



Wayne Douglas' killers walk free

Capitalism means racist terror



Wayne Douglas, beaten to death by racist cops.

Wayne Douglas, a 25-year-old black man, was killed by cops in Brixton on 5 December 1995. Eyewitnesses at the recent inquest into his death testified that ten to 15 cops viciously beat the unarmed Douglas in a Brixton park and laughed when they were through. Patrick Doyle, a black Brixton resident, courageously came forward and testified that the cops were "like a pack of hyenas" who were "out for the kill". Donna Sharpe described how she heard racist abuse shouted, followed by "the voice of

a black man screaming for his life". Wayne Douglas died at Brixton police station one hour after suffering this savage attack. Yet the inquest concluded on 6 December 1996 with a verdict of accidental death and the cops who beat Douglas to death are free to roam the streets.

Deaths in custody and "accidental" killings of racial minorities by the state have become sickeningly common. Joy Gardner was killed by immigration cops who stormed her home on 28 July 1993.

Shackled and pinned to the floor, she died of asphyxiation with 13 feet of adhesive tape wrapped around her head. Her killers walked free. A recent inquest cleared the cop killers of Shiji Lapite, who died in December 1994. Testimony at the inquest revealed that there were "between 36 and 50 injuries" on Lapite's body; the Police Complaints Authority spokesman, whose role is the

public endorsement of racist state killings, worried that "This is a very difficult decision to explain to members of the public, and particularly to members of the black community" (*Guardian*, 3 continued on page 10)

Rightist mobilisations and imperialist intrigues

Turmoil in the Balkans

British/US/UN/ NATO forces out!

We reprint below an abridged article first published in *Workers Vanguard* no 658, 27 December 1996.

DECEMBER 16—Once again the world's attention has been drawn to the Balkans, where the combination of local nationalist enmities and imperialist intrigues has produced bloody slaughter. Elections in Bosnia in September, held under the guns of 50,000 UN and NATO "peacekeeping" forces, predictably confirmed the de facto partition of the country into "ethnically cleansed" Serb, Croat and Muslim regions under the control of hard-line nationalist parties which have devoted themselves to killing each other's supporters. In November, immediately after his re-election, US president Clinton announced that the imperialist troops, which had been scheduled to leave Bosnia by year's end, would be staying on for (at least) another 18 months. These will include combat units from Germany, which already has thousands of "non-combat" support forces in Croatia—the first deployment of German military might outside its borders since the defeat of Hitler's Third Reich.

At the same time, both Serbia and Croatia are in the throes of political crises.



US-backed rightist anti-government protesters in Belgrade carry Serbian chauvinist flag.

Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic is confronted by large, student-centred protests in Belgrade led by right-wing nationalist demagogues, now equivocally backed by Washington. In Croatia, the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman, who is reportedly dying of cancer, has been shaken by a major railway strike and mass protests against government censorship. But the Croatian bourgeois politicians jockeying to succeed Tudjman are, if anything, even more right-wing than this open admirer of the World War II fascist Ustasha and would perpetuate a police state dedicated

to a Greater Croatia as a client of German and/or American imperialism. And the fall of Milosevic at the hands of the present opposition would in no way benefit the working people of Serbia but would simply further the interests of revanchist chauvinism and Western imperialism.

Capitalist counterrevolution and the resulting destruction of the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state has brought the Balkan peoples all-sided communalist massacres, economic immiseration, fascistic terror and intensified repression. The US, German, British,

other NATO and UN imperialist "peacekeepers" will not bring peace but only lay the basis for new and perhaps wider wars. Western diplomats are already nervously speculating that next spring will bring a renewal of communalist bloodletting in Bosnia. We say: US, German, British, other NATO and UN forces out of the Balkans!

National antagonisms and economic immiseration can be overcome only through *working-class unity in struggle* against the new exploiters—the imperialists and their local agents. We oppose any political support to the competing counter-revolutionary nationalist cliques in ex-Yugoslavia. What is necessary is the formation of revolutionary Marxist—ie Trotskyist—parties capable of breaking the working masses from the nationalist demagogues on all sides in the fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Serbian nationalism comes back to haunt Milosevic

The economic devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has been compounded in Serbia by the effects of the war and the imperialist embargo, which the US is now threatening to renew in support of the rightist mobilisations against the Milosevic regime. The 650,000 ethnic Serb refugees from Croatia and Bosnia who have flooded into the country, where they are treated

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Miners strike, Maastricht and Afghanistan

Reply to the Weekly Worker

We reprint below a 23 December 1996 letter sent to Weekly Worker, paper of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

An article in the 14 November issue of your paper, entitled "Muddying the waters" by Don Preston proclaims that *Workers Hammer* (no 153, November/December 1996) erred in its characterisation of your positions. While we hardly pretend to possess "the absolute truth about everything", as you so snidely put it, we do know your line on the ballot in the 1984-85 miners strike, Maastricht

and Afghanistan.

You complain that we reminded our readers that "the CPGB (then *The Leninist*)...denounced the 'lack of a ballot' in the miners strike". "Not true as such", you say. But your own publication tells a different story. In January 1985, the *Leninist* said that:

"the lack of a ballot to call the overtime ban, the lack of a ballot over strike action...showed that the NUM leadership trusted bureaucratic manoeuvre more than their arguments for solidarity, and this had its costs".

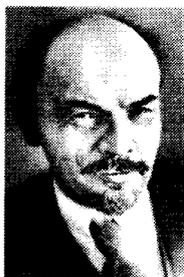


TROTSKY

A revolutionary programme for the youth

Under decaying capitalism, working-class youth face a future of increasing immiseration and despair, often intensified by racial oppression. They are victimised by rampant racist cop terror, "reforms" that make education more and more the preserve of the rich, widespread joblessness and, increasingly, threats of ending up in prison. At its founding conference in 1938, Leon Trotsky's Fourth International

specifically addressed the oppression of youth, establishing a youth international with a programme to mobilise their militancy in the struggle for proletarian power led by a revolutionary vanguard party.



LENIN

Capitalism, whether it be authoritarian or liberal, admits the inability to bring the slightest relief to the misery and sufferings of working class youth. *The young want a trade, and when (rarely enough!) it consents to give them one, it is only to chain them the better to a machine which tomorrow will stop and let them starve beside the very riches they have produced. The young want to work, to produce with their hands, to use their strength, and capitalism offers them the perspective of unemployment or of "the execution of work in conditions other than the normal conditions of production," according to the excellent hypocritical definition of labor camps by the League of Nations, or of armament production, which engenders destruction rather than improvement. The young want to learn, and the way to culture is barred to them. The young want to live, and the only future offered them is that of dying of hunger or rotting on the barbed wire of a new imperialist war. The young want to create a new world, and they are permitted only to maintain or to consolidate a rotting world that is falling to pieces. The young want to know what tomorrow will be, and capitalism's only reply to them is: "Today you've got to tighten your belt another notch; tomorrow, we'll see.... In any case, perhaps you're not going to have any tomorrow."*

The final disappearance of unemployment among the youth is closely linked to the disappearance of general unemployment. The struggle for raising the school age and for compulsory technical reeducation is closely linked with the struggle for the sliding-scale in wages and in working hours. The struggle to drag out of capitalism those reforms which aim at developing the class consciousness of working youth is closely linked with the struggle for workers' control of industry and factory committees. The struggle for public works is closely linked with the fight for the expropriation of monopolies, for the nationalization of credit, banks, and key industries. The struggle to smash back all efforts to militarize is closely linked to the struggle against the development of authoritarian state tendencies and against fascism, the struggle for the organization of workers' militias. It is within the framework of the transitional program of the Fourth International that the present program should be developed and applied. It is under the banner of the proletariat fighting for power that the Fourth International will win the demands of exploited youth.

— "Resolution on Youth", The International Conference of the Youth of the Fourth International (September 1938)

Your words, not ours! The demand that the NUM organise a strike ballot, well after the strike began, was also the battle cry of all those who wanted to see the heroic miners lose, from Thatcher and the scabs, to Labour traitor Neil Kinnock.

You complain further about our statement that you "refuse to oppose the anti-working-class Maastricht Treaty, and are part of the Militant-led Socialist Alliance, which is committed to electing a Blair government". "All untruths" you assert. To be sure, a *Weekly Worker* article (21 November) states "total opposition to the Maastricht Treaty (any version)". But in November 1991, a month before the Maastricht summit, the *Leninist* said: "we communists in Britain do not take a pro or anti position on what exact course the United Kingdom government takes as regards European integration" [our emphasis]. Behind a posture of not advising the capitalist government, *Leninist* in fact advocated an abstentionist position before the working class. Revolutionary Marxist internationalists, in sharp contrast, have always stood in working-class opposition to the EU; it is a bosses' trade bloc and a vehicle for capitalist collaboration against the European working class. Our proletarian internationalist opposition to Maastricht is sharply distinguished from the SLP's "little Englandism". We fight for a Socialist United States of Europe!

When the Militant-dominated Scottish Socialist Alliance (SSA) calls to "maximise the anti-Tory vote" (SSA founding document), it seems pretty transparent to us. Perhaps this is not really a (thinly-veiled) call to vote for Blair's Labour, but instead a call to vote for the (bourgeois) Scottish National Party? You protest that CPGB members inside the SSA do not want to see a Labour government, and assure us that the CPGB criticises Militant from the left. But you are happy to co-exist with an organisation that sponsors Billy Hutchinson, a known Loyalist death squad member.

The *WH* article you refer to nailed your denial that what was posed in Afghanistan was the defence of the Soviet Union. We said that: "For the CPGB with its left-nationalist outlook, fundamentally derived from the Stalinist dogma of 'socialism in one country', the issue was a supposed 'proletarian dictatorship' in Afghanistan".

We added that, "Opposed to the 'export of revolution', the CPGB thought the only role of the USSR should have been as auxiliary to this 'revolution'." Your article complains that we have "stupidly accused" you, "just because" you "believe there was a revolution in 1978 and pointed to the treacherous nature of the Soviet bureaucracy". But now, two weeks after your reply to us, Mark Fischer declared that: "Throughout the 1980s, *The Leninist* stood by the thesis that the revolution had 'ushered in a new order, a dictatorship of the proletariat' (Jack Conrad *The Leninist* February 10 1988). I think we must now say that this assessment was not correct" (*Weekly Worker*, 28 November). Whereas previously, you were uncritical supporters of the Khalq wing of the PDPA, now you say: "These brave revolutionaries' final, desperate calls for Soviet military assistance underline their *programmatic* failure."

The essential point here is that by insisting that the issue is one of "revolution" in Afghanistan, you continue to duck the real question. The intervention of the Red Army into Afghanistan was a progressive act on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy, an act in defence of the gains of October and the rights of Afghan women, an act which showed the dual nature of the Soviet bureaucracy. Although undertaken purely for defensive geopolitical reasons, it did cut across the grain of the Stalinists' abject pursuit of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Afghanistan was a battle line in the imperialist Cold War against the Soviet deformed workers state. By arming and backing to the hilt the barbaric *mujahedin* murderers, the imperialists were waging proxy war against the Soviet Union.

Our call "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan" and "Extend the gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples" was defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism. This was premised on the fact that there was no indigenous proletariat in Afghanistan, which is why the Red Army could be the engine for social liberation. When Gorbachev & Co abandoned Afghanistan with the futile aim of trying to appease imperialism, making a point of renouncing the supposed "Trotskyite heresy" of "export of revolution", this was the *direct* precursor to the Soviet bureaucracy's sellout of East Germany and thus of the Soviet Union itself. We fought for proletarian political revolution in the Soviet Union and East Germany. We invite your readers to read for themselves our article "Afghanistan: hell for women" in *Workers Hammer* no 153 (November/December 1996).

Comradely,

Andrew Gatsos



Smolan/Contact

Kabul parade greets Soviet troops arriving to aid PDPA regime, 1980. CPGB denies that Afghanistan posed the defence of the Soviet Union.

WORKERS HAMMER

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

Published by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, British section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

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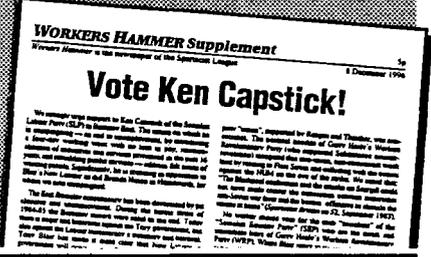
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mick Connor

Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU

Subscriptions: £3 for 1 year, Europe outside Britain & Ireland £4, overseas airmail £7

Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed by Cherwell Valley Lithographic Ltd (TU). ISSN 0267-8721

Spartacist League called for vote to SLP candidate



The Socialist Labour Party (SLP), formed earlier this year when miners' leader Arthur Scargill split from Tony Blair's New Labour, stood Ken Capstick as its candidate in the 12 December parliamentary by-election in Barnsley East. Predictably, New Labour easily recaptured this safe seat in a former mining area of Yorkshire, thus ending Tory prime minister John Major's parliamentary majority and possibly hastening a general election. But the desultory turnout of just over one-third of the electorate indicates general working-class disaffection with the union-hating Blairites. The SLP won just over five per cent of the vote, consistent with what SLP candidate Brenda Nixon got last February in nearby Hemsworth, another Labour stronghold. The Socialist Equality Party (SEP) affiliated to David North's "International Committee" managed to get a derisory 89 votes in their campaign marked by open hatred for the trade unions.

In an 8 December leaflet (reprinted below) distributed in the Barnsley area, the Spartacist League called for a vote to the SLP candidate, as we did earlier in Hemsworth. Although the SLP's politics amount simply to "old Labour" reformism, the formation of Scargill's party represents a challenge to Labour's decades-long political stranglehold on the British workers movement. Breaking this stranglehold is a key strategic task in forging a revolutionary workers party, which must be built in opposition to Labourite reformism, "old" as well as "new".

Thus our leaflet not only called for support to Capstick, but counterposed to the SLP's reformism a revolutionary programme and the need for a Trotskyist vanguard party. In doing this, we implemented the tactic of critical support proposed by Bolshevik leader VI Lenin in 1920 as a means for a small communist vanguard to "get a hearing" from the masses. Critical support is an application of the tactic of the united front: by proposing urgent united action around concrete issues in defence of the working class, the young Communist parties sought to win the mass of workers who retained allegiance to the reformist social-democratic parties, proving in struggle the superiority of the communist programme and leadership. In Britain today, we seek to exacerbate the contradictions between

the aspirations and interests of the working-class base of the Labour Party and its pro-capitalist leaders.

SL/B comrades actively campaigned for Capstick alongside SLP members in Barnsley East, going door-to-door with SLP election material. We also intervened in SLP election meetings, where we distributed our leaflet and sold our newspaper, *Workers Hammer*, presenting our revolutionary programme. Notably, our comrades in Barnsley East saw no sign of the fake-revolutionary "entrists" into the SLP — neither supporters of the semi-liquidated Communist Party of Great Britain nor of the completely liquidated former "Bolshevik" Tendency — who are busily engaged in internecine manoeuvring for internal influence. We did, however, run into one hapless supporter of the right-centrist Workers Power (WP), who appeared outside an SLP election rally trying desperately to keep quiet about WP's wretched line of supporting New Labour against the SLP.

Our exposure of the retrograde positions of the Northite SEP and its Healyite predecessor drew howls of outrage from these scab "socialists", who distributed an "Open Letter to Ken Capstick" seeking to justify their support to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc and their instigation of an anti-communist witch hunt against Scargill and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) on the eve of the 1984-85 miners strike. Fittingly enough, in the "Open Letter", SEP candidate Julie Hyland warns Capstick of "legal steps", threatening to sue him in the same capitalist courts which Mrs Thatcher's government used to devastate the NUM. Hyland also appeared at a Northite-sponsored "meet the candidates" meeting at Barnsley College alongside spokesmen for all the capitalist parties in the by-election — the Tories, Liberal Democrats and the ultra-nationalist UK Independence Party. Blending right in, Hyland grotesquely peppered her speech with references to the trade unions as "prison camps" for workers!

The spectacle of a polite "debate" with these parties was obscene, particularly in this area. Hatred for the Tories' decimation of the coal industry, where most working people here once earned their living, runs so deep that, as the *Guardian* noted, houses displaying a Tory poster in the window tend to get bricks thrown at



Guardian



Simon Walker

Arthur Scargill (left): SLP split fractures Labour monolith, challenging Tony Blair's pro-business New Labour.

them. An SL/B supporter spoke from the floor to expose the SEP's pretensions to "socialism" as a fraud, blasting the Healyite-instigated vendetta against the NUM and the SEP's current hostility to the trade unions. Our comrade also noted how the SEP echoes the lies of the Tories and New Labour in blaming the NUM for the devastation of the coalfields.

Veterans of the heroic year-long miners strike make up much of the SLP's base of support in the bleak former mining villages of South Yorkshire. These militant workers cannot stomach Blair's open denunciation of the unions and New Labour's abandonment of even a pretence of "socialism". One ex-miner who was active in Capstick's campaign explained why he had broken with the Labour Party after years of membership: "Because I'm a socialist, I've always been a socialist." Almost all the SLP activists our comrades encountered bought copies of *Workers Hammer* or subscriptions.

In its campaign bullhoming, the SLP promoted the "socialism of Keir Hardie and Aneurin Bevan", reformist Labour leaders of the pre-World War I and post-World War II eras, respectively. But as an SL/B supporter said in response to Scargill at an SLP election rally, this parliamentary "socialism" never touched a hair on the head of British capitalism. Reply-

ing to our comrade, Scargill haughtily dismissed the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution and Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party, denouncing vanguard parties as "elitist". Instead, Scargill harks back to the piecemeal bourgeois nationalisations carried out by Labour in the late 1940s — within the framework of the continued existence of British imperialism! The reformist programme of Scargill's SLP, which tacitly accepts the framework of capitalist parliamentarism, offers no way forward for the working class. As we said in our coverage of the Hemsworth by-election last February (*Workers Hammer* no 149, February/March 1996):

"Breaking the grip of Labour on the working class is essential to building a genuine workers party — one that understands that 'Her Majesty's Parliament' is no road to socialism but rather an instrument for the suppression of any struggle for the emancipation of the working class. We call for abolition of the monarchy, the established churches and the House of Lords, leading — as the relationship of forces permits — to confrontations over the institution of the House of Commons and the City of London financiers and capitalists it represents. What is needed is a sweeping social revolution culminating with the workers in power, opening a new line of historical development."



Lydia van der Meer

Striking postal workers demonstrate in London last year.

Vote Ken Capstick!

We strongly urge support to Ken Capstick of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) in Barnsley East. The issues on which he is campaigning — an end to unemployment, by introducing a four-day working week with no loss in pay, renationalisation of industries and services privatised in the past 16 years, and rebuilding public services — address felt needs of working people. Significantly, he is standing in opposition to Blair's New Labour as did Brenda Nixon in Hemsworth, for whom we also campaigned.

The East Barnsley constituency has been devastated by pit closures and unemployment. During the heroic strike of 1984-85 the Barnsley miners were solid to the end. Today there is anger and bitterness against the Tory government, but also against the Labour bureaucracy's treachery and betrayal. Tony Blair has made it quite clear that New Labour in government will continue the Tories' assault on workers, racial minorities and the poor. Blair has made doubly clear his

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General strike rocks South Korea

JANUARY 6—After a few years of relative quiescence, the militant South Korean working class has once again reared its head in a major confrontation with the giant *chaebols* (industrial conglomerates) and the capitalist state. Close to half a million workers brought the country to a screeching halt by 27 December, the second day of the largest national strike in South Korean history. Car factories, steel plants and shipyards were shut down solid, while transport, bank and hospital workers walked off their jobs. This followed a call for an “indefinite nationwide general strike”, issued by the independent Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) and later endorsed by the historically pro-government Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU).

The strikes were called to protest passage of anti-labour legislation, which threatens gains won by the South Korean proletariat in decades of struggle against successive right-wing military regimes and most recently the government of Kim Young Sam. While the South Korean government proclaims itself a bourgeois democracy, in fact it is a virulent dictatorship. Demanding the “Overthrow of the Kim Young Sam government”, tens of thousands of strikers, joined by student leftists, battled riot cops who launched tear gas volleys in Seoul on the weekend of 28-29 December. In Ulsan, home to the Hyundai *chaebol*, thousands of leather-clad Hyundai workers rallied on motorcycles in a “honking protest”. National strikes have resumed following the New Year holiday period, with leaders of the KCTU vowing to extend them.

With the passage of the labour bills, and less publicised but equally ominous legislation strengthening the Agency for



Chung Kyung-ryul

December 1996: general strike against anti-labour law has drawn South Korean proletariat into battle against US-backed Kim Young Sam regime.

National Security Planning (NSP — formerly the Korean CIA), the South Korean state is gearing up to crush any challenge to its rule. International labour solidarity, particularly in Japan and the US, must be mobilised on behalf of the embattled South Korean working class. Japanese workers, particularly those employed in companies operating in South Korea, should organise solidarity strikes and other protest actions in defence of their Korean brothers and sisters. American workers must also fight for the withdrawal of the 35,000 US troops from South Korea, whose military power props up the bloody Seoul regime and is a mortal threat

to the bureaucratically deformed workers state in North Korea and to working people throughout East Asia.

The strike action shaking South Korea points to a society on the edge of social explosion. Underlining its fear of the potential power of the working class, the government passed its anti-labour laws at a secret pre-dawn session of parliament which excluded opposition politicians. Within hours, strikes began to break out. The fact that the normally pro-regime KFTU labour federation felt the need to call out its 1.5 million members indicates both the draconian character of the legislation and the growing popularity of the

independent unions.

The South Korean general strike is pitting all sectors of the working class directly against the state. But worker militancy alone is incapable of leading the workers and oppressed to victory. The brittle regime in Seoul will not likely mollify the workers by co-opting independent union leaders, or by forming some sort of popular-frontist coalition government politically tying the labour movement to the capitalist exploiters and their state.

What is needed above all else is a revolutionary leadership which can organise the proletariat in its own class interests to shatter the bourgeois dictatorship in a *fight for proletarian state power*. The key to victory is the forging of a vanguard party like Lenin's Bolsheviks, who led the Russian Revolution of 1917. Armed with the Bolshevik programme of international socialist revolution, such a party would champion the cause of all the oppressed, rallying deeply oppressed women, students and immigrants behind the power of the working class to seize the means of production and establish a socialist planned economy.

For revolutionary reunification of Korea

The last major arena of the Cold War, the Korean peninsula is divided between two states based on the rule of different social classes. In the Korean War of 1950-53, which left two to three million dead, American imperialism sought to “roll back” Communism beginning with North Korea, but was thwarted by the intervention of the Chinese People's Liberation Army supported by the Soviet Union.

With the war's end, South Korea was stabilised as a highly militarised capitalist police state. The country remained largely agricultural and fairly poor until the 1970s, when the Seoul regime attracted increasing investment from US, Japanese and other industrialists and financiers. North Korea, totally devastated by the war and especially by massive US bombing, initially experienced a higher rate of economic development and industrialisation, a consequence of both its planned, collectivised economy and Soviet aid. At the same time, North Korean workers and peasants were saddled with the grotesque Stalinist regime of Kim Il Sung and his son and successor Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang.

Nonetheless, leftist student youth and many militant workers in South Korea look favourably on the North and yearn for national reunification. Consequently, South Korea's rulers see the spectre of “communism” behind all labour and social unrest and political protest movements.

Today the North Korean economy is in crisis, deprived of its major source of foreign aid and modern technology with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. The working-class upheaval in the capitalist South objectively poses an opportunity to link up with the increasingly desperate North Korean workers on the basis of an internationalist perspective. A fight for the *revolutionary reunification* of Korea — socialist revolution in the South combined with proletarian political revolution in the North — would inspire working-class struggle throughout Asia, from the social powder keg of Indonesia to the industrial powerhouse of Japan to the embattled working people of China who today face the dire threat of capitalist counterrevolution.

“Democrat” Kim Young Sam v Korean labour

In 1987-88, a huge wave of student-centred protest forced the military dictatorship, then headed by Chun Doo Hwan, to allow direct presidential elections which,

Victory to Iranian oil workers!

We reprint below a statement by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) issued on 10 January.

Workers at four major oil refineries in Iran have launched strike action which could become a pivotal conflict for the entire Iranian working class. Demanding recognition of their union and the right to collective bargaining, workers in Tehran, Shiraz, Isfahan and Tabriz staged a two-day walkout on December 18-19. Now they are poised to resume an all-out strike later this month. Working people throughout the world must support the courageous actions by a key sector of the Iranian proletariat, which together with women, the Kurds and other national minorities has suffered nearly two decades of bloody repression under the theocratic Islamic Republic.

Solidarity demonstrations with the oil workers have been called by, among others, supporters of the Worker-Communist Party of Iran, who brought these strikes to our attention. Sections of the International Communist League are joining protests in several cities in North America and Europe, as well as Japan and Australia. In addition to calling for victory to the oil

workers, we will be protesting the Iranian regime's threatened deportation of more than a million foreign workers, chiefly refugees from Afghanistan who face utter destitution and death if forced to return to their country of origin.

Unlike most “left” organisations internationally, the ICL has forthrightly opposed the reactionary Islamic movements which have produced living hell for the oppressed and working people in Iran, Afghanistan and elsewhere in the region. When the armed forces of the former Soviet Union intervened against the CIA-backed insurgency of tribalist cut-throats in Afghanistan back in 1979, we said “Hail Red Army!—Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!” When the sellout Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow withdrew the army a decade later, we denounced this betrayal and warned of its devastating consequences, especially for Afghan women.

Similarly in Iran, we were unique on the left in opposing the rise to power of the Islamic fundamentalist movement. Back in 1978, amid the massive social turmoil directed against the hated shah, 37,000 Iranian oil workers staged a powerful sitdown strike which was initially

independent of the reactionary forces around Ayatollah Khomeini. But the Iranian left subordinated the workers' struggles to the fundamentalists, helping to usher in an unparalleled disaster when Khomeini took power and unleashed his reign of savage terror. At the time, the ICL (then the international Spartacist tendency) said: “Down with the shah, Down with the mullahs!—For workers revolution in Iran!” Today, we continue our fight to build Leninist-Trotskyist revolutionary parties to lead workers revolution in Iran and throughout the world. We say:

- Victory to the oil workers! For international labour solidarity!
- Stop the deportations of Afghan refugees in Iran! For full citizenship rights for foreign workers!
- Defend Iranian women—Away with the veil! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!
- Stop terror against the Kurdish people—For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan!
- Down with the blood-drenched Islamic republic—For workers revolution in Iran! ■

New legal papers demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal

The following is adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 659, 10 January.

Attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal have filed new papers calling for dismissal of all charges against the journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party leader. The brief, filed on 27 December in Pennsylvania's Supreme Court, cites a Pittsburgh federal court's ruling last month that state and prison authorities violated Jamal's constitutional rights by illegally opening and copying his confidential legal mail before and during his 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) hearing in front of "hanging judge" Albert Sabo (see "Mumia Abu-Jamal Wins Ruling Against Prison Authorities", *Workers Vanguard* no 658, 27 December 1996). The Pittsburgh ruling gives judicial recognition to evidence of gross state misconduct that

has marked Mumia's case from the beginning. On this basis, the new brief argues, the charges against Mumia should be dismissed.

In her ruling, US District Judge Donetta Ambrose concluded that the tampering by state officials "interfered entirely" with the preparation of Jamal's PCRA petition to overturn his 1982 frame-up conviction and death sentence on false charges of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner. Not surprisingly, Sabo ruled against the PCRA petition, while granting a stay of execution only weeks before the scheduled execution date. Jamal's attorneys have submitted the new brief for the state Supreme Court's consideration as part of their appeal of Sabo's 1995 ruling.

As the new brief for Mumia states: "The violation of Jamal's sixth amendment right to counsel is now a matter of judicial record. That Jamal suffered 'ac-

tual injury' bearing on the preparation and filing of his PCRA Petition is also a matter of judicial record." The brief continues:

"The federal district court found that Jamal's 'actual injury' resulted from the fact that the Commonwealth's knowing interception of Jamal's attorney-client communications led to the issuance of Jamal's death warrant before he could file his PCRA Petition. This preemptive issuance of the death warrant then provided the justification for creating a pressurized atmosphere within the PCRA court which deprived Jamal his right to a full and fair opportunity to litigate his constitutional claims."

Countering the lying assertion of Judge Sabo and the Philadelphia district attorney's office that Jamal's attorneys had "delayed" the filing of the PCRA petition, the new legal papers note that the Pittsburgh ruling "exposes the fact that the death-warrant deadline, which operated to



Jennifer Beach

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Jamal's detriment, was the direct by-product of the Commonwealth's sixth amendment violation". As the brief's summary statement concludes:

"Furthermore, the Commonwealth secured the added benefit of learning the detailed plans, concerns, thoughts, and strategies of Jamal's counsel. When viewed on the totality of this record, the unprecedented and unvarnished violation of Jamal's constitutional rights dictates that the charges be dismissed."

Detailing the vast scope of "law enforcement and prosecutorial misconduct at every layer of this case", the brief recounts how "from the outset of the investigation, law enforcement manipulated and coerced

continued on page 11

however, were won by another general, Roh Tae Woo. At the same time, the rise of the independent labour movement, breaking with the US-backed and government-connected KFTU federation, ushered in a period of enormous working-class combativity marked by recurrent strikes and factory occupations.

The South Korean capitalist rulers and their imperialist patrons decided that the façade of a "democratic" government was the best available means of restoring social peace. They turned to a prominent liberal political dissident, Kim Young Sam, whose posture of supporting labour rights would supposedly give him credibility with the workers. In 1990, Kim merged his forces with the political apparatus of Chun, Roh and the other generals; when he took over the government in Seoul in 1992 Washington hailed this as a triumph for "democracy". However, as we wrote at the time, "Kim's election is little more than a transparent 'democratic' veneer for the South Korean police state" ("Free Choi Il Bung and All South Korean Class-War Prisoners!" *Workers Vanguard* no 574, 23 April 1993).

Furthermore, Kim came to power at a time when the competitive position of South Korean capitalism was weakening. Across the board, exports — the mainstay of the economy — have plummeted with the advance of other East Asian "tigers", such as Taiwan, which undersell South Korea on the world market, and with the spread of brutally exploited labour in countries like Indonesia and Malaysia.

In direct response to the demands of the *chaebols*, who want to raise their profits by driving down the workers' living standards, the new anti-labour laws allow for mass firings, layoffs and plant closures, together with speedup, elimination of safety standards and the imposition of massive amounts of unpaid overtime. Union members who are fired for any reason are barred from continued union membership, much less holding union office. Previously, as part of the agreements ending strikes, companies were forced to pay workers for the period they were on strike. The new legislation makes the "no work, no pay" principle law. Schoolteachers, historically a militant section of the working class, are prevented from organising until 1999 — even then

they will be denied the right to strike.

In addition, a 1963 law banning more than one union in each enterprise is to be kept in place until 2000, thereby recognising only the KFTU. Historically, the KFTU carved out its role as a government-linked labour federation after fighting pitched battles against strikers and organising scabs during mass strikes in 1946-47. It has long been supported by the American AFL-CIO bureaucracy — the venal labour agents of US imperialism — as well as the Korean CIA and its NSP successor.

It was the outlawed KCTU federation which launched the current general strike by calling out its 500,000 members in strategic companies like Hyundai, Daewoo, Kia, Asia and Ssangyong. Every action taken by the independent unions comes smack up against the naked power of the state. This was demonstrated the moment the KCTU was formed in 1995, when the government arrested union leader Kwon Yong Kil, placed many of the federation's leading members on the wanted list for violating labour and "national security" laws and seized their bank accounts.

To win against the giant *chaebols* requires a sweeping mobilisation of workers power. United action by both labour federations is essential: that the KFTU broke out of its corporatist straitjacket is a good thing, and could mean that "labour relations" in South Korea will never be the same. But the union leaders' appeals to the International Labour Organisation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions — set up and financed by the US CIA in the 1940s — will only serve to derail working-class struggle.

While personally courageous, the leadership of the independent unions is limited to a perspective of liberal democracy. "We had expectations for Kim Young Sam. He was an opposition member, but he has stabbed us in the back," union leader Chun Sae Young told a rally of striking workers on 28 December. But even as leader of the "opposition" during the strike waves of 1987-88, Kim was very clear about his loyalty to the maintenance of capitalism, railing against "violent action by workers" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 August 1987). Today, far from fighting for workers power, the KCTU leaders call for "the government to

begin a new round of (genuine) democratic discussions involving all the political parties, government, employers and the unions" to enact a new labour law (*Korean Confederation of Trade Unions News*, 3 January).

For socialist revolution!

Over the years, the KCIA and its NSP successor have targeted labour organisers as part of the government's "purification" campaigns. A special NSP department, the Committee to Counteract Labour Insurgency, gained a reputation for brutal torture. In 1980 alone, 200 union officials were purged and more than a dozen sent to military "re-education camps".

A key weapon in the state's arsenal of repression is the National Security Law, which has been used repeatedly in attempts to destroy labour and left-wing organisations. In the first half of 1996, some 200 people were arrested under the law. Last August, in response to the most militant student demonstrations in a decade, Kim Young Sam vowed to enact new legislation that would effectively outlaw student and working-class protests. The Partisan Defence Committee/Japan issued a statement demanding the release of more than 6000 students arrested for participating in demonstrations demanding reunification with North Korea and the withdrawal of US troops.

In September, the defence minister targeted 6000 soldiers for being "left-leaning North Korean sympathisers". Some 4000 army reservists deserted, refusing to join in the manhunt of North Korean sailors washed ashore after their submarine went aground. Now, under the guise of combating "subversion from North Korea", Kim Young Sam's new laws fortify the NSP's authority to investigate, arrest and interrogate any opponents of the South Korean state.

The "democratisation" of South Korea trumpeted by bourgeois propagandists is a cruel hoax. Today's South Korean capitalist class emerged in large part from a layer of military officers who served as the willing agents of the Japanese during their brutal 35-year occupation of Korea. Following Japan's defeat in World War II, the South Korean bourgeoisie developed under the sponsorship and military protection of US imperialism. This venal ruling

class is incapable of carrying out even the most basic democratic tasks. Existing on half a peninsula, with a tainted native bourgeoisie, a huge and combative proletariat and radical student milieu, and with a deformed workers state to the north across a "Demilitarised Zone" manned by tens of thousands of US and South Korean troops, capitalist South Korea can only function under a deeply repressive regime.

The Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution uniquely points the road forward: the mobilisation of the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed in socialist revolution, which alone can provide a lasting answer to even the fundamental democratic tasks through putting an end to the brutal rule of capital. A revolutionary party in Korea would fight to win to its banner the doubly oppressed women workers, militant students and the growing numbers of South Asian immigrant workers.

Historically, the fate of Korea has been integrally tied to that of China, and in the modern era Japan as well. In a sense, Korea's position resembles that of Poland, which is situated between the dominant powers of Germany and Russia. This is the basis for the nationalism which is pervasive among today's Korean left. In sharp contrast, Marxist internationalists would seek to link the struggles of the Korean proletariat with those of their class brothers and sisters beyond the peninsula.

In particular, the fight for the revolutionary reunification of Korea is closely interlinked with the struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants, who face the encroaching threat of capitalist counter-revolution under the decrepit and totally corrupted Stalinist bureaucracy. A fight for power by the South Korean proletariat could spike imperialism's drive to bring back the horrors of capitalist exploitation to China, North Korea and also Vietnam, and help spark political revolutions to sweep away the ossified Stalinist bureaucratic regimes there. But even to survive, a workers revolution in South Korea would immediately have to seek its extension to the imperialist centres, above all Japan. This perspective requires the forging of internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties throughout the region as part of a reborn Fourth International.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 659, 10 January 1997.

Young Spartacus

To hell with Tony Blair's Labour Party!

Students and youth: fight for a socialist future!

We reprint below an 18 November 1996 Spartacus Youth Group leaflet.

On 19 November, more than 100,000 workers from colleges and universities across Britain will be on strike over pay and conditions. This is the first time that unions representing lecturers, clerical staff, technicians, maintenance workers and other college workers from unions including the TGWU, Unison and GMB will have struck together. Students who are demonstrating the next day against education cutbacks must take a side with striking workers on mass picket lines to shut down their colleges. *Picket lines mean don't cross!*

The strike has been called as a one-day protest by the Labourite trade union bureaucrats. But in the absence of struggle against the anti-union laws, workers' anger will be channelled into a campaign to vote Blair into office. New Labour is not the "lesser evil" alternative to the Tories that groups like the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) or the centrist Workers Power (WP) group spout. The truth is Labour is promising to keep and enforce virtually every anti-working-class piece of Tory legislation, including the anti-union laws and the racist Asylum and Immigration Act in all its essentials. Labour too will serve the City bankers and bosses by driving down wages and working conditions, eliminating what they consider unnecessary social "overhead expenses" like welfare, health care and even a pretence of a decent education.

Unemployment, cutbacks and savage attacks on the poor reflect the iron logic of a decaying social system based on private profit. Under this rotten system, young people have no future. A whole generation of youth are raised in poverty, ill health and ignorance. So what can young people do to fight back? By themselves, they don't have a lot of social power. But the working class, with its hands on all the levers of production does. The fundamental divide in society is between the capitalist ruling class, a tiny minority who own industry, and the working people, who produce everything.

The working class, with its numbers and organisation has the social power to beat back the bosses' attacks. But to wage this revolutionary struggle against capitalism, they must be *conscious* of their own power and historic task. This requires the building of a revolutionary party, based on the programme and perspective of Marxism, which can bring this consciousness to the working class. Only such a party, acting as what Bolshevik party leader, Lenin called a "tribune of the people" can

For a revolutionary workers party!

break down the endless attempts of the capitalists to "divide and rule" by setting white worker against black and Asian, men against women, or workers here against their class brothers and sisters abroad. In freeing itself, the working class will necessarily liberate all sections of

"downturn" in class struggle; their scab position sharply reflected this defeatism.

Recently at a demonstration in Liverpool, marking one year of the Merseyside dockers battle, the SWP carried placards saying "Tony Blair, which side are you on?" The SWP doesn't know? Postal

in this country out of which a genuine working-class party can be constituted." In the February Hemsworth by-election, we gave critical support and campaigned actively for SLP candidate, Brenda Nixon against New Labour. We said that the issues she stood for—including repeal of anti-union laws, renationalisation of the main privatised industries, rebuilding public services and an end to unemployment—spoke to the felt needs of the working class. We pointed out that these issues cannot be addressed in the absence of



Paris, November 1993. Students protest education cuts. In 1968 student struggles triggered explosion of workers strikes. Lack of revolutionary leadership allowed de Gaulle to ride out crisis.

society from the many forms of oppression which are rooted in class divisions. It's this goal which the Spartacus Youth Group (SYG), youth section of the Socialist League/Britain is dedicated to.

Fake left peddles illusions in Labour

The SWP call on students to mount joint pickets with campus unions on 19 November. This is good. But, during the heroic year-long miners strike of 1984-85, the SWP actually boasted of crossing miners' picket lines. SWP leader Tony Cliff admitted at a public meeting in London in August 1984: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines...." At the time the SWP absurdly claimed the miners strike was an "extreme example" of

workers and London Underground workers, whose strikes were denounced by Labour leaders, certainly know, as does any class-conscious worker. The SWP's slogan was even picked up by Socialist Labour Party (SLP) and miners leader, Arthur Scargill, who spoke at the rally and poked fun at this example of the SWP's craven Labour-loyalism.

The formation of the SLP earlier this year represented an important split in the ranks of New Labour and presents an opportunity for revolutionaries to intervene. As we wrote in our paper *Workers Hammer* (no 149, February/March 1996), "Although the programme of Scargill's SLP is simply that of 'old' Labour as against the 'New' Labour Party of Tony Blair, this split within the Labour Party offers the possibility for a fundamental realignment of the political configuration

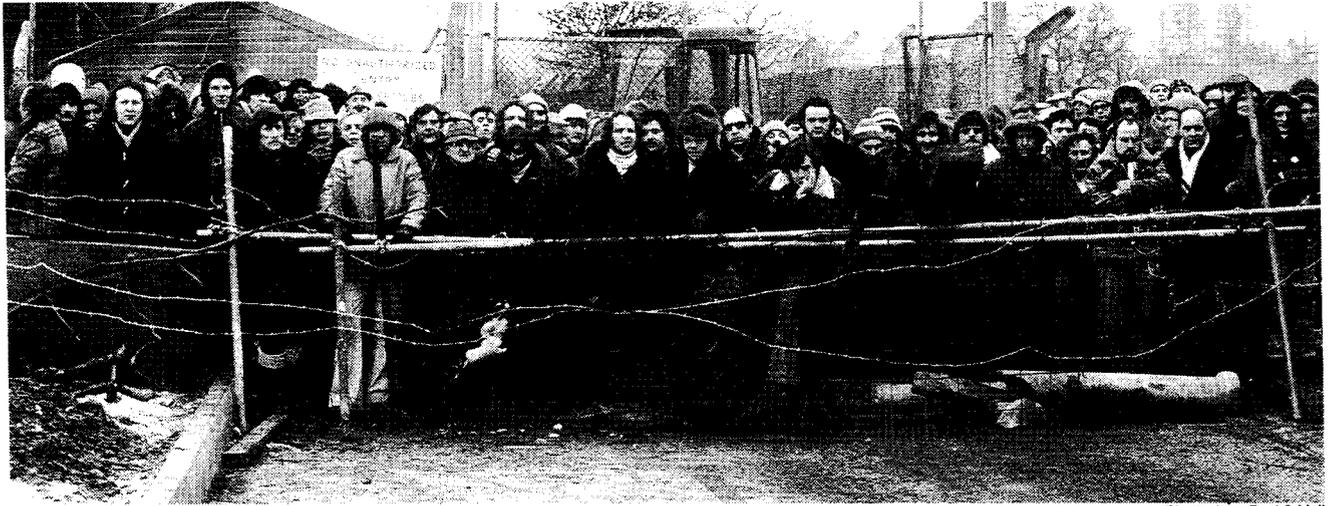
hard-fought struggle which, pursued to the end, must shatter the framework of capitalism.

Socialist Labour Youth (SLP's youth group) calls for the overthrow of capitalism and says: "The solutions to the massive problems that face us today cannot be found by tinkering around the edges of capitalism, the system itself is the problem." Meanwhile their party is calling on the capitalist state merely to *reduce* its arms expenditure. This means putting money into the same prison system, army and police force that will be used against striking workers, youth and oppressed minorities at home and working people abroad. Revolutionaries say not a penny, not a man to the capitalist army! Engels described these special bodies of armed men, prisons etc as the chief instruments of capitalist state power.

Faced with the challenge of the SLP, the SWP and WP have clung even tighter to their Labour loyalism. In Hemsworth, WP stood for a vote to Blair's man, John Trickett. On education, one of the key questions that face youth today, these groups, over and above their anti-Tory rhetoric, channel anger into support for the pro-capitalist Labour Party. As WP writes in their October paper, "The Labour Party will not promise an end to the opting out and selection, nor a single penny to improve the miserable conditions in working class schools." Yet at the same time, at a recent London meeting on 30 October, they said that electing a Labour government next year "will be a great act of class revenge and class offensive against the Tories... a great victory"! Square that up if you can. *Socialist Worker* too, contents itself with a sideways nod at New Labour's attacks on education, but you can't miss the message, it doesn't change much; "Tories to blame for education crisis... Tories to blame." Revolutionaries call things by their real name, and state openly that a win by Labour in the next election will not be a "lesser evil", certainly not for those who are forced to bear the brunt of the capitalists' offensive.

"New World Order" = increased capitalist offensive

The current attacks on youth, working people and minorities in this country are part of a global capitalist assault. Especially since the counterrevolutionary de-



Birmingham Post & Mail

British Leyland workers picket Longbridge, February 1979. Class-struggle "Winter of Discontent" broke Labour government's anti-working-class Social Contract.

Picket lines mean don't cross!

and episodic strikes have been too much for New Labour, who are vying with the Tories for the reputation of being "tough on the unions".

In Britain today, the gap between rich and poor is at its widest since the middle of the nineteenth century. A quarter of children now live below even the official poverty line. Working class and poor youth are dumped in schools which exist not to give them a basic education, but to

ists will deliver on is to provide more jails and more laws to regiment their sick society. This is what lies behind the frenzy about "morality" being whipped up by Labour and Tory alike — youth curfews, a return to corporal punishment and "moral" instruction in schools. This forms part of the ruling class's reactionary campaign to bolster "family values" aimed at reinforcing the institution of the family, the main mechanism for the oppression of women and youth and is preparing the ground for an attack on the legal right to abortion.

The Criminal Justice Act which became law in 1994, unopposed by Tony Blair's "law and order" Labour Party, provided cops with increased powers to attack trade unions, blacks, Asians, minorities and youth. More recently, the Asylum and Immigration Act targeted political refugees coming to Britain and gave police heightened powers to raid homes and workplaces. This law comes in the context of increased racist state terror. Up to April this year, a staggering 50 deaths in police custody have been recorded, the victims being overwhelmingly black males, but also including Asians and Irish. The struggle against racist cop terror is a vital issue for the entire workers movement whose own struggles on picket lines run up against the scabberding cops and courts time and again. The fight for union rights and rights for immigrants and minorities must march forward together or fall back separately. *Down with the Criminal Justice Act and Asylum and Immigration Act! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families!*

Youth seeking to fight capitalist attacks

at home, must also fight against British imperialism and its attacks abroad, typified by its participation in the "Desert Slaughter" against Iraq in 1991. We oppose the multi-national imperialist force proposed by the UN to be sent to Zaire. In Northern Ireland, British troops enforce oppression of the Catholic minority and bolster reactionary Loyalist terror. For the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops! We fight for workers revolution, on both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea.

Against the attempts of trade union bureaucrats, student "leaders" and self-proclaimed "socialists" to divert social struggle into electoral politics and attempts to reform a dying system, we seek to rally youth to the perspective of communism, which lives on in the struggles of the oppressed around the world. The SYG fights for a party like the party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the Russian Revolution of 1917, the first time that the working people and oppressed took power and held it. This is the only guarantee of a world free of exploitation and oppression. Join us!

- Abolish the monarchy, House of Lords and the established churches!
- For the immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland!
- Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families!
- Forge a revolutionary workers party. For a workers government based on workers councils! For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! ■



Young Spartacus

Anti-fascist protesters march into Nazi rally site in Berkeley, California on 13 October 1994.

struction of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state which was undermined and strangled by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule, the various national ruling classes have intensified their struggle to redivide the world's finite markets. Twice before in this century, such imperialist competition has led to the butchery of whole generations of youth in world wars.

The world's bourgeoisie is drunk with glee over the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and feels emboldened to carry out a ruthless offensive against the working class. But in December last year French public service and transport unions fended off a government attempt to destroy hard-earned pension and other rights. In Germany, drastic cuts to social welfare spending have provoked angry demonstrations on a massive scale and strikes by unions. And in Britain, there is an accumulation of social anger which has led to a series of one-day strikes in the public sector—London Underground, the Post Office, hospitals and Fire Brigade. But even such limited

provide the capitalist system with a pool of low-skilled and unemployed workers to keep the general wage level down. *We are for free, equal education for all! For open admissions to higher education and for a decent grant to make that universal access a reality! A shorter work week at no loss in pay—Jobs for all! Scrap the Job Seekers Allowance! Hire the unemployed to work at union rates!*

The one promise we know the capital-

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Popov/Reuters



La Repubblica



Der Spiegel

All-sided nationalist reaction in former Yugoslavia (from left): Muslim fundamentalist supporters of Sarajevo regime, Croatian soldiers giving fascist salute, latter-day Serbian Chetnik chauvinist.

Balkans...

(Continued from page 1)

like unwanted second cousins, now make up 6 per cent of Serbia's population. Industrial production has plummeted by 60 per cent since July 1991, when the new Balkan wars began. Real wages for industrial workers are *one-tenth* what they were in Titoist Yugoslavia, while rampant unemployment led to an *eightfold* increase between 1990 and 1994 in the number of people living below the poverty line.

The latest challenge to Milosevic began in mid-November when his regime annulled the outcome of municipal elections which the Zajedno (Together) oppositional bloc won in the capital of Belgrade and a majority of other Serbian cities. As long as the Serbs were winning the war in Croatia and Bosnia, Milosevic was able to maintain tight control. But with his project of a Greater Serbia in shambles, Milosevic's former right-wing nationalist allies have turned against him and his old enemies have become bolder and stronger.

Slobodan Milosevic, like Romania's Ion Iliescu, was a leading Stalinist apparatchik who placed himself at the head of the capitalist counterrevolution by embracing "little power" nationalism in alliance with traditional rightists. His vile chauvinism and cynical manoeuvres have done much to discredit the idea of communism in Serbia. At the same time, Sloba's many enemies, both within and without Serbia, appeal to anti-Communist demagogy in attacking the Serbian strongman.

Washington and the Western media have portrayed the opposition as "peaceful" and "democratic", ranging, according to the *New York Times*, "from nationalists to social democrats". This is an utter whitewash. While the odd pro-imperialist liberal may be involved in the protests, the core of the movement, as even a *New York Times* (10 December) report indicated, consists of fascists and hardline chauvinists who "embrace fierce Serb nationalism".

Its two principal leaders are Zoran Djindjic and Vuk Draskovic. When the protests began, the supposedly "peaceful" Djindjic called for "uprisings, strikes, violence", while Draskovic's wife Danica urges protesters to throw bombs at Milosevic's house and rails, "We need weapons and hand grenades" (*Der Spiegel*, 2 December). A one-time liberal, Djindjic opted to espouse the cause of Serbian nationalism in 1993. In the recent Bosnian elections, this latter-day darling of US imperialism campaigned for the party of Radovan Karadzic — branded in the West as the Balkans' chief "war criminal" — who is an arch-chauvinist opponent of Milosevic. Djindjic states: "If we want to build a popular movement, we must use nationalism to do it."

As for Draskovic, his Serbian Renewal Party has always openly identified with the royalist Chetniks who specialised in

massacring defenceless Croatian and Bosnian Muslim villagers and fought against Tito's Communist Partisans in World War II. A letter to the *New York Times* (15 December) points out that in the 1980s "Draskovic was a best-selling author of anti-Muslim hate propaganda" and is today "founder and head of the Serbian Guard, a fascist militia group reported to have committed atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia". When Yugoslavia was breaking up in 1991, Draskovic campaigned for a referendum to restore the Serbian monarchy. A year later, unveiling a monument to Chetnik leader Draza Mihailovic, he rhapsodised how that mass murderer, executed by the Partisans in 1946, had healed "the broken wings of the nation".

This is what US imperialism embraces as a "democratic" opposition to Milosevic! Having secured the Serbian strongman's support for the imperialist "peace" imposed in Bosnia, Washington is now intent on punishing him for refusing to kowtow to its dictates in the early 1990s. And the US is making little effort to hide its sponsorship of the fascist-infested protest movement. When a Congressional "fact finding" team visited Bosnia last month, they made a stop in Belgrade to join in one of the marches and stage a show of support from a window of the opposition headquarters.

While playing up the protests in Serbia, the West has effectively buried any news of protests against the fascistist Tudjman regime in Croatia. Last month, 100,000 people gathered in Zagreb's main square to protest a government shutdown of the country's last independent radio station and, more broadly, Tudjman's refusal to accept the results of municipal elections won by his opponents. In a political climate long permeated by reactionary nationalism, the demonstrators defied the autocratic, pro-Ustasha Tudjman regime. A few days later, workers in the Croatian State Railway went on strike, halting 80 per cent of the country's rail traffic for over a week. While the railway union's demands were strictly economic and its leaders not connected with any political opposition, a strike of this magnitude necessarily challenges and weakens the right-wing government. Earlier this spring, there was also a brief but successful national strike by railway workers in Slovenia.

Meanwhile, in Serbia the rightist opposition and its imperialist patrons have expressed vocal disappointment over their failure to mobilise the workers as cannon fodder for their designs. The *Wall Street Journal* (13 December) even raised the need for a "general strike". (The last time we recall this mouthpiece for finance capital supporting "workers action" was when it called for "soviets" in Poland in 1981 to catapult CIA-backed Solidarność into power.) The urgent appeals of the Zajedno leaders to industrial workers to

engage in strikes and protests on their behalf have to date gone conspicuously unanswered. One Belgrade factory worker explained: "None of us have any great sympathy for the students. When we held strikes earlier in the year, all these university students didn't give us any support."

Throughout the spring and summer and into the autumn, there was in fact a series of strikes in Serbia against the cataclysmic austerity imposed by Milosevic and exacerbated by the imperialist boycott. In August, workers at the Red Flag Yugo car factory in Kragujevac staged a successful two-month walkout to win payment of back wages and other union demands. Another strike in an arms plant there in October protested government victimisation of union militants. An action by public transport workers in Belgrade around the same time was brought to an end when the union president was dragged off to jail.

If the Serbian proletariat were to spring into political action today, far from supporting the current opposition, it would be in the workers' class interests to root out the fascist nests at Belgrade University and other campuses which are the backbone of the imperialist-backed protests. In unity with the workers of the other ex-Yugoslav republics, the Serbian working class must sweep away Milosevic and all the reactionary nationalist regimes which currently hold sway in the Balkans. What is sorely missing is an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard forged in bitter opposition to all imperialist intervention and to all the competing chauvinist gangs in the region.

The Balkan wars and imperialist hypocrisy

Milosevic himself is largely responsible for unleashing the chauvinist flood tide which is now directed against his regime. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born out of World War II when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. Emerging from the war with immense popular and moral authority, Tito and his comrades socialised the economy — albeit in a bureaucratically controlled and deformed manner — in the name of the "brotherhood and unity" of the working people of Yugoslavia. However, the inherent economic limitations and distortions of Yugoslav Stalinism with its programme of "market socialism in one country" — and a poor Balkan country at that — generated increasing tensions between the various constituent national republics and regions.

After Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav bureaucracy fractured along national lines. In the late 1980s, Milosevic, who took over the Serbian League of Communists, trampled on Tito's carefully balanced national arrangements, beginning

with a violent attack on the Albanian population of Kosovo. Milosevic's drive for a "Greater Serbia", in turn, reinforced anti-Communist nationalism in Croatia and Slovenia, the wealthier, traditionally Roman Catholic northernmost republics of Yugoslavia which were formerly part of the German sphere of influence. Imperialism used nationalism and bloody communalism as the battering ram to destroy the Yugoslav deformed workers state.

In early 1991, instigated by the reunified German Fourth Reich, newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. The Serbs were not only the largest nationality in pre-1991 Yugoslavia but also the most geographically dispersed. With the break-up of Yugoslavia, these large Serb communities confronted hostile nationalist regimes in Zagreb and Sarajevo. Fear of becoming an oppressed minority, combined with chauvinist sentiment for a Greater Serbia, ignited a new series of Balkan wars, beginning in the Serb region of Croatia and spreading into the three-sided communalist bloodletting in Bosnia. The Serbs — making up a third of Bosnia's population — were a largely peasant population which owned over 60 per cent of the land in the republic, while the Bosnian Muslims were a predominantly urbanised people. Thus when the war began the well-armed Serb forces were able to take over much of the countryside and lay siege to Sarajevo and the other cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

But American imperialism refused to accept a Greater Serbia established in defiance of US will, and the German Fourth Reich was pushing for a Greater Croatia. The Western powers imposed an economic embargo against Serbia — sanctioned by the UN — in order to force Milosevic to abandon his support to the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs. At the same time, Washington and Bonn moved to build up the military capacity of the Croatian regime and Bosnian Muslims.

In August 1995, the Croatian army launched a successful blitzkrieg against the Serb-populated Krajina region. Some 200,000 Serbs were driven from their homes in the largest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan bloodbath. This was followed, in tandem with massive NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions, by a joint Croat/Muslim offensive against the Serbs in eastern and central Bosnia. And this time, unlike in 1991, the Serbian army commanded by Milosevic did not intervene. The imperialist-backed Croat/Muslim offensive — carried out with Milosevic's acquiescence — is what laid the basis for the US-sponsored Dayton Accords in November 1995 which divided Bosnia in half between the so-called "Croat-Muslim Federation" and the "Republika Srpska" (Serbian Republic).

Throughout the communalist slaughter,

Western imperialist spokesmen and their intellectual hangers-on have adopted a posture of moral superiority to the supposedly violence-crazed and bloodthirsty Balkan peoples driven by "ancient feuds". Here we have the mass murderers of Hiroshima, Vietnam and Auschwitz expressing sympathetic concern over a particularly violent divorce — one, moreover, which they helped instigate.

Likewise today, the hypocritical public postures of the various imperialist powers are determined by their different appetites in the Balkans. Reflecting the interests of British ruling circles, earlier this month Independent Television News reported:

"Though they won't say so openly, British IFOR [Bosnia NATO force] commanders are concerned that the Americans have just begun in earnest their train-and-equip program, benefiting the mainly Muslim Bosnian government army to the tune of \$400 million. There's some bewilderment that the U.S.A. is peacekeeping with one hand, but with the other it's giving arms to the side with the greatest reason for wanting to go back to war, the Muslims."

British military men, whose forebears conquered and subjugated or exterminated millions of colonial slaves in black Africa, the Indian subcontinent, North America and elsewhere as they perfected the art of "divide and rule", are rather ill-suited to preach peace to the American imperialists who are bent on showing the world that they're now the top dog in the Balkans.

In fact, Britain (as well as France) has historically been an imperialist patron of Serbia. The heir to the Serbian throne — today promoted by Draskovic — was born in London, in a hospital room that was temporarily declared Serbian territory so as not to endanger the crown prince's royal claims. Britain's desire for a more even-handed policy towards the various conflicting nationalist regimes in ex-Yugoslavia clashes with US imperialism's desire to punish the Serbs by arming the Sarajevo Muslim regime of Alija Izetbegovic, while German imperialism is primarily interested in reinforcing its influence in Croatia and Slovenia. Today, Washington apparently sees that its best interests lie in a weak government in Belgrade and political disarray in Serbia at large.

US imperialism's current hostility to Serbia, too, has a historical context. Towards the end of World War II, Washington was intent on creating a "Greater Croatia" which would have included the Bosnian province whose eternal independence all the imperialists now hypocritically proclaim. In March 1943, New York's Cardinal Spellman, effectively acting as an emissary for President Franklin D Roosevelt, visited Mussolini's Italy to meet with the Pope, and also with a representative of the Ustasha. Spellman made clear to the Ustasha, as reported in Richard West's *Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia* (1994), that "President Roosevelt wanted an independent Croatia stretching as far as the River Drina, that is, including all Bosnia-Herzegovina". "The interview also helps to explain", remarks West, "why the Ustasha leaders escaped all punishment for their crimes."

For a socialist federation of the Balkans!

Misha Glenny, a knowledgeable student of Balkan affairs writes:

"The Bosnian issue has, for now, been solved. The country has been partitioned into three parts.... Notwithstanding the protests of its architects to the contrary, the Dayton Agreement sets the final seal on the principal aim of those who started and prosecuted these wars: the permanent transfer of populations, with national groups established on their own territories."

— *New York Review of Books*
(19 September)

But the present de facto partition of Bosnia is not a durable solution to nationalist bloodletting in this former Yugoslav republic or elsewhere in the Balkans. During the elections, Izetbegovic repeatedly threatened to "abolish" the Bosnian Serb republic, and the Muslim forces have been far and away the most aggressive in seeking to reclaim land from the Serbs. At the same time, a strong faction of Croatian nationalists openly advocates formally annexing their part of Bosnia to the Croatian state. When the NATO forces leave, if not sooner, the communalist bloodletting will in all likelihood erupt again, this time with hundreds of millions of dollars worth of new arms from the various imperialist powers. As we wrote last year when NATO warplanes were bombing the Bosnian Serbs in the name of "peace":

"Any imperialist-engineered 'peace plan' will necessarily perpetuate national oppression and injustices, laying the basis for new wars when the internal and international balance of forces change. These wars will not only involve the peoples of the region but also the Western powers and Russia, whose conflicting interests have historically made the Balkans the powder keg of Europe."

— "Down With U.S./UN/NATO Attack on Bosnian Serbs!" (*Workers Vanguard* no 628, 8 September 1995)

To provide an ideological cover for NATO intervention, Western imperialist propaganda has prettified the Bosnian Muslim leaders as adherents of a "multi-ethnic, secular, democratic" Bosnia. American liberals and Western European social democrats, in particular, depicted the war in Bosnia as a contest between the democratic Muslim good guys and the Serbian fascist bad guys while generally disappearing the Croats. The September elections totally exposed the liberal and leftist apologists for the Bosnian Muslim regime. The campaign rallies of the dominant Muslim party, Izetbegovic's Party of Democratic Action, began with prayers by an imam and were guarded by soldiers wearing green headbands with slogans from the Koran. Izetbegovic's thugs routinely beat up and otherwise terrorised members even of the more moderate Muslim party led by former Bosnian foreign minister Haris Silajdzic.

Another diplomatic fiction belied by reality is the "Croat-Muslim Federation" cobbled together by the Americans and Germans in 1994. The 20 per cent of Bosnia controlled by Croatian forces has been functionally integrated into Croatia. Bosnian Croats carry Croatian passports and use the Croatian dinar as their currency. The major city of Mostar in eastern Bosnia is divided by the Neretva River into two sectors: one Croat, the other Muslim.

As proletarian internationalists, we have opposed all of the competing nationalist forces in the wars that have raged in the former Yugoslavia, while militarily defending the Bosnian Serbs against repeated imperialist attacks. We have opposed all forms of imperialist intervention, including under the UN flag, and called for an end to the economic embargo of Serbia.

In contrast, most of the centrist and reformist left has lined up behind one communalist force or another and, at least tacitly, behind imperialist intervention. Thus both the right-centrist Workers Power group and the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel boosted "Workers Aid to Bosnia", which promoted the Sarajevo regime and served as a stalking horse for NATO/UN intervention on the Bosnian Muslim side. In the US, Gus Hall's Communist Party and Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party — both of which have a grotesque track record of promoting the "red-brown coalition" of ex-Stalinist chauvinists and fascists in Russia — have



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League initiated demonstration in London, September 1995 protests British/US/UN/NATO terror bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

acted as boosters for the Serbian Milosevic regime.

Meanwhile, the US International Socialist Organization (ISO), affiliated to Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party, enthuses about the reactionary, imperialist-backed opposition to Milosevic, arguing that "November's demonstrations, whatever their outcome, point to the only real solution for the Balkan crisis" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 December). Despite its fig-leaf claim of opposing imperialist intervention, the ISO in fact criticises the imperialists for not intervening more strongly: "Opposition parties have called on the West to take a tough line, but have come away disappointed by 'lukewarm statements of concern'."

The only real solution to the Balkan crisis lies in socialist revolution to sweep away all the reactionary regimes. In both

Serbia and Croatia, workers have become war-weary and disillusioned with the nationalist demagogues who rule over them or aspire to rule over them. They are desperately trying to resist further economic immiseration through trade-union action, the only means of progressive class struggle now available to them. The situation is crying out for the need to form revolutionary workers parties based on the genuinely communist principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Christian Rakovsky and Dimitar Blagoev. Only such revolutionary parties, bound together by the principles of proletarian internationalism, can lead the struggle against local nationalist butchers and their imperialist godfathers who have once again turned the Balkans into a charnel house. For a socialist federation of the Balkans, part of a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

International day of action for Liverpool dockers

The bitter, 15-month struggle by Liverpool dockers against the union-busting Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (MDHC) has inspired solidarity actions in Britain and across Europe, North America and Australia. Now the dock workers have issued a call for an international 24-hour "Day of Action" to take place on 20 January. At least 15 dockers unions along with the International Transport Workers Federation have declared their support to the Merseyside Port Shop Stewards' call "to all dock workers in all ports to join an international blockade of Liverpool cargo and of shipping lines using the scab port of Liverpool".

In September 1995, some 500 Liverpool dockers were locked out by the MDHC for honouring a picket line set up by their sacked union brothers from Torside, a private contractor on the docks. The dockers have repeatedly turned down MDHC's insulting settlement "offers" of a cash payoff and a handful of jobs, demanding reinstatement of all the sacked workers. "Our fathers and grandfathers fought and died for jobs that we could be proud of," said one docker. "I did it for the young ones." By upholding the bedrock trade-union principle that picket lines mean don't cross, these militants received active support from dock workers in Sweden, Denmark and France this autumn. And last winter, longshoremen in US East Coast ports,

Australia, New Zealand and Canada refused to work ships belonging to one of the struck companies.

However, the leadership of the dockers' own union, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), has given the workers the shaft, refusing even to sanction the strike. Prostrate before the government's anti-union laws, these misleaders now have their sights on a Labour Party victory in the upcoming general election. And with Labour leader Tony Blair determined to underline his anti-union credentials for the bosses, his backers in the TGWU bureaucracy are more committed than ever to not rocking the boat with even the slightest tremor of class struggle.

Union-busting, privatisation and "casualisation" have left the Liverpool dockers the last bastion of a once strongly unionised sector of the British working class. They must not stand alone! Truck drivers, rail workers and all transport workers should refuse to handle all shipments to and from the port of Liverpool. The TGWU should mobilise its million-strong membership for mass pickets to shut the Liverpool docks down tight, and dock workers around the world should refuse to handle diverted cargo. This kind of solidarity in action can fortify the unions against the capitalist offensive in Britain and internationally.

For international labour action to support the Liverpool dockers!

SLP...

(Continued from page 3)

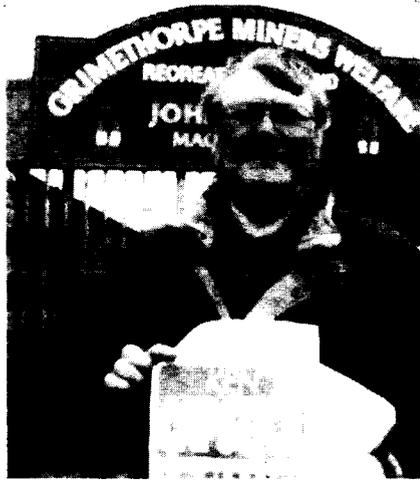
commitment to the interests of the capitalist rulers by seeking to sever the Labour Party's links to the unions.

The demands raised by Ken Capstick are supportable, but cannot be achieved short of a struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of British capitalism. The SLP split from the Labour Party offers an opportunity to break the stranglehold of Labourism over the workers movement and an opening for Marxists to intervene to demonstrate the need for an authentic workers party—one imbued with the understanding that the only guarantee of the welfare of the working class and oppressed is through the destruction of a system based on the exploitation of the workers.

Ken Capstick, former Yorkshire NUM vice president, is known for defending the union against the full force of the capitalist state which repeatedly tried to *destroy the NUM*. Neil Kinnock and other right-wing Labour leaders connived with the state, including MI5, and the capitalist media to frame up Arthur Scargill. In 1991 Ken Capstick moved a resolution at the NUM conference recording the union's "profound disgust" at Kinnock's active participation in this vile smear campaign.

During the 1984-85 strike, the same Labour leaders sabotaged the miners struggle, supporting Thatcher's call for a scab ballot and violence-baiting the miners for defending their picket lines against scabs and cop violence. But it wasn't only the Labour and union leaders who stabbed the miners in the back.

At the 1983 Blackpool TUC conference, Arthur Scargill was unanimously condemned by the capitalist press, the Tories, and the TUC and Labour right wing for telling a simple truth—that Polish Solidarność, a Spencerite company "union", supported by Reagan and



Jess Hurd

SLP candidate Ken Capstick.

Thatcher, was anti-socialist. The political bandits of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (who supported Solidarność counterrevolution) instigated this anti-union, anti-communist witch hunt by running to Fleet Street and colluding with the bosses against the NUM on the eve of the strike. We noted that: "The Blackpool conference and the attacks on Scargill could not have made clearer the connection between imperialist anti-Soviet war fever and the bosses' offensive to shackle the unions at home" (*Spartacist Britain* no 52, September 1983).

No worker should vote for the scab "socialists" of the "Socialist Equality Party" (SEP) who are the direct and immediate heirs of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). Where Blair seeks to shackle the unions, this peculiar "equality" party, known until recently as the International Communist Party (ICP), opposes the very existence of trade unions. The SEP declares that: "The trade unions are not workers organisations in any meaningful sense" (*International Worker*, 30 November). The SEP is a cynical and sinister outfit whose political track record chimes with whatever the imperialist

bourgeoisie is pushing.

A year ago the ICP denounced concrete international union actions in support of the Liverpool dockers as a "fraud". While many union members are justifiably angry with the TGWU misleaders who have left them high and dry, Liverpool dockers fighting against casualisation, and any worker who has experienced non-union conditions, knows very well that a union, even with a bad leadership, is a hell of a lot better than no union at all.

Arthur Scargill stands in contrast to union-haters like Kinnock, Blair and the SEP. We Spartacists have defended the miners union, and its president, against state attacks and witch hunts before, during and since the 1984-85 miners battle. At the same time we have always stated our revolutionary opposition to Arthur Scargill's politics, which amount to "old" Labour reformism. "Old" Labour politics have never touched a hair on the head of British imperialism and have betrayed workers in struggle. The defeat of the miners paved the way for Thatcher's union-busting and job-slashing offensive. We called for a fighting Triple Alliance of rail, coal and dockers unions striking together to shut down the country. This would have involved a frontal assault on the capitalist system, which requires a revolutionary party. But as we said at the time all Scargill had was the Labour Party, which was stabbing the NUM in the back.

British nationalism has always been a hallmark of Labourism (New or "old"). While the SLP opposes the European Union as a bosses' club, and makes statements against "narrow nationalism", they in fact push little-England protectionism. Where this leads was illustrated in 1992 when Scargill ended up alongside arch-racists like Winston Churchill junior in a class collaborationist campaign to "save British coal". This policy of protectionism means opposing foreign imports, inevitably pitting workers in different countries against each other. It also fuels racism and

leads to trade wars, which in turn lead to shooting wars. Only a party which fights for international working-class solidarity across national lines can fight for the interests of the working class, above all that means fighting against our own imperialist rulers.

The election statement of the "Socialist Equality Party" barely mentions the British Army's presence in Northern Ireland. They write as if the imperialist troops are merely an "interesting" phenomenon, as if the British working class has no special responsibility to oppose the imperialist machinations of its own bourgeoisie. The role of the British Army is the brutal subjugation of the oppressed Catholic population. For any socialist organisation worthy of the name it is obligatory to call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland.

Scargill's SLP does call for troops out, although they accept the framework of the imperialist "peace" process, which is premised on the British troops remaining in place. The SLP election leaflet does not address racist terror, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-Traveller bigotry; the SLP's constitution even bars recent immigrants from membership. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and for trade union/minority mobilisations against racist terror.

Defensive struggles against capitalist austerity are taking place across Europe. What's needed are Leninist vanguard parties to fight for working-class power. Abolish the survivals of feudalism—the monarchy, the House of Lords and the established churches! For the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales! British troops out of Northern Ireland now! For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in October 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils throughout the world. ■

Terror...

(Continued from page 1)

December 1996). On 23 September 1996, police gunned down unarmed IRA man Diarmuid O'Neill at his home in London. And in November, Satpal Ram, in his eleventh year of a life imprisonment sentence for defending himself against a murderous racist attack, was beaten by guards in Brixton prison. We demand: Freedom now for Satpal Ram!

The raw truth is that there is no justice in the capitalist courts. This rotten system is racist to the core. Its cops, courts, army and prisons constitute the apparatus of capitalist class rule for the preservation of private property: that means war on the working class, blacks, Asians, women, poor people, youth.

The escalating rise in racist cop terror has been accompanied by mounting repressive legislation, from the Criminal Justice Act to the racist anti-asylum laws. Tony Blair's New Labour has made tightening the law-and-order noose around the neck of the working class one of its principal campaigns. Shadow Home Secretary Jack Straw has earned the justified hatred of large sections of the working class and youth for his unflinching support to racist state repression. There are currently 13 law-and-order bills before Parliament, one of which is the Police Bill, which is unopposed by Labour. This bill would give cops legal powers to break into any home or office on the say-so of a chief constable or his assistant, and to bug, burgle and copy documents. As Nick Cohen com-

mented in the *Observer* (22 December 1996), "The police can do what they want and only a Pollyanna on Prozac would be credulous enough to believe they will confine their attentions to drug barons and terrorists."

The social power of the working class is the only force that can fight this racist capitalist offensive. But the workers are hamstrung by their pro-capitalist leadership, both the cowardly trade union bureaucrats and the snivelling Labour parliamentarians. These misleaders would not dream of disrupting the bosses' age-old divide-and-rule methods, with which the British imperialist rulers have always pitted worker against worker, from Ireland to India as well as here at home.

A graphic illustration of both the latent potential for integrated working-class struggle, and of the fetters upon it, is evident at the Ford Dagenham car plant in Essex. Seven black and Asian workers, supported by the TGWU, have taken Ford to an industrial tribunal over racist hiring at the elite truck fleet division. Composed of drivers who deliver parts to Ford plants throughout Western Europe, the truck fleet workforce is *ninety-eight per cent white*, in a highly integrated plant with an overall 40-45 per cent black and Asian workforce. Hiring into the truck fleet is heavily influenced by "senior drivers", who, the TGWU allege, see to it that the jobs go to their friends and relatives. In response to this dispute, the 300 truckers have voted to dissolve their TGWU branch and plan to join the little known United Road Transport Union (URTU). URTU spokesman Douglas Curtis justified the racist hiring, sneering that "black lorry drivers

are very rare. It may simply be because their superior intelligence says don't work in a shitty job for low pay" (*Guardian*, 5 December 1996). The truck fleet drivers earn £30,000 a year, the highest wage of any manual workers at Dagenham. He continued in the same vein, "It may also mean they are generally more outgoing and communally minded and being a lorry driver is a very lonely occupation."

This split from the TGWU in defence of racist hiring is a gift to the bosses, poison to the workers movement. In late 1995 wildcat walkouts occurred at Ford and Vauxhall when the union bureaucracy overrode massive sentiment for strike action over a piddling wage offer. A few months later, an enraged walkout ensued when Ford replaced the faces of black and Asian workers with whites in a promotional brochure. To systemic racism, on top of crap wages, speedup and overtime, the only response with any teeth is strike action uniting black, white and Asian workers across the plant and throughout the industry. But the craven union bureaucrats of the T&G, the largest by far of the car workers unions, have only supported an appeal to a toothless industrial tribunal. It is necessary to fight for industrial unionism—one union for all the trades working in the industry—in place of the craft divisions that segment the workforce and render it more open to the bosses' attacks.

But how can TGWU leader Bill Morris lead class struggle when he plays one hundred per cent by the bosses' rules? Hiding behind the anti-union laws, this Labour-loyal bureaucrat has left the 500 Liverpool dockers isolated for 15 months.

Despite felt working-class solidarity throughout the country and internationally, the sacked dockers must watch scabs pass through the gates each day to do *their* jobs because the Morris bureaucracy will not mobilise the union—which is one million strong—to take the action that can shut down the port.

The battle to get the unions off their knees—like the fight to stop racist police torture and killing—requires a revolutionary party acting as a tribune for all the oppressed. Only such a party can mobilise the social power of the integrated working class, from Ford Dagenham and London Underground to postal workers and firefighters, to rip up racist and anti-union legislation, organise the unorganised, and fight for working-class solidarity across national boundaries, against the imperialist bourgeoisie and against the poison of protectionism.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Group are fighting to build such an internationalist revolutionary party. When the working class achieves power through proletarian revolution, when those who labour rule, then we can speak about avenging the killings of Joy Gardner, Shiji Lapite, Wayne Douglas and all the victims of this dying system. ■

Contact the ICL

International Communist
League
PO Box 7429
New York, New York 10116
United States

Ireland...

(Continued from page 12)

nothing for the Protestant working class either. The grim truth of this statement is now seen plainly on the streets of Northern Ireland: from last summer's Loyalist anti-Catholic rampages, protected by the RUC and British Army, to the recent targeting of Sinn Féin members for murder by Protestant paramilitaries. We demand the *immediate unconditional withdrawal of British troops!* In the case of interpenetrated peoples, as in Northern Ireland, there can be no just solution to the national question within the bounds of capitalism. The Catholics in the North are an oppressed minority, but at the same time we oppose the forcible unification of Ireland which would merely reverse the terms of oppression against the Protestant community. *We fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles.*

The domestic reflection of the imperialist "peace" process is the Labour/Democratic Left (DL)/Fine Gael coalition government's attacks on workers, Republicans, women and Travellers. The dictates of Maastricht Europe demand attacks on workers, particularly in semi-state industries like the Electricity Supply Board and public transport. In the face of these attacks, DL and Labour criminally tie the hands of the working class to their class enemy, pushing through austerity social contracts like the Programme for Competitiveness and Work. The Dublin Spartacist Group (DSG) opposed a vote to Labour or DL candidates in the 1992 Dail elections pointing out these parties' openly declared appetite for coalition with the bourgeois parties.

Support to class collaboration goes hand in hand with support to its "peace" fraud. Militant and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) supported DL and the Labour Party in the 1992 elections. Along with the Dublin-based Workers Solidarity Movement, all three groups have been peddling illusions in the imperialist "peace" deal — Militant and WSM refusing even to call for British troops out. In 1969, Tony Cliff's SWP endorsed the troops being sent in by the British Labour government claiming they would provide a "breathing space" for the Catholics, and today doesn't call for their withdrawal. The pro-Unionist Militant, slavishly tailing the popular front, scandalously ran candidates in the Northern Ireland "peace" deal election fraud last May. Their Labour Coalition delegates still sit in the Northern Ireland forum which excludes SF, even after the SDLP has withdrawn from this Unionist sham. For their part, the WSM moaned that the collapse of the imperialist "peace" fraud was a "tragedy" (*Anarchist News*, no 6, 26 February 1996).



Matt Kavanagh

Traveller family in Dublin, victims of racist eviction. Trade unionists must defend Traveller halting sites!

While demanding the disarming of SF/IRA as a condition to their participation in the peace talks, the imperialists are happy to promote the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), the front for the fascist UVF. The UVF has perpetrated some of the most savage atrocities in Northern Ireland and are suspected of carrying out the recent car bombings of SF members in the North. Criminally, the Labourite misleaders of the Dublin Trades Council and the Labour Party have both held meetings with members of the PUP/UVF in Dublin. Militant has conducted public "discussions" in Dublin and Belfast with UVF murderer Billy Hutchinson. They portray Hutchinson as a legitimate representative of the Protestant working class, instead of what he is: a sectarian murderer of Catholics.

Militant panders to reactionary vigilantism

Thus it should come as no surprise that Militant Labour/Socialist Party pander to reactionary vigilantism and anti-Traveller racism. Militant support and positively promote the reactionary "anti-drugs" organisations which reinforce the bourgeois state and from which the vigilante squads spring. Their declared opposition to "vigilante action" is not because it is reactionary, but because it is carried out by "unelected and unrepresentative groups of individuals acting on their own behalf" (*Militant* no 247, October 1996). Militant member Mick Murphy makes explicit their loyalty to the bosses' state. Referring to the anti-drugs campaign that he is a committee member of, he says: "It is a policy with all the campaigns in Tallaght to work with the housing authorities and Gardai to have those who refuse to stop pushing either convicted or moved out of the area" (*Militant* no 246, September 1996).

Militant's activities in Tallaght are a continuation of the "sewer socialism" of

their leader Joe Higgins, who in his 1992 council election campaign called for more cops on the beat to "prevent crime and anti-social behaviour" (*Militant Socialist*, November 1992). In his Dublin West by-election campaign last April he directly pandered to anti-Traveller racism. His election leaflet declared: "The local community has the right to publicly identify regular offenders and apply community pressure to stop them." Higgins' constituency contains significant numbers of Travellers who confront daily and vicious bigotry. In Ireland, such appeals are a thinly disguised code language for inciting lynch-mob hysteria against Travellers. Today in Militant's Tallaght campaign in an area notorious for its history of anti-Traveller bigotry and attacks — Militant Labour's election articles say not a word in defence of the Travellers!

While Militant are the most prominent of the fake left in their involvement in "law and order" and pandering to anti-

Traveller vigilantism, the record of the SWP comes from the same Labourite mould. Their propaganda concerning the bail referendum completely ignored the question of Travellers. The "law and order" campaign aims for greater police powers including the call for more repressive cop apparatus. Yet the SWP holds the position that the police are their class brothers and "workers in uniform" (*Socialist Worker*, 21 December 1996).

The anarchist Workers Solidarity Movement (WSM), like Militant, support "anti-drugs" groups, while advising them on how to be more "democratically run" (*Workers Solidarity*, Spring 1996). Despairing of the possibility of mobilising the organised working class in defence of Travellers' rights, the WSM acts only as cheerleaders for various Traveller organisations who themselves seek to pressurise the government. In reply to a racist campaign against Travellers, WSM uncritically quotes the Irish Travellers Movement calling on the Gardai "to ensure the highest possible standards of 'policing'", reinforcing illusions in the "neutral" nature of the bourgeois state.

The imperialist "peace" process and continuing government attacks on workers and the oppressed pose starkly the need for a revolutionary programme and party. But the Militant, SWP and WSM offer no alternative to fight the bosses' attacks. As communists we fight to build a Trotskyist party — a party which fights in the interests of all the oppressed. The material basis for ending the oppression of women, youth, gays, Travellers and immigrants in reactionary clericalist Ireland will only be established with socialist revolution throughout these islands. In freeing itself, the working class will liberate all sections of society from the many forms of oppression which are rooted in class divisions. ■

Jamal...

(Continued from page 5)

witnesses, suppressed evidence, and even concocted a confession. The trial process was so warped as to call into question the very premise that Jamal was even accorded a "trial." At Jamal's 1982 trial, witnesses such as Veronica Jones were coerced by police into changing their testimony to fit the police/prosecution frame-up scenario. At a supplementary PCRA hearing in October 1996, Jones courageously came forward to present her original true eyewitness testimony, which corroborated that of four others who saw someone other than Mumia flee the scene of the shooting. For offering her powerful evidence of Mumia's innocence, Jones was dragged off the stand in Sabo's court and thrown in jail.

The entire history of the persecution of Jamal, a courageous fighter on behalf of the oppressed, underscores the fact that the cops, courts, prisons and government are joined by a thousand ties in a *system* of racist injustice. From the cop executions of youth in the ghettos and barrios to the "legal lynching" of the racist death penalty, the capitalist state exists to keep down the mass of working people and minorities in order to protect the rule of the exploiters.

This web of repression put Mumia in its sights from the time he was a young leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in the 1960s, when he was targeted by the FBI's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) to "neutralise" radical activists. Police harassment and surveillance continued as Jamal became a widely known journalist whose radio commentaries and articles exposed the racist reality of daily life in Philly, and later when he became a supporter of the

MOVE organisation. It culminated in Mumia's being falsely convicted and sentenced to death in 1982.

As part of their plan to carry out Jamal's execution, the forces of the state have sought to silence his powerful voice against injustice. The prison authorities' justification for their illegal confiscation of Jamal's legal mail was that he was "running a business", that is, writing his book, *Live from Death Row*. Despite this victimisation, Mumia has continued to write — his new book, *Death Blossoms: Reflections from a Prisoner of Conscience*, has just been issued by Plough Publishing House.

The continuing state vendetta against Mumia underlines that there is no justice for the oppressed in the capitalist courts. Key to staying the executioner's hand in 1995 was the wave of international protests which gave a taste of the kind of militant struggle needed to free Mumia. As Marxists, we look to the power of social protest centred on the labour movement in alliance with all the many victims of racist capitalism. Through such struggles, the working class can and must become conscious of its role as the only social force capable of doing away with the entire system of exploitation and oppression. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!

For more information about the campaign to free Mumia, contact the **Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WCIN 3XX, Tel: 0171-485 1396. Contribute to Mumia's legal defence: send/make payable to PDC and write "Jamal legal defence" on the back of the cheque. Letters of solidarity to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg PA 15370-8090, USA. ■**

WORKERS HAMMER

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League

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Down with Irish government's "law and order" campaign

A vicious "law and order" campaign is being whipped up by the ruling class in Ireland. It went into top gear when journalist Veronica Guerin was shot dead outside Dublin last June. Citing involvement of "drug barons" in her death the government announced its plans to increase Gardai powers of detention to seven days, and its intention to put hundreds more uniformed cops on the street. In November a referendum was passed on a reactionary constitutional amendment where a judge can now refuse someone bail on the say-so of a Garda officer "where it is reasonably considered necessary to prevent the commission of a serious offence by that person". So now you can be refused bail because you *might* commit some crime *in the future*. This increase in the repressive power of the bourgeois state will necessarily be directed at the working class and the oppressed in Irish society—trade union militants, the left, Republicans, campaigners for women's rights and the vulnerable Travelling community.

The current campaign of the ruling class has given rise to a wave of reactionary vigilantism. Last May, heroin addict and AIDS sufferer Josie Dwyer was murdered by vigilantes in Dublin's Dolphin's Barn area. Some anti-drug committees in the city have started giving "dealers" 24 hours to stop dealing or leave their homes (*Irish Times*, 28 September 1996). Supporters of Sinn Féin (SF) are up to their eye-balls in these campaigns. Dublin SF Councillor Christy Burke has been a prominent spokesman on recent "anti-drug" demonstrations and at least one supporter has been arrested for vigilante attacks.

The first step to dealing with the so-called drugs problem would be to immedi-



Alan Betson

Irish president Mary Robinson: liberal face of "law and order" repression.

ately repeal all laws criminalising drugs, thus removing the exorbitant profits that fuel the drug trade. The anti-drugs groups however, seek to strengthen the oppressive capitalist state by calling on the government to "take action" against drug dealers. One such group, the Inner City Organisations Network (ICON) has even requested Garda training. "Community action" vigilantism necessarily seeks to act as an adjunct to the cops.

The "law and order" campaign aims to increase the repressive powers of the capitalist state—the cops, the army and the judiciary—there to defend the interests of the capitalist class against any challenge to their system and rule. The bourgeois state cannot be reformed. It must be *smashed* by the only force that

has the social power to do so: the working class.

Driving families out of their homes, beatings, and murder by vigilantes not only target so-called "drug pushers" but also necessarily legitimise and fuel anti-Traveller racism, exposing the lie of a new "enlightened, liberal" Ireland. The government witch hunt against "social welfare scroungers" puts wind in the sails of vigilante attacks on Travellers. In November 1994, there was a horrific assault on Travellers' homes and a pub which served Travellers in Glenamaddy, Co Galway. In Dublin last May, Mary Ellen Maguire's caravan was burnt out and her children threatened with guns and knives by four men. Last November in the Dublin suburb of Ballymun, two Traveller caravans were

burnt out and a woman was found dead. Local Travelling people were rightly outraged that the Fire Brigade was unable to gain access to the site because the corporation had installed a locked barrier to prevent other Travelling families from moving their caravans in.

These assaults on the Travelling community target the most vulnerable section of society, who suffer high levels of infant mortality and often lack even the most basic amenities, like running water. Moreover, these attacks are the thin end of a wedge aimed directly at the organised working class. *Smash anti-Traveller vigilantism! Trade unionists must defend halting sites against racist reaction!*

The vicious "law and order" campaign comes in the context of the rapidly disintegrating "peace" process of the British, American and southern Irish governments. Yet this reactionary imperialist fraud has been lauded as a step towards "peace" from the Labour Party on down to fake-socialist outfits like Militant and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Premised on the continuing presence of British imperialist troops in the North, the Irish ruling class saw the "peace" deal as a means to defeat the IRA and remove the "thorny" national question from the agenda. But with the "peace" process shattered against the harsh reality of Loyalist resistance, the prospect of heightened instability in the North spilling over the border is fuelling their current obsession with increasing "law and order" powers.

From the very start we warned that any deal imposed by the bloody imperialists on Northern Ireland will necessarily be unjust and brutal, continuing the oppression of the Catholic minority and offering

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Free Roisin McAliskey!



Independent

We reprint below a Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) letter sent to Home Secretary Michael Howard on 18 December 1996, protesting the arrest

and detention of Roisin McAliskey. As we go to press McAliskey continues to be held in prison on remand.

We are writing to protest the outrageous arrest and detention of Roisin McAliskey. We demand her immediate release.

The case against Roisin McAliskey has all the hallmarks of a frame up for alleged involvement in the IRA mortar attack on a British Army base at Osnabruck in Germany last summer. The German Federal Prosecutors are seeking her extradition on charges of possession of explosives and attempted murder, yet no one was even injured at Osnabruck. There is no evidence which ties her to participation in these events. Still

McAliskey has faced weekly remand hearings.

Pregnant and ill, McAliskey is suffering brutal treatment by the British government and is in danger of losing her baby. While still in Northern Ireland just after her arrest on 20 November, she was subjected to five days of interrogation by the RUC, before being brought to England and thrown into prison. As her solicitor Gareth Pierce pointed out in court, McAliskey has had virtually no medical treatment since her arrest. According to *The Independent* (12 December), the examining doctor's report said McAliskey "showed signs of 'advanced starvation' due to repeated vomiting". Now held at Holloway Prison, she is locked in her cell 23 hours a day and from 8pm until 8am no one on the outside is able to unlock the door to her cell. She has been moved from prison to prison. This is deliberately barbaric treatment and endangerment of the life of a

pregnant woman.

Former MP Bernadette McAliskey and her family have been targeted not only by the British state over the years as part of its continuing repression of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland, but have also been the target of a murderous attack by Loyalist paramilitaries. As the *Irish Post* (14 December) reports "Many believe that the charges against Roisin McAliskey are a politically motivated bid to silence her mother's criticism of the peace process."

It is indicative of British "justice" that it was only weeks ago that an unarmed Diarmuid O'Neill was shot dead at the hands of the British state.

We demand: No extradition of Roisin McAliskey! Free her now and free all victims of British imperialist repression!

Yours sincerely,

Kate Klein
for the PDC