Two weeks later Donald Treshman, a leader of Rescue America, and a number of supporters arrived in Britain to spread their right-wing terror campaign against abortion clinics across the Atlantic. Before leaving the United States Treshman had brazenly defended the murder of David Gunn, saying: "While we think the death is unfortunate, the fact is that a number of mothers would have been put at risk today and over a dozen babies would have died at his hands." Shortly thereafter he had made similar statements on the BBC's Newsnight programme. *These right-wing thugs should be met with mass, militant mobilisations and sent packing—defend the abortion clinics!*

On 29 March Treshman was arrested and given two weeks to appeal against deportation on the grounds that his presence in Britain was "not conducive to the public good". In an editorial entitled "Chuck them both out", *Morning Star* (6 April), complains that Treshman and another anti-abortion bigot were not put straight back on the plane. Unlike *Morning Star* or the Socialist Workers Party who want the state to ban the fascists in Bexley, we oppose the call for state bans. The same "public order" bans have been used to keep radicals out of the country, like the then Black Panther leader, Stokely Carmichael.

Indeed, on Tuesday 30 March the police banned pro-abortion demonstrators who had gathered outside the headquarters of the International Planned Parenthood Federation in Regent's Park to protest a planned press conference by Rescue America. No sooner had the placards gone up than a large contingent of cops waded into the forty-strong dem-



Alice Dunhill

**London, 30 March: Cops waded into demonstration protesting Rescue America "right-to-life" reactionaries' provocation at International Planned Parenthood Federation offices.**

onstration, consisting mainly of supporters of the National Abortion Campaign, Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League. Eighteen protesters were arrested and held for several hours until released without charge.

The Spartacist League in the United States has joined in clinic defences and other mobilisations against attacks on abortion rights. Recently when anti-abortion bigots planned to hold a meeting on the University of California campus at Berkeley our comrades of the Spartacus Youth Club took the lead to mobilise a picket line demonstration. Their report notes:

"The Bible-thumping, women-hating squads of Right to Life and Operation Rescue should be run off campus, and everywhere else they dare to stage their provocations. Since losing the overtly sympathetic ear they had in the Reagan/Bush White House, they have escalated their campaign of intimidation, terrorism and murder. Abortion rights will be won through struggle against the anti-abortion terrorists at the clinics and on the streets,

not by maneuvers in the courts or lobbying Democrats in Congress.

"The SYC says 'Labor: Defend the Clinics!' What's needed are large, organized contingents of unionists and all supporters of abortion rights mobilized to stop the right-wing thugs" (*Workers Vanguard*, 9 April).

Internationally, abortion rights have become a key battleground in the struggle between social progress and social reaction. The advance of counterrevolution across Eastern Europe has meant increasing attacks on women and minorities. Notably in Germany and Poland, the question of abortion rights is a crucial fight. It's no accident that Operation Rescue's director Keith Tucci, brags of their influence in Poland, Romania and Russia.

While the capitalist media gave the small Rescue America contingent plenty of publicity, the deportation order placed on Treshman is indicative of some considerable bourgeois consensus in Britain in favour of the present laws on abortion.

Rescue America and the larger Operation Rescue which plans a foray in September are out to galvanise the same type of terroristic bigotry they foment in the they intend came with the flying demonstrations of intimidations and pray-ins Rescue America and its Rescue Britain cohorts staged at abortion clinics from Essex to Birmingham to Aberdeen. And their targeting of smaller private clinics is no accident, since these are often the places that women from Ireland are forced to come to, in their thousands, each year because abortion is banned in the South and the North. Contrary to some pro-abortion demonstrators who shouted "Go back to America" we see the necessary successful mobilisations to halt these bigots here as also assisting the struggle in the United States and as a part of a broader internationalist struggle against the impact of counterrevolution in Eastern Europe.

Organisations like NAC—as well as the SWP—have not even fought to extend the 1967 Abortion Act to Northern Ireland. In this they are capitulating both to the prejudices of the Green nationalists and to the Labour Party whose leader "voted consistently" for David Alton's bill and backs a reduction in the legal limit for abortions to 22 weeks. While the Spartacist League fights for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all, these organisations simply raise "A Woman's Right to Choose", which addresses the issue of a legal right but not how poor and working-class women can exercise this right. And all the "socialists" who supported Polish Solidarność, called for the victory of the CIA mujahedin cutthroats in Afghanistan, and backed Yeltsin's counter-coup in August 1991, helped pave the way for the "New World Order" attacks on women.

We say: Capitalist counterrevolution means misery for women! From Pensacola to Dublin to Warsaw—fight for the right to free abortion on demand! Fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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# Women, apartheid and the permanent revolution

## Presentation to South African students

Workers Hammer prints below the text of a presentation given by Spartacist League spokesman Cheryl Myall to a gathering of South African students in Leeds on 27 March.

Good afternoon, comrades. The Spartacist League/Britain, part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is glad to have this opportunity to address a national gathering of South African students in Britain.

We of the International Communist League do not believe that communism is dead—Stalinism dies, but communism lives. And South Africa is one of the few places in the world where the masses identify with communism, insofar as they understand it. Apartheid capitalism is based on the super-exploitation of black workers. Thus, there can be no democracy, no end to brutal racism, sexual and social oppression as long as capitalism continues to exist in South Africa. "Power sharing" deals, coalition governments with the apartheid masters—this will prove to be a cruel hoax for the black masses of South Africa, and not least for the millions of doubly and triply oppressed women who will continue to languish in the bantustans or be forced to live in backyards and back bedrooms in wealthy white suburbs, paid a pittance to take care of other people's children. Urgently needed in South Africa is the forging of a Bolshevik party, modelled on the party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the only successful workers revolution in history.



Greg Marinovich

South African women commemorate slain SACP leader, Chris Hani. Leninist-Trotskyist party will be constructed with strong component of women in leadership of struggle to smash apartheid capitalism.

solidarity. Ruth First was a leader of the ANC and the South African Communist Party who was murdered in the front line of the anti-apartheid struggle. In January 1986 some 20,000 blacks flooded into the white areas of Port Elizabeth to attend the funeral of Molly Blackburn, a leader of Black Sash, who was killed allegedly in a car accident. There was opposition from some white youth to being conscripted as occupying forces in the black townships.

In opposition to black nationalists we

disciple of Steve Biko, expressed the view that there are minor differences among the different tribal groups in South Africa. But then she went on to include female genital mutilation among these "minor" differences, saying "The Pedes circumcise their women and the Xhosas do not." This is a shocking attitude from someone who aspires to lead the struggle for the emancipation of women in South Africa. Female genital mutilation is an inhuman crime and is one of the most barbaric means for the subjugation of women. The early French socialist Charles Fourier was fond of saying that you can measure the level of any given society by the degree in which women are emancipated.

The tsarist empire that was shattered by the Bolshevik Revolution was a largely peasant, backward country, with a small but significant proletariat. The tsarist empire was a virtual prisonhouse of nations; anti-Semitism was rife; the peasantry was maintained in a semi-feudal

state. In what became Soviet Central Asia women were treated as virtual slaves, subjected to the bride price and the veil. But despite the glaring democratic tasks that remained to be achieved, the Bolsheviks defeated the Menshevik notion that revolution would come in stages—first would come the democratic stage, then later socialism. The Bolsheviks were uncompromising in their opposition to class-collaborationist popular fronts, that is, an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. It was because of the political hardness of the Bolsheviks that the proletarian revolution triumphed. The great Russian revolutionary and Red Army organiser Leon Trotsky noted that the Russian Revolution was an example of permanent revolution: that in countries whose bourgeois development has been belated, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries, genuine democracy and national emancipation can be achieved only under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The position of women made great strides forward in the young Soviet workers republic. Divorce and abortion were legalised, while repressive laws against homosexuals were abolished. Child care facilities were made available so that women could be integrated into the workforce. Although the early Soviet Union was much more backward economically than Western Europe and the USA, Soviet advances in the treatment of women put to shame the so-called democratic "civilised" countries.

Although Stalin's gang usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat in 1924, the Trotskyists considered that the USSR remained a workers state, albeit degenerated. Trotskyists unconditionally defended the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, while calling for a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. In 1979 we forthrightly championed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. (We also supported Cuban troops in Angola against the apartheid army and the CIA-backed Savimbi.) In Afghanistan we



Workers Hammer

London, 14 April: Spartacist contingent at protest over Hani's assassination raises red banner of the International Communist League.

The women of South Africa are destined to play a crucial role in the South African workers revolution, just as women were key to the Russian Revolution of 1917. During the 1950s, when the Pass Laws were extended to women, there was a massive mobilisation of black, Indian, "coloured" and white women from all over South Africa. They gathered 20,000-strong in Johannesburg and sang the freedom song: "Now you have touched the woman, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

And there were examples of interracial

welcomed the lifting of the ban on interracial sex and marriage. We pointed out the simple fact that a breakdown of residential segregation would mean that the white supremacist rulers could not unleash their bombs and cordon off areas without affecting any whites. Furthermore, organisers of a racially integrated communist party, blacks and whites, men and women, would find it easier to meet or travel together.

In South Africa some of the urgent bourgeois democratic tasks are very basic. In 1984 Thenjiwe Mtintso, a former "Black Consciousness" woman leader and

### JUST OUT!

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No. 42 SPRING/SUMMER 1993

## Women and Revolution

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**From East Berlin to Tashkent:  
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Purchased Equilibrium

**Stephen Jay Gould and the Mismeasure of Marx**

# Warrington bombings...

(Continued from page 12)

illusions in the very forces of imperialism which are engaged in hunting down and killing their own members. But it is also graphically revealing of the truth that at bottom their strategy is essentially to pressure imperialism. For example, adapting to the so-called "New World Order" the IRA and Sinn Féin have dropped their "socialist" talk and enthused over US president Clinton's "even-handed" campaign rhetoric on Ireland. In the aftermath of Warrington, the Catholic church, backed by the Dublin government, pushed talks between the SDLP's John Hume and the IRA—"no long term solution without talks with Sinn Féin" being the motto. The talks took place; Adams at least is accepting invitations to dance. Nevertheless there are divisions and tensions over the appetites of some elements of the IRA and Sinn Féin to trade dropping the bombing and military campaigns for doing business with the British government at the negotiating table. Meanwhile IRA units continue to be active in Britain. On Saturday 24 April, a large bomb was detonated outside the Natwest Tower in the City, causing millions of pounds of damage and killing a newspaper photographer.

One IRA spokesman is reported as saying (*Independent*, 13 April) that "The tragedy and suffering are all the same", whether it was Marie Wilson, Ian Gow or Julie Livingstone. From the standpoint of a nationalist looking for imperialist favour that may be so. But not from ours. Marie Wilson was the victim of the indefensible IRA Enniskillen bombing. Julie Livingstone was a 14-year-old killed by a British Army plastic bullet, a victim of imperialist repression. But Ian Gow was Margaret Thatcher's parliamentary private secretary, an imperialist master for whom we shed no tears.

Obscenely, Sinn Féin has tried to join the pro-imperialist "peace" movement.

Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams called on nationalists and Republicans to join the "Peace '93" days of action, "raising demands for inclusive dialogue as part of a genuine process towards a lasting peace" (*An Phoblacht*, 1 April). Toeing this line Troops Out Movement supporters attended the 4 April rally in London, whining that "It is regrettable that the many condemnations of the IRA at the rally were not matched by condemnations of the British state's appalling role in the conflict" (*An Phoblacht*, 8 April).

The two largest leftist groups in both Ireland and Britain are Militant Labour and the Socialist Workers Party/Socialist Workers Movement. *British Militant* (26 March) advises that "The trade union and labour movement and community organisations must combine opposition to terrorism with steadfast opposition to state repression." But the minimum prerequisite for steadfast opposition to state repression is the demand for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British Army from Northern Ireland, something the Militant opposes. And for all its eloquence against "individual terrorism", Militant never distinguishes between defensible and indefensible terrorism, thus absolving themselves of ever having to defend nationalist struggles and groups like the IRA or the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka against the state. And Militant prettifies the "Peace '93" movement. Emmet Farrell (*Militant*, 2 April) waxes eloquent about how "Thousands of working-class Dubliners turned up to show their disgust" and demanded "the end of the IRA's military campaign", adding a mild concern that "some of the rally organisers have been one-sided in their condemnation of violence". *Irish Militant* (April 1993) frets about the "weaknesses" of the peace movement, proposing a "mass movement of workers to stop the killings", naturally without even mentioning the question of withdrawal of the British Army. And none of the Militant's papers has seen fit to report that the 3000-strong Relatives for Justice rally was ten times larger than the "Peace '93" rally on the same day in Belfast. Similarly an SWM meeting in Dublin



Craig Easton

Dublin, 28 March: Spring/Robinson's pro-imperialist "peace movement".

on 8 April was "even-handedly" entitled "Stop the bombings! Get the British Army Out!" This is perhaps some improvement on "More repression is not the answer" (*Socialist Worker*, 27 March). The same issue also said "socialists always argue for troops out now". But not the SWP, who supported the troops going in, in 1969! The presentation at the 8 April Dublin meeting which had a strong pacifist tone, made no mention of the call for troops out now. And why shouldn't the SWP/SWM have people who are tempted to join the "peace movement". After all, the SWP plumped hard for the pro-imperialist "starve them, don't bomb them" peace movement over Iraq.

Workers Power's inability to separate the defensible from the indefensible leads it—as it did over Enniskillen—to announce its "unconditional" support of the IRA. To be sure, Workers Power laces its usual vicarious tailing of petty-bourgeois nationalism here with concern about "tragic deaths". In another league, there are the unsavoury political bandits of David North's *International Worker*. Its editorial entitled "The Warrington bombing: The reactionary logic of bourgeois nationalism" (3 April) grotesquely writes that "The IRA's only role in this can be as a pawn of one or other of the imperialist powers". As one

of the myriad by-products of the implosion of Gerry Healy's WRP—an organisation in the pay of various Middle Eastern despots—the Northites know plenty about being pawns. The sick and sinister message is that the struggle of the IRA and other Republicans contains no legitimate and defensible component, and is simply no different from the actions of the Loyalist paramilitaries or the British Army.

Amidst the heightened intercommunal poison and bloodletting in Northern Ireland in the last period, there are also signs of the willingness of the working class to struggle together across the communal divide, including in opposition to sectarian attacks. But such openings cannot be taken forward simply on the basis of trade unionist or economic demands as envisaged by the Militant and the SWP/SWM. In the context of interpenetrated peoples and communalist hatred there can be no solution short of proletarian revolution. Capitalist reunification poses only the reversal of the terms of oppression for the distinct Protestant community. We oppose forcible reunification and call for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. Above all this perspective requires the construction of revolutionary parties in Ireland and Britain. ■

declared: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend Social Gains of October to Afghan Peoples!" As soon as the PDPA government which came to power in 1978 attempted to implement reforms in the countryside, particularly education for girls, the lowering of the bride price, and encouragement to women to throw away their stifling veils, it was confronted by a CIA-backed counterinsurgency of landlords, tribal chieftains and mullahs. Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 marked a decisive turning point by the Gorbachev regime to sell out to the imperialists.

In 1981, when many who falsely call themselves Marxist were hailing Polish Solidarność, Thatcher and Reagan's favourite union, we said "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has unleashed unemployment, impoverishment, fascist and communalist violence, as well as attacks on abortion rights. In the former DDR (East Germany) our comrades fought uniquely and unequivocally against capitalist reunification. We initiated a 250,000 strong anti-fascist demonstration at Trepow Park in Berlin, where Nazis had defaced a Soviet war memorial. Now with capitalist restoration, unemployment in eastern Germany is close to 50 per cent, and the immigrant population in Germany lives in fear for their lives. We seek to mobilise the power of the trade unions and minorities to smash the fascist scum.

In August 1991 we were for mobilising Moscow workers to clean out the counterrevolutionary rabble on Yeltsin's barricades. Market economy and

rule by the IMF means starvation. The destruction of the Soviet workers state has not only been a catastrophe for Soviet working people, but has given the imperialists a green light to rampage and despoil the peoples of the Third World. The war in the Persian Gulf, in which 100,000 Iraqis were butchered, was the opening campaign of the "New World Disorder". At the time we of the International Communist League said: "Defeat imperialism! Defend Iraq!" We demand "Imperialist troops out of Somalia!"

Comrades, it is suicidal to appeal to the blood-drenched, racist imperialists for justice against the apartheid regime. It was the British imperialists in the first place who instituted many of the laws and structures which were later used by the apartheid butchers to terrorise and repress the black population. That is why we never supported the ANC's call on the imperialists to impose sanctions on the apartheid bosses in Pretoria. It is no accident that the US imperialists today support the De Klerk/ANC "government of national unity" schemes, because they see this as the best means to cheat the working masses and to prop up the brutal rule of the Randlords and Anglo American mining magnates.

The black working class has enormous power and has demonstrated it in strike after strike. But as black labour emerged as the motor force of the anti-apartheid struggle, it has been straitjacketed by the popular-front policies of the ANC/SACP. To win the confidence of capital, the ANC/SACP will police the black proletariat, politically and otherwise if necessary.

The power-sharing deal will leave power in the hands of the apartheid masters, spelling continued enslavement of the vast non-white majority of South Africa. The blood-drenched army and security apparatus will remain intact, along with the rest of the racist capitalist state. This pact marks a historic betrayal of the aspirations of the black toilers of South Africa, who for generations have struggled, endured prison and died by the thousands to win their freedom. Anyone who stands for the liberation of the black, "coloured" and Indian masses of South Africa, including whites who don't want to spend the rest of their lives in a permanent garrison state, must reject this grotesque "deal".

There are those who claim to be opposed to the sell-out by the ANC and the South African Communist Party. But the PAC poses no alternative to the bourgeois nationalist programme of the ANC, and has set up its own negotiations with De Klerk and the apartheid masters. Others like AZAPO talk of a "patriotic popular front", in particular looking to the example of Mugabe's Zimbabwe.

Mugabe's Patriotic Front government has broken strikes, arrested union leaders and brutally repressed student demonstrations as it imposes IMF starvation policies, while refusing to expropriate the white capitalist farmers. PAC/AZAPO may aspire to set up a black capitalist regime that exploits its own working class, but in South Africa the best the nationalists can hope for is to be black front men for the neo-apartheid regime.

Leon Trotsky pointed out in his theses on permanent revolution that in the imperialist epoch even the basic democratic tasks require the conquest of power by the proletariat, under the leadership of a multiracial Leninist-Trotskyist party, proceeding forward to socialist tasks. The Randlords of South Africa and their state cannot be phased out with a "sunset clause", they must be overthrown, their power smashed, their state dismantled, their property expropriated, if the black population is to be emancipated and begin the construction of an egalitarian society. The people of Soweto and Sharpeville cannot be free as long as Anglo American holds sway. ■

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# Capitalism without capital

The American press has painted the standoff between Russian president Yeltsin and the Russian Congress as a battle between capitalist "free marketeers" and recalcitrant "Communists". In fact, both the Yeltsinites and their opponents denounce each other for "Bolshevism". Yeltsin press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov railed that the Congress' decisions in early March signalled a "slide back to Soviet communist power", while parliamentary leader Ruslan Khasbulatov attacks Yeltsin's "pathological" desire to eliminate the parliament as a "genetic link with Bolshevism". More importantly, both sides are for a capitalist market economy, which means utter impoverishment for the working people of the former Soviet Union.

The restoration of capitalist rule has put the very existence of the Soviet proletariat at stake. If the Yeltsinites have their way, it will lead to a shut-down of vast sections of industry. Following dictates of the IMF, government plans call for privatising over 5000 medium and large-scale enterprises, employing seven million workers, in 1993 alone. Part of the purpose is to cut these plants off from state credits, which would mean that most would go under (unless they can get foreign financing). The industrial managers grouped around Arkady Volsky (allied with Russian vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi) denounce the Yeltsinites' plans for "Kuwaitisation" of the economy, in which Russia would only produce raw materials like oil for export to the West.

The Volskyites demagogically appeal to workers' legitimate concern for their livelihoods. Marxists fight to defend the industrial base of the country, and thus oppose the wholesale "privatisation" — meaning shut-down — of productive capacity. We are outraged at the tearing down of a modern industrial economy and military powerhouse built up through decades of sacrifice by the multinational Soviet working people. Despite the warping influence of Stalinist bureaucratic arbitrariness, in many areas Soviet technology and science — especially in basic research and military-related fields — is as good as or better than anything in the West. The MIG-29, for instance, is superior to the *planned* next-generation European fighter jet. Today major scientific institutions are being dismantled and sold off for a song to Western firms.

But the national-"patriotic" forces around Volsky/Rutskoi are no less committed to capitalist restoration than are the Yeltsinite "democrats". They too are subordinate to the laws of the capitalist world market, and they (along with the yuppie "entrepreneurs") are massively looting state property in cahoots with Western imperialists. All the contending factions derived from the disintegrated Stalinist bureaucracy are the *enemies* of the working people. The key to saving industry and the proletariat is a struggle for state power — socialist revolution to establish effective centralised planning in a reformed Soviet federation based on proletarian democracy and socialist internationalism.

## Yeltsin's "shock therapy": Third World immiseration

What is behind the political crisis in Russia is not a struggle between socialism and capitalism, nor between democracy and totalitarianism, but the utter failure of Yeltsin's economic policies and, more broadly, the dilemma of a counterrevolutionary regime seeking to impose capitalism without capital. Acquiescing to Washington's diktat in the futile hope of securing a massive infusion of Western aid and investment, the Yeltsinites imposed an economic "shock treatment" crafted by Harvard boy Jeffrey Sachs. Since Yeltsin's January 1992 decree "freeing" prices on

basic commodities, the working masses have been plunged into unprecedented impoverishment.

Three months later, the government statistical agency reported that 90 per cent of workers in Russia were earning below the then subsistence wage of 1500 roubles a month. Per capita income in real terms at the start of 1993 was 43 per cent of what it was two years ago, and even this figure disguises the Third World poverty facing millions of the most downtrodden.

1.5 per cent, but many workers are sent home on "forced vacation" on as little as one-fifth of their normal wage.

And the hardest hit have been women, who formerly made up 51 per cent of the workforce. Yeltsin's labour minister Melikyan declaims, "I seriously don't think women should work while men are doing nothing." Many women are being driven into prostitution to support themselves and their children. ABC News' *Prime Time Live* (18 March) reported on a

and militarist vice president Rutskoi — draws its support from the country's factory managers. Appealing to the old "military-industrial complex", Volsky & Co vow to maintain a strong Russian state and demand the continued flow of government subsidies to the country's key heavy industries.

Last summer Volsky, who heads the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and was a former adviser to Gorbachev, declaimed that Yeltsin's "democrats have already shown they are unable to ensure a decent existence for the people 80 per



Korneyev/AFP



Marc Garanger

Left: old-age pensioner begging in Red Square. Above: Moscow stock exchange, where yuppie entrepreneurs dream of becoming junior partners of Wall Street, Frankfurt bankers and Japan Inc.

# Russia's new exploiters

A handful of speculators have become overnight dollar millionaires (or rouble billionaires!), and certain sectors of the proletariat, like miners and transport workers, have been granted wage increases to keep up with the galloping inflation. But the average worker in Russia today receives two-thirds of the 6000 roubles a month considered the bare survival minimum. Even *Time* magazine (22 March) concedes:

"Yeltsin and his team of shock therapists have been at the task since the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991, producing few successes and much turmoil, hardship and anxiety."

Today Russian workers can survive only by also engaging in petty trade and deal-making or, if they have a *dacha* (house in the country), by growing food crops in their backyard. An engineer recently quit his job at a Moscow nuclear power station in order to protect the potato crop on his *dacha* from thieves! An 84-year-old pensioner stands on the freezing streets to sell a carton of milk or a pack of cigarettes at a mark-up to people who don't want to wait two hours on line. The official unemployment rate is

doctor in Moscow who became a prostitute because it was the only way to provide for her seven-year-old son.

Yeltsin's opponents point to the widespread devastation his policies have wrought on the entire Russian economy, warning that this level of immiseration could set off a social explosion that would sweep away the fledgling "market economy". Inflation has climbed to nearly 50 per cent a month, with the price of a standard basket of goods having increased almost a *hundredfold* in the past two years. Production dropped by 24 per cent last year alone. Yeltsin's scheme to privatise the entire economy in one quick fix by distributing 10,000-rouble shareholding vouchers to the population has been a scam from start to finish. In February, angry protesters blocked the streets of Leningrad to demand their money back from fly-by-night con artists who ripped off at least 350,000 vouchers by promising an instant return on their "investment".

While the Yeltsinites' social base is in the new "robber baron" entrepreneurial elite, the opposition — centred on the Civic Union bloc of "industrialist" Volsky

cent of whom today live below the poverty line" (*Moscow New Times*, July 1992). Vladimir Ovchinnikov, general director of the Aleksandrov Radio Factory, Russia's largest producer of TV sets, declared that "real power is in the hands of tens of millions of people depend on them, and their workers believe in them."

This was not mere demagogy. Many fearful workers now look to the managers — most of them derived from the former *nomenklatura* (Stalinist bureaucratic elite) — to restore a semblance of the "good old days" under Brezhnev, when Soviet enterprises provided their workforce with low-rent housing, inexpensive meals in the factory cafeteria as well as meat to take home, summer vacations on the Black Sea, etc. As one woman who now makes 3000 roubles a month as a cook in a children's hospital said, "We worked hard, and now we have nothing. With pleasure, I would go back to the old days" (*Washington Post*, 27 January).

But the factory managers are no less intent than Yeltsin's yuppies on being the new exploiters of Russia's proletariat in collaboration with international capital.

# Capitalism Without Capital

Where the Volskyites differ with Yeltsin is in *how* to develop Russian capitalism. They look to Deng's China as a model, where the bureaucracy maintains firm political control and continues to cultivate a strong heavy industry and military sector while gradually shifting vast chunks of the economy over to capitalism. But where China remains a deformed workers state, Russia has a (weak) capitalist state.

Volsky & Co argue that, particularly in the absence of significant Western investment, it is necessary for the new state to directly oversee the development of a capitalist economy through a *corporatist* policy not dissimilar to that carried out by Mussolini in Italy in the 1920s and '30s. This policy was already advanced in the waning days of the Gorbachev era by "black colonel" Viktor Alksnis, who called for the introduction of capitalism through a Pinochet-style regime.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky noted: "Stalinism and fascism, in spite of a deep difference in social foundations, are symmetrical phenomena. In many of their features they show a deadly similarity." In effect, the corporatist wing of the counter-revolution seeks to resurrect Stalin's heavy-handed bonapartist regime on capitalist social foundations, maintaining a streamlined state sector as a motor force for a new capitalist economy.

No less than the Yeltsinites, the corporatists see the need to use the whip of repression to discipline the proletariat in order to facilitate the primitive accumulation of capital. To make Russian industrial goods cheap enough to compete on world markets, such a regime would lay off millions of "redundant" workers, while those who remained on the assembly lines would be subjected to harsh speed-up. The slashing of real wages brought about under the Yeltsin/Gaidar "shock treatment" would be maintained and likely intensified by police-state regi-



Der Spiegel

**Would-be Tsar Boris with Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of Russian parliament and former Yeltsinite.**

mentation of the labour force. Trade unions would be permitted only as pliant tools of the corporatist state, and strikes would be suppressed as "unpatriotic". Notably, it was Rutskoi, Volsky's main political ally, who played hard cop in smashing the Russian air controllers strike last summer.

**Gorbachev's perestroika: first stage of descent into chaos**

The Soviet economy was integrated on an all-Union basis and enterprises were designed to take maximum advantage of economies of scale. In some cases, to be sure, the Stalinist technocrats indulged in industrial gigantism for its own sake, going beyond the limits of economic rationality. But whether economically opti-

mal or not, in many industries just a few factories supplied vital inputs for scores of enterprises from eastern Siberia to the Baltic republics. For example, 70 per cent of all the different types of machine tools made in the USSR were produced in one enterprise and in no other.

Clearly, such a system could work only under centralised direction where a given enterprise was ordered to supply other enterprises at a set price. Otherwise man-

ran the printing presses overtime.

In other words, Yeltsin *deliberately sabotaged* the Soviet economy and then exploited popular discontent over rising prices and shortages to push through the counterrevolution. By the summer of 1991, most working people were indifferent to the fate of the Gorbachev regime. Many believed *falsely* that things could not get worse. And some bought the line that only a rapid move to a full-fledged



AP Photos

**Women in La Paz, Bolivia (above) and Moscow (right) protest desperate conditions on International Women's Day. Western imperialism seeks to reduce Russia to status of neocolonial Latin America.**



agers could ruthlessly exploit their monopoly position, selling to the highest bidder while enterprises which could not afford to pay would have to cut back their output. That is exactly what happened when Gorbachev scrapped centralised planning in January 1988 and decreed that all Soviet enterprises were to become self-financing on the basis of *khozraschet* (cost accounting). Consumer goods managers cut back shipments to state shops, where prices were still fixed, diverting output to private "co-operatives" where mafia-like entrepreneurs practised price extortion. Producers of industrial and intermediate goods likewise jacked up their prices.

By 1990-91, as inflation was eroding the value of the rouble, the industrial supply system degenerated into crude barter deals negotiated on the basis of economic blackmail. For example, the managers of the Sverdlovsk transformer factory refused to deliver transformers to the huge Uralmash engineering complex unless the latter provided them with a list of items including piping, scrap metal, kitchen fittings, rest home passes and a telephone for the apartment of the doctor looking after the director's wife! Managers were no longer concerned about their enterprises' long-term development because they doubted whether they had a future themselves.

Growing nationalist disintegration added another element to the economic chaos, as factories dependent for parts and supplies upon warring republics like Armenia and Azerbaijan ground to a halt. National republics also imposed export restrictions on goods in short supply, especially if they could be sold on the world market for hard currency. Simultaneously, the new nationalist regimes, spearheaded by Yeltsin as president of the Russian republic, started refusing to turn over the central government's share of tax collections, causing the burgeoning inflation of the final Gorbachev period. *Less than 30 per cent* of all taxes collected in the first nine months of 1991 went to the central government. To make up the shortfall of roubles, the Gorbachev regime

market system could restore the health of the economy.

**IMF orders surgery without anaesthesia...**

The collapse of the industrial supply system, which began under Gorbachev, was greatly accelerated with the break-up of the USSR formalised in December 1991. A month later, Yeltsin lifted controls on consumer prices, implementing the IMF "shock therapy" under his economic "expert", the obscure academic Yegor Gaidar. A year after Yeltsin seized power in the August 1991 countercoup:

- Industrial production in Russia had fallen 27 per cent.
- Investment in plant and equipment had fallen 55 per cent.
- Prices had increased 1560 per cent.
- Real wages had fallen 32 per cent.

While working people are struggling to survive in an increasingly ugly and violent society, the new entrepreneurs flaunt their wealth: "Representatives of the New Class can be seen waving their gold cards in Western-style grocery stores, dining at hard currency restaurants, and driving around town in Mercedes and BMWs" (*Washington Post*, 1 February).

The *New York Times* (2 August 1992) painted a glowing portrait of a typical new entrepreneur, Natalya Maloletneva, a manager of a Moscow clothing store who bought a controlling interest when the shop was privatised last spring. She claims she purchased her share for 60,000 roubles from personal "savings". The *Times'* glorification of Mrs Maloletneva provoked a biting letter to the editor from an émigré Soviet academic, who pointed out that as a highly paid university professor he would have had to save every last kopek of his salary for ten years to amass 60,000 roubles. Clearly Maloletneva was skimming off the profits of the enterprise she was entrusted to manage on behalf of the Soviet working people. No wonder Russia's new capitalists are known as the mafia.

But the new "biznez" barons and "brokers" fear that the hatred of the masses

will lead to a new regime that will confiscate their ill-gotten wealth. As a self-described "middleman" in Leningrad put it: "Everything we do is aimed at a quick profit. We buy, we sell, and we get out. Only a fool would invest his money in a long-term business in Russia" (*Washington Post*, 30 September 1992). Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers, German and Japanese industrialists, and Texas oilmen are not fools. And they aren't investing their money in Russia either.

On the contrary, there has been mas-

sive looting of the Russian economy in the past couple of years. One out of every three barrels of oil and one out of every two tons of nickel leaving Russia is smuggled out, while fully 80 per cent of the raw materials ticketed for the Baltic port of Kaliningrad never arrives there. Marc Rich, the strike-breaking owner of Ravenswood Aluminum in the US (currently living in Switzerland to evade tax and fraud charges), boasts trading revenues of \$2.5 billion per year in natural resources from the former Soviet Union.

Everything in Russia is for sale for hard currency these days, from religious icons peddled by Orthodox priests to high-tech weaponry supplied by financially strapped arms factories. Iran is rumoured to have acquired two Soviet-made nuclear warheads. Last year as much as \$15 billion in hard currency was siphoned out of Russia into private bank accounts in the US and West Europe. This is more than twice the \$7 billion in net aid and credits which the Yeltsin regime got from Bush's America, Kohl's Germany and its other imperialist godfathers. Meanwhile, the scramble for dollars which can be safely stashed in foreign bank accounts continues to drive down the value of the rouble at Moscow's limited currency exchange. In the past six months, the exchange rate has gone from just over 200 roubles to the dollar to nearly 800, figures wildly out of kilter with the actual state of the Russian economy.

**...but refuses to pay the bill**

Yeltsin, Gaidar & Co expected to be rewarded with \$24 billion in IMF aid as a first instalment for torturing the working masses through economic shock treatment. But the IMF demanded as a condition for disbursing funds that Russia raise its internal price of oil to world-market levels while exporting more to repay its foreign debt. This would mean instant bankruptcy for most of Russia's industrial enterprises, which were geared to consuming energy for a small fraction of the cost extorted by the Seven Sisters

*continued on page 8*

# New Exploiters...

(Continued from page 7)

cartel and the Arab oil sheiks.

The *Economist* (24 October 1992), the house organ of international financiers, argued half seriously that "Russia would be economically better off if every Russian worker, except those in the country's mining, oil and transport industries (who would be needed to ship raw materials to the West) simply stopped working"! Western bankers are demanding that Yeltsin reduce the post-Soviet Russian economy to conditions *structurally more primitive* than that of tsarist Russia, where foreign capital promoted heavy industry.

The Kohl regime initially rewarded Gorbachev for selling out East Germany to the Deutsche Bank in early 1990 with \$47 billion in "aid", promising more to come. The rulers of the Fourth Reich envisioned their own neocolonial empire in the former Soviet bloc, extending from Siberia to the Balkans. But with its vindictive destruction of the East German economy following capitalist reunification, the Bonn government went heavily into debt as millions of unemployed East Germans were put on the dole. Last spring Kohl announced, "we Germans have reached the limit of our capacity to help" Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Since then Germany has entered a deepening recession, widening its budget deficit and making large-scale aid to Russia even less likely.

As for Washington, Reagan/Bush transformed the US into the world's largest debtor to pay for the massive military build-up against the Soviet Union. Now Clinton is pushing to subsidise high-tech industry while raising taxes and cutting social programmes for the poor and elderly. Aside from a \$1.5 billion *credit* to buy US grain and other goods in 1992, what Washington has allocated to promoting capitalism in Russia is truly peanuts. Even a relatively



Der Spiegel photos

**Arkardy Volsky (above), head of the "party of managers", and Aleksandr Rutskoi, Russian Vice president (right), leaders of nationalist-corporatist forces.**



Alexander Zemlianichenko

**Former acting prime minister Yegor Gaidar, architect of IMF-dictated "shock treatment", was sacked in December, signalling crisis of Yeltsin regime.**

regime any yen at all unless it gets back the Kuril Islands, which the Red Army took at the end of World War II. But for Yeltsin to sell Russian territory to an imperialist power and historic enemy would enormously intensify nationalist and popular opposition to him. In any case, while Tokyo might cough up \$5 or \$10 billion to grab the strategic Kurils, Japan Inc. is not presently interested in making Russia as such a subsidiary. Japan's empire-building ambitions remain focused on the Far East, above all the reconquest of China.

The bottom line is that Yeltsin did not get the deutschmarks, dollars and yen he was counting on.

## Factory managers ignite hyperinflation

Yevgeny Yasin, a prominent economist in the "industrialist" camp, described Russian society under Yeltsin as well as in Gorbachev's last years as a pyramid with the top broken off. Power descended

sary to be a stockholder."

While many factory managers denounced Gaidar as the arch-enemy, bent on bankrupting their enterprises on orders from the IMF, the main beneficiaries of the "shock treatment" were in fact the managers in consumer goods and food processing. Since their prices were increasing 50 per cent faster than the wages they paid, they were swimming in profits. Managers in heavy industry and munitions got around Gaidar's attempt at tight money by granting open-ended credit to one another. In the first five months of 1992, inter-enterprise debt increased from forty billion to *two trillion* roubles. The managers also wielded the threat of massive social unrest should a cut-off in industrial subsidies lead to widespread lay-offs, arguing that only they could contain workers' anger. As Volsky put it, "they keep the people from taking to the streets."

So that the managers would keep on keeping the people from taking to the streets, Yeltsin abandoned any attempt to control the money supply. In April he offered an additional 200 billion roubles in enterprise credits. The following month three stalwarts of the "industrialist" party were appointed to key economic ministries. In June the managers placed their man, Viktor Gerashchenko, in charge of the central bank. Gerashchenko in turn extended 1.5 trillion roubles in credit to the managers, *an amount greater than the entire money supply generated by all Soviet governments over the previous 40 years*. The resulting hyperinflation has all but destroyed the rouble as a medium of exchange. Increasingly, Russians speak of two classes in their country: those who have access to dollars or other hard currencies, and those who earn roubles.

## Only socialist revolution can save the Soviet working class

In the present conditions of counter-revolutionary chaos, curbing inflation means first of all slashing enterprise payrolls through mass lay-offs. This is already beginning to happen. In Ivanovo, a textile centre northeast of Moscow known as the "city of single women" for its predominantly female labour force, output has been cut in half by the shortage of cotton due to the breakdown in the transport system and the civil war in the Central Asian republic of Tadjikistan. On paper 6500 are still employed by the Frolov textile factory, but only 2000 of them come to work. The other 4500 are told to stay home, where they receive 1035 roubles a month, about \$1.50 at the rapidly depreciating exchange rate.

Such desperate conditions can easily and suddenly produce an angry explosion among the toiling masses. To prevent this, the capitalist-restorationist forces of

*all contending factions* seek to erect a strong state capable of crushing popular unrest before it gets out of hand. What exists today, in Russia as in the other former Soviet republics, is not a counter-revolutionary order but rather counter-revolutionary chaos. The restorationist forces—both the pro-Western "democrats" around Yeltsin and the nationalist-corporatist camp of Volsky/Rutskoi—are weak and internally strained. There is no cohered capitalist class. The armed forces are rife with discontent, and it is uncertain that they could be used effectively to suppress mass struggle.

The consolidation of the counterrevolution therefore depends on the continuing passivity, paralysis and misleadership of the working class. The Stalinist "patriots" join hands with outright fascists in a "red"-brown coalition, while giving a left cover to the Volsky/Rutskoi corporatists. This is expressed, for example, in their call for "workers' privatisation". Thus Vladimir Isakov of the Russian Communist Workers Party demanded that parliament pass legislation "so that work collectives can become the owners of their workplace". Boris Kagarlitsky's Labor Party, a social-democratic outfit deliberately modelled on its British namesake, likewise calls for the "transfer of property to the work collectives"—which in the mouths of these "leftists" includes managers having a majority of the shares (see "Stalinist Has-Beens: Left Wing of Nationalist Counterrevolution", *Workers Vanguard* no 561, 16 October 1992).

The main trade-union federation, the FNPR led by Brezhnev-era Stalinist hacks now reinforced by social democrats like Kagarlitsky, also supports the corporatist faction. Meanwhile, the CIA-sponsored "free" trade unions, embracing a section of the coal miners as well as air controllers and railway engineers, have supported Yeltsin under the illusion that capitalist restoration will lead to living standards comparable to those in the imperialist West of which they have an idealised picture. Strikes and threats of work stoppages by coal and oil workers have in recent years focused on securing better selling conditions for "their" products. But while these workers are for the moment better off, the counterrevolution has already reduced Russia to conditions of neocolonial degradation comparable to, say, Mexico or Brazil.

With the collapse of Stalinist rule in the Soviet bloc, most of the left internationally has bought the bourgeois line that centralised planning is inherently inefficient and bureaucratic, and that a market system is the only viable way to organise an economy. In Latin America, petty-bourgeois nationalists out of power, like the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, are now calling for worker participation in



Swersey/NY Times

**Workers at huge Vaz auto plant in Togliatti, where old Stalinist managers want to become new capitalist owners.**

modest shift of 10 per cent of US imperialism's Cold War military budget would mean some \$35 billion a year in aid to Russia. But with the American rulers intent on maintaining their military hegemony at any expense, no less a White House crook than Richard Nixon today appears as about the only farsighted representative of this ruling class in arguing for aggressive aid to Russia.

Japan—the only major imperialist power with a large financial surplus—has not and will not give the Moscow

to the next highest level, mainly made up of managers in big enterprises. The vice general director of the huge Vaz Auto Works in Togliatti—which produced 60 per cent of all cars in the USSR—states: "Management, in a sense, has become the owner of Vaz... we run the company as if we owned it, although we don't really." But as Trotsky wrote in *The Revolution Betrayed* of the capitalist aspirations of sectors of the Stalinist managerial bureaucracy: "It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is neces-

# Trade-union tops threaten strikers with expulsion

## Build mass pickets to shut down Timex!

"Timex workers in all their glory,  
On picket duty that's the story."  
—anon, Timex picket line

GLASGOW—A 400-strong picket on the morning of Monday 22 March, in answer to a "cordial invitation" by Timex strike leaders at Saturday's mass demonstration in Dundee, defied the bosses' anti-union laws, blockaded the factory and for two hours kept the scabs out. It was a taste of the hard class struggle needed to smash Timex bosses' vicious union-busting offensive. Pickets broke through police lines and charged down to the scab-carrying buses in a demonstration of some well-organised and imaginative union militancy.

Sixteen people were arrested, including Tommy Sheridan of Scottish Militant Labour and Tam Dean Burn of the "CPGB" group, charged and barred from the picket. Eleven were even barred from Dundee. We demand: Drop the charges now!

Comes next the knife in the back: Campbell Christie of the STUC and Gavin Laird of the AEEU immediately appeared on television to denounce "outsiders" and violence-bait the picket for doing what they're supposed to do—*stop scabs*. One anonymous "AEEU steward" was quoted as blaming the police for not having enough officers at hand! *Workers Hammer* supporters were shown letters dated 24 March sent to Timex strikers from the AEEU brass which read: "Actions must be wholly within the Criminal and Civil Law.... Failure to obey the instructions of the Executive Committee will render you liable to expulsion from the Union." And withdrawal of strike benefits. John Kydd, the Timex convener, is facing official "disciplinary action" by the AEEU brass while the bureaucrats try to stitch up the strike in secret negotiations with the Timex bosses. Screw them! *Don't play by the bosses' rules! Remember—the only "illegal" strike is one that loses! For mass picket lines that nothing and no-one crosses!*

Easter Monday, 12 April, was a work day in Dundee and the STUC's official "day of action". The picket line at Timex was swollen to 1000-strong with workers

Trade unionists demonstrate in solidarity with Timex strike. Workers movement has the power to shut down Timex!



drawn from all over Britain. From as far away as Ford Dagenham, travelling through the night, militant trade unionists joined their sisters and brothers in Dundee. Later, thousands of workers marched past the factory gates, many of them having downed tools—Lee Jeans, National Cash Registers, Bulk Bags, hospital laundry workers. But despite the show of strength, despite the evident militancy, the scab buses were not delayed by as much as a single minute. Why? Because the STUC tops are determined to police the workers movement in the interests of capitalist rule. What's needed is a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement—a real communist party—to lead the struggle against the bosses, not just on this battleground but forward to the overthrow of the whole capitalist system and the establishment of workers rule.

A strike leader recently told a public meeting that "There's one place where women do enjoy equality and that's on the picket line where they get the boot just as much." The mainly women strikers have been on the gates here for three months solid, after being locked out and

then sacked, and remain defiant and determined: Timex will either reinstate the strikers and the union or it will close forever. Morale is high. But so are the stakes and the bosses know it. The truth is that the bosses and their rotten capitalist system cannot be pressured, petitioned or negotiated into surrender—that's why the strikers are still outside those gates. What's necessary is to oust the boot-licking STUC bureaucrats with elected strike committees that don't play by the bosses' and the TUC rules, to shut Timex down tight by all means necessary, to black all scab goods and to mobilise the whole workers movement to win the strike.

The reformist politics of outfits like Scottish Militant Labour (SML) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) are part of the problem, not part of the solution. All along their "strategy" has been to pressure, petition, lobby the STUC—that is, rogues like Christie, Laird and Airlie—to "act", to "call a one day general strike in Scotland". At the end of the day they want to replace the Tories with another strike-breaking Labour government. "No Wapping in Engineering" they like to repeat, but remember the Wapping dispute in 1986 when News International sacked its print workers:

this was a long, drawn-out "Kneel Kinnock strike" which was "led" into miserable failure. Print workers and their allies mobilised in the thousands, but, respecting the six-man picket rule and other union-busting laws, the workers were held back as the scab lorries ran through the Wapping gates with impunity. As for Militant and the SWP, they voted for Kinnock in 1987 and again in 1992. The SML even wants to recruit the cops into the unions! At least the SWP has figured that the STUC is not flavour of the month with strike militants—they issued a local leaflet saying "Don't Trust the STUC" to strikers. Meanwhile, back at the STUC conference which opened in Glasgow on 19 April, *Socialist Worker* (17 April) demanded that "Airlie and the STUC deliver deeds, not words".

The TUC and Labour traitors are the kiss of death to workers in struggle. As a widely circulated *Workers Hammer* leaflet (31 March) put it: "The biggest obstacle to workers struggles are the reformist leaderships of the mass workers parties and trade unions. A genuinely communist leadership must be forged on a revolutionary internationalist programme to fight for workers rule." Dump the Labour/TUC/STUC sell-outs! Victory to Timex strikers! ■

privatised factories and farms, ie the utopia of a "people's capitalism".

While historically associated with anarcho-syndicalism, calls for giving property rights to work collectives in Russia today are not merely utopian but are above all intended to give pseudo-populist legitimacy to a nationalist-corporatist regime. Volsky himself proposes "to encourage collective ownership by workers" (*Izvestia*, 30 September 1992), and the government even refers to this as a "fourth variant of privatisation". In many large enterprises, such as the Vaz Auto Works, 25 per cent or more of the stock has already been given to the work collectives under the Yeltsin/Gaidar regime in order to make privatisation more palatable. This translates into zero influence on enterprise policy, which remains firmly in the hands of the old management. In any case, what would "workers' privatisation" mean under conditions of hyperinflation, economic disarray, mass unemployment and nationalist fratricide?

We want a modern economy in place for the Soviet working people to take over when they regain power. But that economy will not be preserved through corporatist capitalism in the epoch of imperialism's decay. A few hard-fought strikes where the workers win something would do much to reverse the demoralisation and atomisation of the Soviet proletariat and provide an opening for revolutionary intervention. The situation cries out for a genuinely Bolshevik party, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, to lead the multinational working class of Russia and the other former Soviet republics against the mafioso entrepreneurs, the managers who would be stockholders, and their imperialist godfathers.

Down with Yeltsin and the Russian parliament—For a workers government based on soviet democracy as in October 1917! For a planned, collectivised economy based on a reformed Soviet Union!

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# Labour/TUC...

(Continued from page 1)

voted overwhelmingly to strike: "A strike will be a political warning, not only to employers but also to Bonn."

The crisis of decrepit British capitalism, now exacting such hardship on the workers, is part and parcel of the international crisis of imperialism. Capitalist restoration has meant untold misery for the working masses of Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union. Europe—East and West—faces massive unemployment, the ominous rise of anti-Semitism, racist and fascist terror, attacks on women's rights—specifically the right to abortion from eastern Germany to Poland. Far from ushering in a peaceful "new world order" the collapse of Stalinism and the end of the Cold War has led to an intensification of inter-imperialist rivalries. Overextended by the costs of its counterrevolutionary swallowing up of the DDR and its appetites to the East, the dominant German bourgeoisie had to pull the economic plug on its capitalist "allies" in the West.

The capitalist thieves are falling out with each other, while simultaneously tightening the screws on the working masses at home, thereby impelling the proletariat into struggle. To put an end to unemployment, to racist and fascist terror, to the threat of imperialist war means the struggle for proletarian power. Capitalism cannot be reformed, lobbied, legislated into providing a decent living wage and life for the working people: it is necessary to smash the profit system, root and branch! To break the stranglehold of the reformist misleaderships of the mass workers parties and trade unions a *genuinely communist leadership must be forged on a revolutionary internationalist programme to fight for workers rule.*

## Class struggle sharpens

Last autumn accumulated anger over the mounting job cuts and attacks on workers' living standards boiled over with the announcement of the pit closures. At that time we called for a strike of miners, rail, transport and power workers and for workers action committees to stop the pit closures and *to run the country.* Instead, the potential for hard class struggle was derailed into a cross-class popular front encompassing everyone from Arthur Scargill to Tories like Winston Churchill minor. Endless court suits, demands for "public inquiries", Saturday parades and lobbies of Parliament accomplished nothing, except a reprieve for the bosses. Already 8000 miners have been driven into redundancy while Heseltine's bill does not guarantee a single coal mining job. Meanwhile the dole queues continue to lengthen, pay restraints have been imposed on public sector workers, hospitals continue to close, and new fuel taxes were announced in a country where hundreds of elderly pensioners literally freeze to death each year.

But the popular front diversion didn't stop outbreaks of struggle. Even the bourgeois press—which a year ago was sneering that class struggle was extinct—have begun to take note of "a growing mood of industrial militancy in the face of cut-backs, closures, job losses and pay restraint in the public sector" (*Independent*, 20 March). Carworkers at Ford, shipyard workers at Yarrow's in Scotland, local government workers and others have staged strikes and walk-outs, and the teachers too are now talking about industrial action. The mainly women Timex strikers in Dundee have galvanised the workers movement with their courageous defiance of the bosses' anti-union laws enforced by the Labour misleaders (see article, page 9). If the bureaucracy's stranglehold can be broken, this could be a hot "summer of discontent".

After months of stalling, the NUM and RMT—joined by London busworkers—took industrial action, which was carefully limited to a one-day stoppage. Millions of other workers saw this as an opportunity to strike a blow at the redundancies and cutbacks, and were looking for a leadership to call them out as well. The craven TUC, fearing any show of working-class power, did everything it could to demobilise for 2 April. It was no accident that the Fire Brigades Union called off its planned London rally that day. Union tops in the CPSA and London Nalgo sent letters to branches planning to strike on 2 April—with copies to management—warning that they would not defend victimised strikers. Scargill & Co lined up miners to join Norman Willis' impotent lobby of Parliament just days prior to 2 April. For all that, the potential for working-class solidarity was demonstrated by the fact that there were strikes and rallies of government workers in Yorkshire, south Wales and Liverpool.

Again on 16 April, the railworkers and miners struck, joined by ASLEF drivers. Now Jimmy Knapp of the RMT, over the years touted by fake leftists as a "progressive", is actively working to sell out railworkers as he did London Underground workers not long ago. Knapp has also made it perfectly clear that he will sign a separate agreement for his union, leaving miners and others out in the cold.

And what of Arthur Scargill seen by many as an alternative? Last autumn Scargill and other NUM leaders were sharing platforms with the open class enemy, including the Liberal Democrats, CBI and dissident Tories. Particularly since the prospect of an alliance with Tory rebels has faded, and through their auspices, of winning an illusory victory on some parliamentary vote, he has talked more out of the left side of his mouth, calling for "solidarity action", but Scargill has done nothing to mobilise his membership to bring other unions out on strike. His more militant-sounding reformism represents no fundamental break with the policies of the Labour Party/TUC misleaders.

If miners, railworkers, power and transport workers, firefighters and other key unions were mobilised in solid strike action—and not one-off "protests"—this country would come to a screeching halt. For elected strike committees to coordinate the struggles! Dump the Labour sell-outs! For a fighting programme to get what we need, not what the capitalists say they can afford: smash the privatisation schemes and cuts in social spending, no sackings, jobs for all through worksharing at full pay! Smash the government's 1.5 per cent public sector pay limit—for a big pay boost and full cost-of-living protection! Such a programme of transitional demands points the way from the felt needs of the working masses to the struggle for proletarian power.

To wage a fight against capitalism, the workers movement must be mobilised independently of, and against, the capitalist state. The trade union bureaucracy's refusal to challenge the anti-union laws is not simply a matter of cowardice—although there is plenty of that. Organically linked to the Labour Party tops—who steadfastly refuse to call for repeal of the anti-union laws—the bureaucracy shackles its members to six-man pickets and the rest of the strike-breaking laws.

And it's a measure of the wretched Labourite tailism of the Socialist Workers Party, Workers Power, Workers International League et al that they back the candidacy of Mark Serwotka (a supporter of *Socialist Organiser*) in the elections for CPSA president, despite, in Workers Power's own words, "*Socialist Organiser's* refusal to countenance breaking anti-

union laws".

A Labour (or coalition) government would implement capitalist austerity at least as viciously as Major's or Thatcher's Tories, using the same capitalist state—the courts and cops—against the unions. Remember the army and police strike-breaking against the Glasgow dustmen in 1975, Grunwick workers and the firemen in 1977 and the ambulancemen in 1979—all under the Labour governments of Wilson and Callaghan.

Indeed the Tories are only emboldened by the craven policies of the Labourite trade union tops. Now Employment Minister Gillian Shephard is threatening to introduce new legislation banning any strike action against "a specific statutory duty". Directed explicitly against the teachers unions' boycott of new school tests, this represents a sweeping threat against the right to strike of all public sector workers and other trade unionists. A class-struggle leadership in the unions is desperately needed, but this cannot be achieved without a *political struggle* against Labourism. A revolutionary workers party must be forged by splitting the working class base of the Labour Party from the pro-capitalist leadership, "left" and right.

## Rolling back the "Welfare State"

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the European bourgeoisies were forced to grant substantial social benefits like health care and pensions because they feared social revolution. That fear was accentuated by the very existence of the Soviet Union which had just acquired new legitimacy and prestige from its victory over the Nazis. The bourgeoisie felt they had to concede the "welfare state" in order to pacify the working masses, and the Stalinists and social democrats were glad to enlist in such a project.

Before reunification, West Germany was held up as a model of prosperity and labour-capital friendship by social-democratic bureaucrats and industrialists alike. In exchange for industrial peace, the German bourgeoisie was prepared to pay relatively high wages. A key political reason for this was its desire to politically subvert the East German deformed workers state. During the 1980s, had the Kohl regime followed the Reagan/Thatcher line of breaking strikes, imprisoning union militants, driving down wages and slashing social programmes, this would have greatly strengthened popular opposition to Western capitalism in the DDR.

German capitalism not only had a compelling *political* reason to buy off the Social Democratic-led unions, but sufficient resources to do so prior to reunification. Such is no longer the case. As the German bourgeoisie takes off the gloves and jacks up the rate of exploitation, even social-democratic union bureaucrats—who avidly supported the counterrevolutionary swallowing up of East Germany—can see the connection between the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the bosses' harder line on the labour front at home. Last May Day the head of IG Metall, the largest trade union in Germany, asked rhetorically "whether the social provocateurs will succeed in drastically weakening the trade unions after the rival system has fallen away".

In post-war Britain, the economy was on the verge of bankruptcy, the empire was disintegrating, there was unrest in the armed forces. Millions of workers had enormous illusions that Attlee's Labour government would usher in "socialism". Contrary to the myths fostered by the Bennite left, the post-war nationalisations did not make inroads on the power of capital, but were carried out with the broad consensus of the capitalist class.

Inefficient and failing industries were nationalised, and their continued operation was in effect subsidised through low wages and by more productive sectors of the economy. In fact, at the time of the 1984-85 miners strike, some pits were still paying compensation for the coal nationalisations of 1947.

The Attlee government did however establish a National Health Service and a comprehensive system of social provisions in housing, education and welfare. These social reforms were in part underpinned by financing from the American bourgeoisie as Attlee received substantial amounts of aid from the Marshall Plan. In exchange the Labour Party became a staunch ally of the American imperialists in their global "war against communism". Thus the Labour government was firmly behind NATO, fought a dirty colonial war in Malaya, and sent British troops to fight against the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states. And the Labour Party, with its International Department manned by the likes of Denis Healey, played a key active role fronting for the imperialist spy agencies' attempts to shore up opposition to the consolidation of the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe as well as fomenting right-wing splits from trade unions and working-class parties, such as that in the Italian Socialists in 1948. Cold War politics were hardly the exclusive province of Tory politicians like Churchill or Thatcher.

Margaret Thatcher was simultaneously Reagan's chief ally in Cold War II and waged war on the unions at home. The heroic miners strike of 1984-85 sharply demonstrated the connection between defence of the trade unions here and defence of the Soviet Union. On the eve of the strike Scargill was viciously red-baited by the TUC bureaucracy, aided and abetted by Gerry Healy's WRP, for his correct statement that Polish Solidarność was anti-socialist. The same Labour bureaucrats who attacked Scargill for not cheering on counterrevolution in Eastern Europe assumed the role of scabherders during the strike, forcing the miners to take on the capitalist state alone. Today Scargill claims we need the same kind of "people power" that has "transform[ed] a system of society in Eastern Europe", adopting the chauvinist anti-communism of the likes of Norman Willis.

## For proletarian internationalism!

Intensified inter-imperialist rivalries have led to a sharpening of class antagonisms, but have as well produced a wave of nationalism. Within the labour movement this is reflected in the growth of protectionist sentiment. Scargill's "plan for British coal", centred on pressuring the British bourgeoisie to exclude foreign imports, is a reactionary call for trade war—and trade wars lead to shooting wars. For their part, German trade union bureaucrats attempt to divert the anger of German workers by leading marches on Bonn demanding that the government produce more *German* coal and steel.

On the heels of their "death of communism" cant, the bourgeoisie announce the "end of the welfare state" and seek to pit 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. A case in point is Hoover, where engineering union bureaucrats "saved jobs" at the expense of French workers and by accepting a massive cutback package. And the Labour Party's talk of the Maastricht "social chapter" as a means of defending living standards is pure hogwash—the only way to save jobs is through *hard class struggle across national boundaries!*

Protectionism plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie's racist campaigns against immigrants and minorities. "British jobs for

# Chris Hani...

(Continued from page 1)

burning barricades and massed outside President F W De Klerk's official residence. "No Peace. War, War", youths chanted in the streets. Black "moderates" pulled out all the stops to quell the justified rage. Bishop Desmond Tutu praised the conduct of the police and denounced the violence of the "lunatic fringe", referring to the ANC's "young lions".

Soweto was the site of a dramatic political confrontation. At the 14 April protest, as ANC leader Nelson Mandela addressed the 20,000 who rallied in a sports stadium, the crowd erupted in boos when Mandela said "I don't like the National Party, but I'm prepared to work with F W De Klerk to build a new South Africa." Yells came from the crowd, "We hate them, we hate them!" Others said of Mandela, "He's too old and he doesn't want to fight."

## Hani and the "power sharing" deal

Leaders of the ANC and the apartheid rulers worried about the impact on the current "power sharing" negotiations. In fact, the assassination of Hani exposed the reality of the "new" South Africa — not post-apartheid but *neo-apartheid*. Now Mandela is using the spectre of massive violent upheaval in the townships to push through the deal with the white-supremacist regime.

For young black militants, Hani was the personification of "armed struggle" against the hated apartheid regime. Yet following the assassination, Nelson Mandela cited Hani's "central role in the effort to arrive at a negotiated settlement" and said Hani

was killed to head off negotiations. This was self-evidently true. As we have noted, Hani and his close ally Winnie Mandela traded on their militant reputations to position themselves as the pseudo-radical opposition to a future Mandela/De Klerk government. Hani in fact insisted he had no fundamental disagreement with "power sharing", only bickering over timing and the small print of the deal. As we wrote last month:

"Hani/[Winnie] Mandela are expressing the frustrations of the lumpen-plebeian supporters of the ANC, who unlike the black would-be yuppies around ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki would gain no benefits from the 'power sharing' deal... The ANC needs both to be in the government and to be in opposition to it. If Mandela is president, then Hani will be the 'militant opposition' waiting in the wings."

— "South Africa 'Power Sharing' Swindle", *Workers Vanguard* no 571, 12 March

By channelling the mounting disaffection of the township youth, we noted, these critics "are key players in making sure the deal goes down".

We were the *only ones* to state this obvious truth, at a time when nobody, either in the bourgeois media or the left press, would say it. They instead united in building Hani's reputation as an uncompromising Communist leading militant opposition to Mandela's sell-out. But today Hani's role in the "negotiations" waltz is being discussed by all. Thus in the *New York Times* (11 April), Bill Keller wrote that "With his credentials as the anti-apartheid guerrilla leader and his charismatic appeal to angry young blacks, Mr. Hani gave the congress credibility among its most disaffected constituents." Tutu said of Hani that "He had the cred-

ibility among the young to rein in the radicals." And South African journalist Anthony Hazlitt Heard noted that Hani was "a crucial cog in the peace machinery":

"Hani was the person most suited to taming the excesses of the masses, particularly the impoverished and embittered youth. And he did this with a gusto and sincerity that surprised many of his opponents. He had made the quantum leap from fostering class revolution to all-around stability."

— *Los Angeles Times* (13 April)

After all, it was Hani who argued for the "integration" of the MK forces into the apartheid army. While as a military guerrilla force, the MK was no threat at all to the South African army, to liquidate it into the repressive apparatus of the present regime is a betrayal of would-be liberation fighters and a sinister threat to black workers and township youth. At the same time, Hani sought to counter De Klerk's Zulu *Gauleiter*, Gatsha Buthelezi, by playing the Xhosa tribalist card. Thus he sought an alliance with ANC-allied bantustan chiefs in Venda and the Transkei. Lately, he had been trying to organise "community defence" patrols as part of the phoney "peace" negotiations.

Hani not only fostered illusions in the "democracy" of a "new" South Africa, but apparently shared some of them himself. This is tragically evident in his reported decision to dismiss his bodyguards on Easter weekend, and travel alone in the right-wing white enclave of Boksburg, where the fascists operate with impunity.

## The assassination plot

The assassin was one Janusz Walus, a fanatical anti-communist Polish fascist who emigrated to South Africa in 1981 on the eve of the suppression of the counterrevolutionary bid for power by Solidarność, the Polish nationalist movement backed by the US and the Vatican. In South Africa, Walus joined the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB — Afrikaner Resistance Movement), a Nazi paramilitary organisation, and was involved with other white-extremist action groups.

The "single deranged fascist" line spun by the government collapsed almost immediately when it was revealed the pistol which killed Hani came from a 1990 fascist raid on a South African air force arsenal in Pretoria. The heist, in which more than 70 weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition were taken, was an inside job. Guards at the installation were among more than 50 rightists charged in the plot.

On 17 April, police arrested "for questioning" a senior member of the Conservative Party, Derby Lewis, who has connections to a number of right-wing extremist groups. And an article by John Carlin in the *London Independent* (16 April) reports on fresh evidence definitively linking Walus to South African intelligence. Walus also belongs to the "Afrikaner National Socialist Movement" (ANS), whose leader, Koos Vermeulen, said it would pay Walus' legal costs. Vermeulen was closely associated with two men charged with carrying out a bombing at a black taxi stand in Pretoria in 1990, and with the murder of an ANC supporter in Durban that year. The two jumped bail and fled to Britain, where they announced that they were South African military intelligence operatives.

## For a black-centred workers republic!

The mood of the ANC's "young lions" was expressed by Thabo Morudu, 21. "When Mandela was released, we thought things would get better overnight. Since then it's been delay, delay, delay — three years of delay. And now they're murdering our leaders. The only answer is insurrection" (*Washington Post*, 18 April). This is

the bitter anger of people who thought they were getting "Amandla" (power) and now have been robbed of even the illusion of it.

Today there is no one of the stature of Chris Hani who can galvanise yet control the township youth, the ANC's plebeian base — which is why he was killed. ANC Youth League leaders adopt militant posturing, and the Pan Africanist Congress will doubtless pick up followers for its indiscriminate terror bombings of restaurants and golf courses frequented by whites. Outrage may degenerate into random attacks by roving bands of lumpenproletarian youth who could direct their rage at anything from Zulu hostels to individual whites or black workers.

A 16 April Associated Press article by Barry Renfrew summed up the imperialists' calculations of the effect of Hani's murder on the "peace negotiations". Renfrew writes that under threat of a descent into chaos, the white rulers and the ANC tops are being pushed into a tighter embrace. Noting that further unrest is likely, he writes that the "violence that erupted in the wake of Hani's death was comparatively modest in a country where dozens of people are killed every week in political violence", and "much of the anger is likely to abate in coming weeks... Without organization, strong leadership and resources, such unrest could not be sustained."

Renfrew observed that while many "question Mandela's ability to control angry young blacks, the ANC has always had radical black rivals to which it has lost militant black youths for decades". This is quite true, and the real key to the future of South Africa does not lie in the militant township youth, although they can play a valuable role, but in the millions-strong proletariat in the factories, mines, railways and docks who make the wheels of apartheid capitalism turn... or stop.

There is an urgent need for the black, "coloured" (mixed race) and Indian masses to organise self-defence units, with a proletarian axis. They can incorporate the young fighters of the impoverished townships, but must be built on a multi-ethnic working-class basis including coloureds, Indians and anti-racist whites. This must be part of a strategy of proletarian revolution.

The key is building a genuine communist, Trotskyist party, where the red star and the hammer and sickle are not hollow symbols of some long-forgotten days but the heart of a fighting programme for workers revolution. The modern-day wage slaves who produce the fabulous profits of the Anglo American mining magnates must not be chained to a party of bourgeois nationalism, manipulated by the black front men for refurbished apartheid capitalism, but rather must struggle for a black-centred workers republic.

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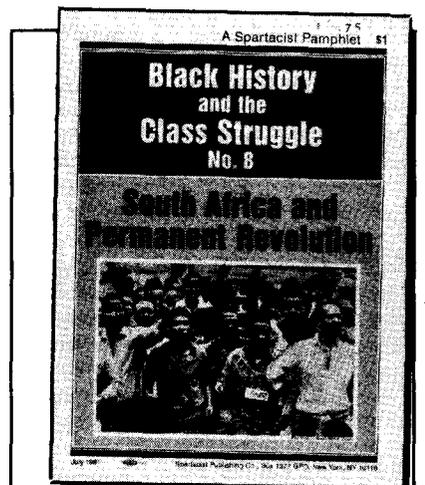
British workers" is the watchword of fascists in Britain just as German Nazis call for "German jobs for German workers" while incinerating the hostels of the Turkish and Vietnamese workers. Marxist revolutionaries seek to mobilise the trade unions and minorities to crush the fascist menace. We in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have initiated several such successful actions, including recently in Vancouver, where a trade-union-centred mobilisation of 3000 anti-fascists put the Nazis on the run (see *Workers Hammer* no 134, March/April 1993). Such a class perspective is counterposed to suicidal appeals to the racist capitalist state to ban the fascists, such as the Socialist Workers Party-led Anti Nazi League's recent call on Bexley Council to ban the BNP.

Capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe has provoked the dissolution—or recomposition into neo-social-democratic outfits—of almost all the Stalinist parties. At the same time, notwithstanding their yeoman services in disciplining the working class, the social democracies are seen as increasingly dispensable by the bourgeoisie. In Britain, class-conscious workers and youth who want to be socialists are rightly repelled by the craven right-wing Labour Party. Grasping this, both the SWP and Militant — which has recently extended its "Scottish turn" to Ireland, England and Wales, standing its own candidates in elections — posture as alternatives to the Labour Party. The reality is otherwise: these reformists call on the bankrupt TUC — the hangmen of the miners strike — to lead a general strike. Their calls to "sack Major" and "Kick the Tories Out" are nothing more than a call for an anti-working-class Labour government. Both the SWP and Militant supported the vile Neil Kinnock in the last general election. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys, these organisations, along with numerous other fake leftists, supported

counterrevolution down the line in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: from Wales's Solidarność, to Boris Yeltsin in August 1991.

For our part, the International Communist League, of which the Spartacist League is the British section, fought unconditionally against capitalist restoration, while fighting for proletarian political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states. We warned that counterrevolution would mean a big defeat for workers in the USSR and Eastern Europe and throughout the world. In 1981, we said: "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" In Germany, we uniquely and unambiguously opposed the capitalist reunification of that country. We initiated in January 1990 the massive anti-fascist demonstration of 250,000 in East Berlin's Treptow Park after fascist scum defaced a memorial to the Red Army soldiers who liberated the country from the Nazi scourge. And it was the ICL in August 1991 who called on the Soviet working masses to sweep away the counterrevolutionary Yeltsinite forces.

We fight to win subjectively revolutionary elements to genuine communism, recognising the need for *revolutionary regroupment*, a process of splits and fusions of existing organisations based on programmatic criteria by which the core of a vanguard party can be forged. Without a revolutionary party, there can be no workers revolution — and what this country dearly needs is proletarian revolution. Under conditions of decaying British capitalism, social-democratic reformism and trade union economism — premised on getting a "fairer piece of the cake" — is a sick joke. We need workers rule and the establishment of a planned, collectivised economy and a five-year plan or two. Not a call for new elections to install an anti-working-class Labour government, but revolutionary class struggle opening the road to a federation of workers republics in the British Isles, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe! ■



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## For the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British Army from Northern Ireland!

# Warrington bombings: pretext for pro-imperialist "peace" fraud

On Saturday, 20 March, two bombs placed in litter bins in a crowded shopping centre in Warrington exploded killing two boys, three-year-old Johnathan Ball and twelve-year-old Tim Parry, and injuring more than fifty other people. What followed was an imperialist-orchestrated campaign intended to justify British imperialism's rule in Northern Ireland and the murderous suppression of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and other opponents of British rule. The bourgeois press engaged in a chauvinist orgy over the deaths of innocent children, a concern notably lacking during the Gulf War when British and American bombers were wantonly slaughtering tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians, men, women and children, and also absent when any of the 42 youth and children under the age of eighteen killed by the British Army and the RUC in Northern Ireland since 1969 died. New pro-imperialist "peace" movements were spawned and an orchestrated and ominous red scare started against the Red Action group and other unnamed left and "Trotskyist" groups. And prime minister John Major, Irish president Mary Robinson and the Duke of Edinburgh joined together with sundry clergymen denouncing the IRA at a memorial service in Warrington.

The Warrington bombings were an act of indiscriminate terrorism, which no Marxist can defend. The terrorist strategy pursued by petty-bourgeois nationalists like the IRA is antithetical to our Leninist-Trotskyist perspective of the mobilisation of the working class for socialist revolution. At the same time we draw a distinction between those blows directed against the imperialist oppressor, such as attacks on the British Army or the likes of Airey Neave and Lord Mountbatten, the perpetrators of which we will defend, and acts that are indiscriminate, such as Enniskillen, Teebane and Warrington, public transport, shopping centre and pub bombings. The rationale of such bombings is ultimately simply genocidal nationalism, and they are indefensible from the standpoint of the working class and revolutionary Marxism. Those ostensible Marxists who do not make this distinction render themselves apologists either for the nationalists or for the imperialists or in some cases for both, and thereby abandon the perspective of the independent revolutionary mobilisation of the working class.

The main victims of British imperialist rule and communalist outrage in Northern Ireland are the Irish Catholic population. In the last eighteen months the largest number of killings have been carried out by Protestant paramilitary

death squads such as those from the Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters and the Ulster Volunteer Force who operate in line with the slogan "ACWD" — "Any Catholic Will Do". In the week after the Warrington bombings six Catholics were murdered, and grenade and firebomb attacks launched on the homes and families of Sinn Féin and SDLP politicians. At Castlerock, four Catholic workmen (one of whom was later identified as an IRA supporter) were butchered by UDA gunmen, who got clean away, despite the proximity of security force bases. The British government's attempts to broker a settlement have alienated diehard Loyalists, but the fact remains that the Loyalist death squads are routinely abetted from within the state repressive forces. And the British Army, with its de facto "shoot-to-kill" policies, has murdered Republicans with impunity. Current Northern Ireland minister, Patrick Mayhew, gained notoriety as Thatcher's Attorney General when in 1988 he refused to prosecute eleven RUC officers named by John Stalker as having been involved in shoot-to-kill incidents against Irish Republicans in South Armagh. We demand: For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British Army from Northern Ireland! Smash the RUC and the Royal Irish Regiment! For a programmatically based anti-sectarian workers militia to combat Orange and Green terror and imperialist rampage!

The British fascists have stepped up their race-hate provocations in the aftermath of the Warrington bombing. Under protection from the cops, BNP scum rallied in London on 25 April with signs calling for hanging the IRA. While anti-fascist protesters remained on one side of Victoria station, the BNP was able to march unmolested and spew its racist filth. Ominously, reports in the bourgeois media and anti-fascist *Searchlight* magazine point to increasingly close links between the UDA/UVF Loyalist paramilitaries of Northern Ireland and the BNP. And on 22 April, an 18-year-old black youth, Stephen Lawrence, was the fourth victim of racist murder in south-east London since Rolan Adams. The fascist thugs must be crushed by mass, trade union/minority mobilisations!

In the days after the Warrington bombing a "peace" movement burgeoned, notably in the Republic. A book of condolences initiated by the Peace Train organisation was signed by tens of thousands, and similar books were circulating in schools and work places. "Peace '93" was launched at a meeting of one thousand at Trinity College. On Sunday, 28

March more than 10,000 attended a peace rally at the Dublin GPO, where Sinead O'Connor and the Dubliners sang. Bathed in bourgeois press publicity, this "peace" movement was touted as a "spontaneous" outpouring of "ordinary people" like "reluctant leader" Susan McHugh. But irrespective of any sentiments of decent disgust at the Warrington killings, this movement was quickly revealed as pro-imperialist, anti-Republican and

of people killed by the British Army and the RUC they were jostled, abused and jeered by "peace" campaigners. A picture of a 14-year-old girl killed by a British Army plastic bullet was spat upon. Four supporters of Relatives for Justice were later arrested by the Gardai, who also confiscated a book of condolences for the six Catholics killed in the week after Warrington.

This "peace" movement dovetails neat-



Denis Thorpe

Face of state terror: occupying British Army patrols Belfast.

not so spontaneous to boot. We exposed the pro-imperialist, conservative core of the "Peace Women" phenomenon in 1976, and this new movement looks to have a lot of similar characteristics. (See "Peace Women" in *Bloody Ulster*, *Women and Revolution*, no 15, Summer 1977.)

One of today's principal organisers is one Michael Nugent, the chairman of New Consensus, a formation associated with the reformist Workers Party, Proinsias De Rossa's Democratic Left and the bourgeois Progressive Democrats. Like the Peace Train, brainchild of the openly pro-imperialist Workers Party, New Consensus has made a name for itself over the last couple of years as rabid campaigners against Sinn Féin and the IRA while at the same time alibiing British state terror in Northern Ireland. On 27 March at St Stephen's Green, a Dublin New Consensus rally was addressed by a representative of the Ulster Unionist Party, and wreaths were turned over to a British *chargé-d'affaires*.

When supporters of the pro-Republican Relatives for Justice sought to join the 28 March demonstration with pictures

ly with the aspirations of most of the Irish ruling class to find a settlement to the "troubles" in Northern Ireland that is acceptable to British imperialism. One of the first acts of the new Dick Spring Labour coalition government was to make conciliatory gestures towards Loyalists over the Irish Constitution's Articles 2 and 3 which outline the nationalist claim to Northern Ireland. As Marxists we oppose forcible reunification of Ireland. We therefore do not uphold the Green nationalist claim that Dublin has an inalienable right to rule the whole island. However, Spring is out to stitch up a deal with Britain; in the present context any Anglo-Irish bourgeois "peace" will be at the expense of the oppressed Catholics in Northern Ireland. The drive to break the back of the IRA and cow the Northern Catholic population into submission remains at the heart of the British government's efforts to broker a settlement.

Both the IRA and Sinn Féin have been wringing their hands over the "tragedy" of Warrington. The IRA's lament about the British authorities ignoring their phone warnings smacks of ridiculous

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