



For workers political revolution to stop capitalist restoration!

What next for China?



Kubota/Megnum



Habit/Impact Visuals

Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms" are pushing China towards capitalist restoration: while millions of impoverished peasant labourers flock to the cities looking for work, stock exchange in Shanghai exemplifies growing strength of capitalist forces.

Deng's death and the crisis of Stalinism

Last October, central Beijing saw the gala opening of the Chang An Club. For an annual membership fee of \$9000, top government officials, Hong Kong tycoons, mainland Chinese businessmen and resident foreign executives can enjoy tennis courts, bowling alleys, a swimming pool, an electronic golf simulator, a sauna and the use of corporate boardrooms. Two traffic lights away, an old man in his

seventies and his grandson were begging in the streets for their next meal. This is a good example of what China's "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping, who died two weeks ago, called "socialism with Chinese characteristics".

The eulogies for Deng by the leaders of Western and Japanese imperialism have hailed him as the "architect of modern China". Yet there was also a note of nervous apprehension that Deng's death has removed a central pillar in the fragile internal stability of the most populous nation on earth. The Beijing bureaucrats are themselves keenly aware that they are sitting atop a volcano of popular unrest — fuelled by the "market reforms"

which marked Deng's reign. Even unofficial expressions of mourning were suppressed through a massive mobilisation of security forces, for fear they could turn into political protests.

Conventional wisdom in the West is that what used to be called "Red China" has become capitalist or has gone so far down that road that it will automatically become capitalist in the near future. Deng "Chose Capitalism", declared the front-page headline of the *New York Times* in reporting his death. Yet even the *Times* recognises that matters are not so simple and straightforward. Its editorial commentary praised Deng for "the dynamism of his reforms" but also worried "how in-

complete and therefore tenuous those reforms remain". The term "reforms" is, of course, a code word for those policies — eg, opening China to foreign investment, the privatisation of small and medium-sized industrial enterprises — which have undermined the collectivised economy and brought China to the brink of capitalist restoration.

Through threats of economic sanctions and other measures, Washington has been pushing hard for the Beijing bureaucracy to escalate the drive towards full-fledged capitalism. Currently, the US and other imperialist powers are demanding that China slash investment in state-owned

continued on page 4

Blair wins Wirral flying bloody Union Jack

We say: No vote to New Labour!

New Labour's massive win in the Wirral South by-election on 27 February, securing this safe Tory seat for Labour for the first time ever, is widely trumpeted as evidence New Labour will win a huge majority in the general election. Labour's campaign in Wirral was jingoistic to the core, with the bloody Union Jack everywhere added to the yellow-and-red Labour banner. *Financial Times* journalist, Philip

Stephens noted (28 February): "The Union flag now flutters at every New Labour rally. Every breakfast with business executives is calculated to reinforce the message: New Labour is safe." Safe that is for "God, Queen and Country". Blair has proclaimed that under New Labour, British imperialism can "regain influence abroad". He is presenting New Labour as the party of the business world and of

"Fortress Europe".

Their hand picked candidate, Ben Chapman, a former regional Trade and Industry director and company boss, ran on the slogan "Ben Means Business". New Labour intends to wage war on the working class, immigrants and minorities, and on everybody who is consigned to the bottom of the heap in this decaying capitalist society. But while Labour is gaining

in Tory heartlands, there is simmering discontent from broad layers of society. Scotland has seen strikes and mass demonstrations against Labour council cuts, and polls show that nearly nine out of ten black youth see no point in voting.

The Spartacist League/Britain says unequivocally: *No vote to New Labour* in the general election! A vote for Blair is a vote to retain virtually every existing piece of anti-union and anti-immigrant legislation; it is a vote to racist, capitalist "law and order", in which Labour more than matches the Tories, and a vote for British Army-backed repression in Northern Ireland.

In the Wirral South by-election we extended critical support to the Socialist Labour Party (SLP) candidate Mick Culken. We welcomed the opportunity to cam-

continued on page 8

Spirited protest meets Peruvian dictator Fujimori

"Fujimori, asesino!" rang out in front of the prestigious London School of Economics on 11 February in a spirited united-front picket protesting the presence on campus of bloody Peruvian dictator Alberto Fujimori. The 100-strong picket broke out in angry and loud protest as Fujimori arrived followed by his cortège. The protest was initiated by the Workers International League (WIL). It was joined by a Spartacist League (SL) contingent along with members from the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), Latin American leftists, Socialist Worker Student Society (SWSS) and a couple of members from Workers Power.

The day before, Tory prime minister John Major used a trade conference on Latin America to announce British imperialism's support to the blood-drenched dictators of Latin America. Major described their relationship as "long and deep" offering them Britain as "a place to do business". Meanwhile British Petroleum in Colombia finances the Colombian state to terrorise and intimidate BP's impoverished and superexploited workers.

An SL speaker addressed the picket, denouncing Fujimori and pointing out that

the spectacular hostage-taking by the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) had put a spotlight on the horrendous conditions of the workers and oppressed in Peru. She said that while the SL supported the call of the MRTA for the release of their comrades, their "guerrilla road" basically means reformism with guns. She added that British imperialism is up to its elbows in backing bloody dictators like Fujimori, and from Northern Ireland to Africa and Latin America it has blood on its hands. The SL speaker emphasised that Major and Blair backed the likes of Fujimori abroad and Labour has pledged to carry on the attacks against workers, immigrants and the oppressed at home. Free all victims of Fujimori terror! Free the Rochester hunger strikers!

The SL contingent stressed that "the main enemy is at home" — the fight to overthrow the bourgeoisie is the only way forward from Peru to Britain. When protesters chanted "Abajo Fujimori!" (Down with Fujimori!), we added "Obreros al poder!" (Workers to power!) which was joined by a significant section of the demonstration. The Latin American students chanting "Fujimori —" followed



Workers Hammer

United-front demonstration at London School of Economics, 11 February 1997 against blood-drenched Peruvian dictator, Alberto Fujimori.

by a chorus of "Go to hell!" gladly took our lead in following that with "John Major — Go to hell!" When we then added "Tony Blair —", they also answered "Go to hell!" to the embarrassment of WIL, who want Blair to go to No. 10 Downing Street to administer capitalism. Everybody knows that the

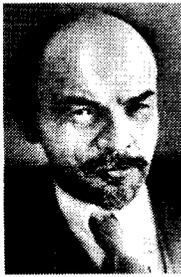
prime-minister-in-waiting will stand by British imperialism's favourite butchers. We chanted: Major and Blair love capitalist bloodsuckers; hate the working class. As our speaker pointed out, what is needed is proletarian revolution led by a Leninist party. For workers revolution in Peru and across the Americas! ■

The united front and the fight against fascism



TROTSKY

In "What Next, Vital Questions for the German Proletariat" (1932), Leon Trotsky argued for the Communist Party to implement the tactic of the united front to both unite the workers in action against the fascists and to break the workers from their pro-capitalist Social Democratic leadership. Trotsky warned against the criminal ultra-left line of the Stalinist Comintern, which denounced the Social



LENIN

Democrats as "social fascists". We fight for militant mobilisations based on the power of the mass organisations of the working class to crush fascism. The tactic of the united front is critical to winning workers and youth to the communist programme in order to overthrow the capitalist system, which spawns fascism. Today, Trotsky's writings on Germany contain vital lessons for the struggle against the sinister rise of racist state terror and the growth of fascism in Europe.

And so, ten years ago, the Comintern explained that the gist of the united-front policy was in the following: the Communist Party proves to the masses and their organizations its readiness in action to wage battle in common with them for aims, no matter how modest, so long as they lie on the road of the historical development of the proletariat; the Communist Party in this struggle takes into account the actual condition of the class at each given moment; it turns not only to the masses, but also to those organizations whose leadership is recognized by the masses; it confronts the reformist organizations before the eyes of the masses with the real problems of the class struggle. The policy of the united front hastens the revolutionary development of the class by revealing in the open that the common struggle is undermined not by the disruptive acts of the Communist Party but by the conscious sabotage of the leaders of the Social Democracy. It is absolutely clear that these conceptions could in no sense have become obsolete.

—"What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat", January 1932

Defend South Korean trade unions!



Workers Hammer

A spirited Spartacist contingent joined a protest called by the Korea Friendship Society outside the South Korean embassy in London on 18 January. The protest was called against South Korean strongman Kim Young Sam's brutal police-state repression of South Korean workers and their unions. Internationally our comrades initiated or joined in demonstrations of proletarian solidarity in Tokyo, Sydney, Milan, Mexico City and cities across the United States. Our placards called for "Victory to the South Korean workers! Smash the reactionary anti-union laws!" and demanded: "Free the arrested South Korean trade union leaders now!" We chanted: "Defend North Korea from imperialism! Oust the Stalinist bureaucrats! For workers political revolution!" "For

revolutionary reunification of Korea, build a Bolshevik party!"

We stood sharply counterposed to the leftover Stalinist worshippers of "socialism in half-a-country" of the Korea Friendship Society and to the "state department socialists" of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party. Cliff was expelled from the Fourth International for refusing to defend North Korea in the 1950-53 Korean War against US/British imperialism. At this protest the SWP showed up with the slogan "Keep the unions free, don't let them crush democracy". What "democracy"? We responded "Remember Vietnam, Korea '53: workers must smash imperialist bourgeoisies!" For social revolution to overthrow capitalism in South Korea! ■

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).

EDITOR: Andrew Gatsos

MANAGING EDITOR: Jo Watt

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Kathie Tennant

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

Asylum now! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Desperate hunger strike in prison hellhole

MARCH 1—Nearly two months ago, asylum seekers locked away at Rochester Prison in Kent went on hunger strike demanding their claims to asylum be heard and an end to their imprisonment as criminals. Several weeks into the protest, some of the refugees even stopped taking fluids, while ghoulish Home Office Minister Ann Widdecombe repeatedly underlined the government's willingness to see them starve to death. Media access to facts about the asylum seekers is tightly restricted, but reportedly five of the hunger strikers have been released on bail. Asylum rights campaigners have said that four others are gravely ill. Recent reports are that none are now continuing the hunger strike.

The various campaigns for refugee rights and asylum mainly focus on the injustice of Tory policies on immigration. *But the Labour Party has complied with the government's every racist move on the question of immigration.* The Labour Party abstained on the crucial 1996 Immigration and Asylum Act and pledges to uphold most current anti-immigration legislation. Its history, in power and out, is of fulsome support to the anti-immigrant racism endemic to decaying capitalism. The 1964 Labour government of Harold Wilson extended anti-immigrant laws, tightening quotas on non-white

immigration and introducing "patriality"; the 1974-79 Labour government brought in the notorious "virginity tests" for Asian women. The 1981 Nationality Act, passed by the Thatcher Tory government, had been prepared by the previous Labour government. Numerous reformist groups as well as centrist outfits such as Workers Power and the Workers International League, in their strategic unity with the Labour Party, claim a Blair Labour government can be pressured to adopt more humane policies. But one look at Labour's record should stop that fantasy cold.

Today, anti-immigrant racism is the rallying cry of the imperialist rulers and their fascist auxiliaries, from Le Pen's Front National in France to Hitlerite skinheads in Germany and the British National Party. Anti-immigrant frenzy, fuelled by intensifying inter-imperialist economic rivalries, has its echo in the poisonous protectionism of the trade union bureaucracy. The TGWU leadership "fought"—and lost—the battle to preserve jobs at Ford Halewood in February under such slogans as "Let British workers build Ford cars for the British market".

Murderous targeting of immigrants internationally is the background to the shocking tragedy of the migrants bound for Italy on a freighter, the *Yiohan*, who were drowned at sea in December. In the

treacherous waters of the Malta-Sicily channel, some 320 Asian immigrants were "forced at gunpoint by the mother-ship's drunken captain into a smaller wooden boat, built to hold only a third of their number and already shipping water" (*Observer*, 12 January). The smaller boat was

hunger strikers who, as of midnight on Sunday 26 January, began refusing fluids. Greatly weakened already, they have been pronounced by doctors to be in danger of dying within 48 to 72 hours of the time they stopped taking fluids. Now two more have joined them.



Workers Hammer

London, 5 February 1997 demonstration outside Home Office. SL contingent condemns Tory and Labour anti-immigrant racism.

then rammed by the *Yiohan* and sank, drowning at least 283 of its passengers. The surviving immigrants were dumped in Greece and arrested. The *Yiohan* captain, party to the extortion of thousands of dollars from each of his desperate passengers, managed to do a disappearing act. Except for the *Observer*, this horrific event was scarcely reported in the British bourgeois press.

As we wrote in "Immigration and racist oppression in Europe" (*Workers Hammer* no 152, September-October 1996):

"Anti-immigrant demagoguery and terror are being used to *divide and divert* the working class from united struggle against the present capitalist offensive.... There can be no compromise between the internationalist programme which the proletariat requires to fight for power and even to wage defensive struggles in the imperialist epoch and the acceptance of the poisonous racism which splits the working class and serves only the bourgeois masters. The revolutionary Trotskyists of the International Communist League have actively championed the rights of immigrants, fighting for full citizenship rights for everyone no matter how they managed to get here."

We print below a 29 January letter of protest to Home Secretary Michael Howard by the Partisan Defence Committee.

We vehemently protest the brutal treatment of the asylum seekers at Rochester Prison in Kent. At least 16 have been on hunger strike for more than three weeks, against, as their statement says, their "unlawful imprisonment without trial, hearing or process." The barbaric British state could very soon be responsible for the deaths by starvation of three of the

The jails and detention centres of Britain are filled to overflowing with asylum seekers like the 180-200 at Rochester Prison, who have fled repression in such countries as Russia, Algeria, Zaire, and Nigeria. Charged with no crime, they are left to rot as criminals for an indefinite period, often two years or more. This country's racist and draconian immigration policies ensure that such people are driven to acts of extreme, life threatening desperation.

The horror now unfolding at Rochester brings to mind the butchery committed by the British state 16 years ago when ten Irish republican prisoners died slow and painful deaths on hunger strike, fighting for political prisoner status, in the H-block of Long Kesh.

In the vile tradition of the British government's exclusion of Jews fleeing the Nazi holocaust, today the capitalist governments of Fortress Europe clang shut the doors on hundreds of thousands of refugees from brutal repression from all corners of the world. On Christmas Day, 280 Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan immigrants were drowned off the Sicilian coast, murdered by smugglers who understood that such refugees are deemed expendable by the imperialist rulers.

We demand: *Immediate release of the Rochester Prison hunger strikers and all asylum seekers held in detention! Shut down Campsfield and all the refugee detention centres! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

Yours sincerely,

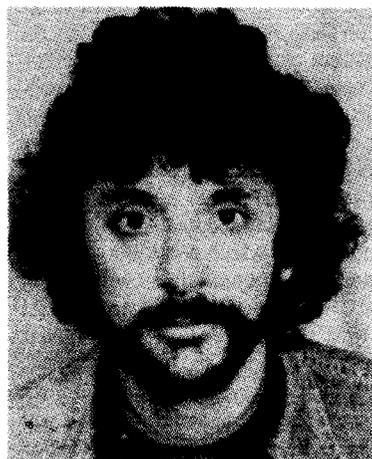
Kate Klein
for the PDC

In memory of Blair Peach Anti-fascist martyr

On 23 April 1979 Blair Peach was murdered by the British state. Along with thousands of others, Blair Peach, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, had turned out for an anti-fascist rally in the predominantly Asian Southall area of London against the National Front (NF) fascist scum. That day saw hundreds of anti-fascist protesters arrested and dozens injured. The murderous cops of the Special Patrol Group killed Blair Peach, fracturing his skull through repeated blows to the head. Those responsible for Blair Peach's murder were never brought to justice.

Fascist terror gangs are on the increase across Europe, spurred on by capitalist counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union amidst imperialist "New World Order" crisis.

Blair Peach was murdered by cops administered by the Callaghan Labour government. And it was Harold Wilson's Labour government in 1974 that was responsible for the death of anti-fascist Kevin Gately in Red Lion Square. Appeals to the capitalist state, whether Tory or Labour, to stop the fascists are suicidal. Nor will the fascists be stopped by wretched pro-Labour electoralism. What is urgently



Blair Peach
1946-1979

needed are massive mobilisations of trade unions and minorities to crush the fascists!

The memory of Blair Peach should be seared in the minds of every class-struggle and anti-fascist fighter. It will take workers revolution to smash the rotten capitalist system, which breeds the fascist scum. Only then will the death of Blair Peach along with all the victims of this racist capitalist system be avenged.

China...

(Continued from page 1)

industries as a condition for joining the World Trade Organization and "to speed the opening of the country's economy" (*New York Times*, 2 March). Looming over all this is the rivalry between the US and Japan over economic domination of the region, as they scramble for the "right" to untrammelled exploitation of China's huge proletariat and race for resource-rich Siberia, reopened to imperialist plunder as a result of the destruction of the Soviet Union. Recall that World War II in the Pacific was fought primarily for control over China. However, that prize was ripped out of the hands of American imperialism by the 1949 Revolution. As Trotskyists, we have always called for unconditional military defence of the Chinese deformed workers state against imperialism, including upholding its right to a nuclear arsenal.

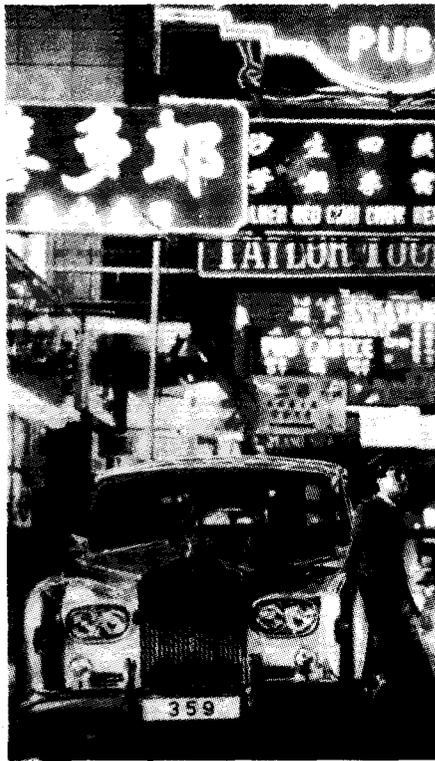
From its inception, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has undermined the gains of the revolution through its nationalist hostility to the extension of socialist revolution internationally, seeking instead an accommodation with imperialism. Today China is approaching a decisive turning point. Whether the increasingly assertive forces for capitalist restoration succeed in destroying the gains of China's social revolution or are defeated through a proletarian political revolution which sweeps away the venal Stalinist bureaucracy will not only determine the fate of the Chinese people, but will leave a huge imprint on the countries of all East Asia and beyond.

China on the brink

The political heirs of Mao Zedong have brought the Chinese Revolution to the abyss. The 1949 seizure of power by Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its peasant-guerrilla army from the Guomindang (Kuomintang) Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek shattered capitalist rule and liberated the country from its subservience to Japanese and Western imperialism. The revolutionary overturn created the conditions for enormous gains for workers, peasants and women. The Chinese Revolution was a huge defeat for the US and other imperialist powers. This was brought home by the intervention of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) in the Korean War of 1950-53, which saved North Korea from being overrun by US imperialism and its South Korean puppet regime.

But what issued out of the 1949 Revolution was a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state, ruled by a parasitic caste headed by the CCP and PLA leadership. A key factor conditioning this outcome was the atomised state of the Chinese proletariat after years of Stalinist betrayal (most notably in the defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution), Guomindang terror, Japanese imperialist occupation and severe economic decline related to the world depression of the 1930s. Modelled on Stalin's USSR, Maoist rule was based on the anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism" in a single country. Denying the fundamental Marxist understanding that socialism can only be built at the highest level of technology and economy — necessitating international socialist planning — this nationalist schema expressed the privileged interests of the bureaucratic caste which usurped power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24 and of its counterpart in China which has ruled from the inception of the People's Republic.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 after decades of military and especially economic pressure from world imperialism demonstrated the fallacy of this Stalinist schema. But if "socialism in one country" was utopian and reactionary under Soviet conditions, it was all the



Departing British colonial overseer of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, with Beijing-appointed replacement, Tung Chee-hwa. Chinese Stalinists have pledged to maintain capitalism in Hong Kong.

McCurry/Magnum

more so in backward China, which groaned under the weight of an impoverished peasantry making up three-fourths of its population. Now, in the "post-Soviet" world, imperialist pressures on China and on the other remaining deformed workers states — North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam — have increased qualitatively. In response to these pressures, the Beijing Stalinists have tied China even more closely to world capitalism, expanding market "reforms" while maintaining rigid control over the restive population. In 1992, Deng staged a well-publicised tour of southern China's capitalist "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs), where he called for extending "free market" enterprise throughout the country.

Unlike the October Revolution of 1917, which destroyed the Russian bourgeoisie as a class, the Chinese Revolution essentially chased the Guomindang out of the mainland to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere, allowing the Chinese bourgeoisie to retain cohesion as a class. Indeed, overseas Chinese capital has recently displaced Japan as the main source of investment finance in East Asia, and has penetrated mainland China through investments in the SEZs.

This danger is now about to be greatly exacerbated. On 1 July, Hong Kong will revert to China after 150 years as a British colony, with the Beijing regime declaring — under the rubric of "one country, two systems" — that it will not lay a finger on Hong Kong's capitalist magnates. The takeover of Hong Kong is intended by Beijing as a signal of its aim to reunify with Taiwan on a capitalist basis. As we declared in an article headlined "Britain out of Hong Kong!" (*Workers Hammer* no 109, September 1989), we are for "One country, one system — under workers rule!"

The dreams of the bureaucrats and bankers of a peaceful, bountiful restoration of capitalism are illusory. The state the Stalinists administer is based on the revolution which expelled the Chinese bourgeoisie and created a nationalised economy. The aims of China's would-be exploiters — centrally to secure the right to buy and sell property and hand it down to their offspring — can only be achieved through the destruction of the existing state apparatus by one means or another and its replacement by a new one based on the principle of private ownership of the means of production.

The *Economist* (22 February) — house organ of international financiers — pointed out that "China is seething with jealousies and ambitions unleashed by Mr. Deng," while a political-legal structure for defending property rights "is entirely absent". The wholesale privatisation of China's state-owned industries would necessarily entail

a fierce struggle among the various factions, cliques and extended families that make up the bureaucracy over who would get what share of the country's productive assets.

Such property-grabbing would almost certainly draw in the military as the final arbiter. The PLA, formed during the civil war against Chiang's forces and the anti-Japanese resistance of the 1930s and '40s, still retains its basically regional structure and has, moreover, become heavily engaged in money-making operations of its own. A power struggle in Beijing could easily escalate into a civil war among PLA units fought on a regional basis. Capitalist counterrevolution would bring not only economic collapse and immiseration but the danger of a return to warlordism and bloody political chaos.

The spectre of Tiananmen

The one force which can stop the drive towards capitalist restoration is the Chinese proletariat. The discredited Stalinist bureaucracy lives in fear of the spectre of the mass upheaval in May-June 1989. Beginning with student protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, the working people of Beijing, later joined by their class brothers and sisters throughout the country, threw themselves into battle against the despised Deng regime. For two weeks, the government could not enforce its declaration of martial law in the face of mass resistance by the *laobaixing* (common people) in the streets leading to Tiananmen. We wrote at the time, "It was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" (*Workers Vanguard* no 480, 23 June 1989). A political revolution was emerging. Eventually, the regime was able to find loyal army detachments which drowned the uprising in blood. This was followed by a vicious wave of repression throughout China, overwhelmingly directed against the working class.

While the proletariat was bloodied by the repression, it was not crushed. And today all of the factors that led to the Tiananmen upheaval eight years ago are present in magnified form: flagrant official corruption, inflation, massive peasant discontent. As the regime aims to "smash the iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits, there is growing economic insecurity. Popular hostility to the millionaire sons of top CCP leaders (dubbed the "princelings") is all the greater because the regime derives from the Chinese Revolution, with its proclaimed ideology of egalitarianism.

The day Deng's death was announced, a retired worker in Beijing who repairs bicycles by the roadside exclaimed bitterly to a Western journalist: "In the past everyone was equal. Now even college graduates can't get a job."

Every year since 1991, the number of strikes and protests by workers in both state-owned and private capitalist industries has increased. Unlike the workers of Poland, East Germany and the Soviet Union, who after decades of Stalinist lies were largely lulled into believing Western propaganda that "free market" capitalism would give them a life of plenty, Chinese workers have already experienced the "magic of the marketplace", and know they will not be among its winners.

Some Tiananmen-era dissidents have been engaged in efforts to organise trade unions opposed to the regime's corporatist All-China Federation of Trade Unions, particularly in the capitalist SEZs. Such activists can be quite heroic, battling for workers rights against both the bosses and Chinese police forces. However, as Marxists, we warn against those, like Han Dongfang, who are tied to the pro-capitalist labour bureaucracy in Hong Kong and to the American AFL-CIO, whose leaders have for decades acted as labour agents for US imperialism.

The increase in labour struggles inside China indicates that the working class is not about to see its rights taken away without a fight. But militancy on the economic plane is not enough to stop the counterrevolutionary tide. To do that requires that the working class enter the political arena. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in his analysis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), the question is: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" The Trotskyists fought for a programme of *proletarian political revolution*, led by a Bolshevik party, to sweep out the bureaucracy, establish the rule of workers soviets (councils) and return the Soviet Union to its role as the headquarters of world socialist revolution.

This is the programme needed in China today if the workers and impoverished peasant masses are to emerge victorious in the class battles that lie ahead. As part of our fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution, the International Communist League seeks to build an egalitarian-communist party in China based on the programme of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. Such a party would link the struggle against the Beijing bureaucracy with the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the imperialist centres such as Japan. Only through the extension of socialist revolution to these countries will the threat of capitalist re-enslavement be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia.

Chinese Stalinism from Mao to Deng

Revulsion at the official corruption rampant in today's China has helped spur a certain wistfulness for the time of Mao Zedong. But while Mao called on the CCP to "serve the people" and Deng pronounced, "To get rich is glorious", the two represent no more than different poles of the same anti-proletarian bureaucracy.

Maoist rule was marked by extreme voluntarism and adventurism. Following the collectivisation of agriculture, in 1958 Mao unleashed the "Great Leap Forward" — a utopian effort to catapult China to the status of an industrialised country through mobilising mass peasant labour. The campaign led to extreme economic dislo-



Beijing workers involvement in the 1989 Tiananmen student upheaval led to incipient political revolution.

cations and one of the worst famines in history. In the aftermath, Mao lost leadership of the central bureaucracy to a more pragmatic faction led by Liu Shaoqi and Deng. In 1966, Mao launched the "Cultural Revolution" — in essence a giant faction fight inside the bureaucracy. In the course of "the lost ten years", as this period came to be known, universities and some factories were shut down and scientists were sent to the countryside to "learn from the peasants".

While the purged Liu died in prison, Deng survived and was brought back into the CCP leadership in 1973 by Mao and his lieutenant, Premier Zhou Enlai. In 1978, two years after Mao's death and the purge of the rabidly pro-Mao "Gang of Four", Deng took over the party leadership. Over the next several years, a cascade of measures was enacted opening up the country to foreign investment, breaking up collectivised agriculture and encouraging private businesses.

Despite the claims of Mao-loyalists like the US Revolutionary Communist Party that the defeat of the "Gang of Four" and Deng's ascent to power marked China's return to capitalist rule, Deng was in many ways Mao's logical successor. The aim of Deng's market "reforms" was the same as that of Mao's autarkic economic adventurism: to turn China not only into a modern nation-state but into a world power. Modernising China remains a key revolutionary task. But all wings of the Stalinist bureaucracy were and are diehard enemies of the only perspective capable of realising this task: the extension of socialist revolution to advanced capitalist countries like Japan, which in the framework of international planning can provide the technical resources necessary to modernise China.

The introduction of capitalist measures under Deng follows a pattern inherent in Stalinist bureaucratic rule. To function effectively, the centrally planned economy which is a prerequisite for socialist development must be administered by a government of democratically elected workers councils. But the Stalinist misrulers are hostile to any expression of workers democracy, substituting arbitrary administrative fiat in its place. Faced with the inevitable imbalances of a bureaucratically run planned economy, Stalinist regimes are impelled to introduce capitalist market measures: loosening economic planning, forcing plants to produce for the market, and encouraging the growth of private businesses and foreign investment.

For proletarian internationalism!

Linking the regimes of Mao, Deng and current Chinese leader Jiang Zemin is the nationalism inherent in Stalinism, which in Mao's case was coloured by a xenopho-

bic glorification of Chinese peasant culture. In its early years, the CCP regime was allied with the Soviet Union. But in the late 1950s, Beijing's complaints over inadequate Soviet aid and the Maoists' own "great power" ambitions led to a split with Moscow. Within a few years, Mao was proclaiming that "Soviet social-imperialism" was an even greater danger than the US, a position neatly dovetailing the American rulers' strategic goal of destroying the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The criminal fruits of the clash between the rival Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Beijing were seen in the Vietnam War, when Mao's China blocked Soviet military aid to the North Vietnamese Army and the National Liberation Front in the South as they fought against US imperialism and its South Vietnamese capitalist henchmen. At the height of the Cultural Revolution, when radicals around the world were hailing Mao's China as a revolutionary alternative to the stodgy Kremlin bureaucrats, the Spartacist League declared that given the Mao regime's hostility to the Soviet Union, "the danger of an imperialist alliance with China against the Russians cannot be dismissed" ("Chinese Menshevism", *Spartacist* no 15-16, April-May 1970). This prediction was borne out with the official rapprochement between China and the US signalled by war criminal Richard Nixon's welcome in Beijing in 1972, as US warplanes were bombing Vietnam.

The US-China alliance was deepened under Deng. Its main target was again Vietnam, following the defeat of the US imperialists in 1975 and the reunification of the South with the deformed workers state in the North. In 1979, following Hanoi's ouster of genocidal Cambodian leader and Beijing ally Pol Pot, China invaded Vietnam with the tacit support and encouragement of Washington, declaring it would "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson". Denouncing Beijing's treachery, the Spartacist League declared, "China: Don't be a cat's paw of US imperialism!" In the upshot, it was the battle-hardened Vietnamese army which taught Beijing a lesson.

Today, the Beijing rulers increasingly promote Chinese nationalism — including reactionary "traditional" Confucian values — as a sort of ideological glue to maintain their control. For China's working masses, this is a poisonous false consciousness, serving to identify their interests with their would-be exploiters in the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The reactionary nationalism common to both Mao and Deng is also expressed within China in the bureaucracy's Han chauvinist oppression of national and ethnic minorities. This has been highlighted in recent weeks as Beijing's troops

brutally suppressed protests by the Turkic-speaking, traditionally Muslim Uighurs in the far western province of Xinjiang. For decades, the imperialists have used the demand for independence for Tibet as a battering ram against the Chinese deformed workers state. A Trotskyist party in China would seek to mobilise the proletariat to defend the rights of national minorities against Han chauvinism. While opposing imperialist-sponsored "independence" movements, we defend the right of independence for a Tibetan soviet republic.

For a Trotskyist party in China!

China's alliance with the US, initiated under Mao, helped set the stage for Deng's "open door" to imperialist exploitation. Today, Mao's heirs don't even give lip service to the goals of socialism, instead openly offering themselves as compradors (resident agents) of imperialism. But there are also many signs pointing to tumultuous social struggle in the near future against immiseration and "free market" exploitation. The fight for proletarian political revolution — for a China of workers and peasants councils — must be linked to the defence of all those — women, ethnic and national minorities, the rural poor — under attack in the drive towards capitalist restoration.

There must be special measures to organise the more than 100 million poverty-stricken migrant workers from the countryside, who form a potentially powerful link between the urban working class and the peasant masses. The "socialist market economy" has also increasingly eroded the enormous gains achieved by women as a result of the 1949 Revolution, as many urban women are forced out of their jobs and age-old horrors like the sale of "brides" and female infanticide re-emerge in rural areas. As we wrote in "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women" (*Women and Revolution* no 45, Winter-Spring 1996): "As the 'tribune of the people,' a vanguard party would fight tooth and nail against the attempt to drive women from their hard-won positions in the workplace and would mobilize working people to defend women set upon by the purveyors of sexual enslavement."

To smash the threat of capitalist re-enslavement and open the road to a socialist future, China's workers need above all to be won to the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky and of the early Chinese Communist Party led by Chen Duxiu, which for decades has been trampled on by Stalinism. For a Trotskyist party in China, section of a reborn Fourth International!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 663, 7 March 1997.

Defend the Chicago Anti-Klan Three!

The following article is adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 663, 7 March 1997.

On 28 February, Cook County Circuit Court judge Marvin Luckman refused to dismiss vindictive charges against three participants in an anti-Klan protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and Chicago Labor Black Struggle League last 29 June in Chicago's Daley Plaza. PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson, Jeffrey Lyons of Refuse & Resist and Dennis Glass, a young black worker — who face from one to two years in prison on bogus charges of assault and battery against police — will now have to stand trial on 5 May. Outside the court before the hearing, protesters demanded: "Drop the charges now!"

The 29 June united-front protest — organised on 24 hours' notice and in the face of a news blackout of the KKK's plans — spiked a violent racist provocation by Klansmen armed with bolt-studded shields and long flagpoles. In the court hearing, Mark Kerman of the PDC testified that when the protesters moved to defend themselves as the Klansmen marched towards them in military formation, the Klan wielded their flagpoles as lances and chillingly taunted one black protester to "come and get it, boy". After the protesters had successfully stopped the potentially lethal assault by the lynch-robe murderers of the KKK, the cops intervened to protect the Klan and to exact revenge against the anti-Klan protesters. Herson was pepper-sprayed directly in the face by Commander Patrick McNulty, the top police official on the spot.

The prosecution of the three anti-racist activists is a blatantly malicious act aimed at justifying the vindictive and brutal assault by Chicago police that day against the anti-Klan protest. Sam Willis, a volunteer in the AFL-CIO's "Union Summer" programme, testified that even after the Klan had been escorted away by the police, a phalanx of cops swinging nightsticks waded into the anti-Klan protest.

Willis described how Glass was simply snatched by the cops for no reason and how Lyons was spread-eagled on a car after protesting the arrest of another "Union Summer" participant.

Addressing the 28 February protest outside the court, a Spartacist spokesman pointed to the rise in racist and fascist attacks internationally, and to the role of the police in protecting the fascists, saying: "A victory for the Anti-Klan Three would be a critical victory for the right to protest injustice and oppression. But there is only one ultimate defence, and that is to transform the struggle against oppression into a struggle that overturns the American imperialist order which produces racism and social decay. What is needed is a socialist revolution, and that requires the mobilisation of the working class as the only social force with the power and consistent interest to overthrow the bosses. To accomplish this, the ties of the working class to the bourgeois order through the agency of the trade-union bureaucracy must be severed, and this task necessitates the formation of a revolutionary working-class party as the tribune of all the oppressed, a party which recognises that the fight for black equality and against racist oppression is, in America, critical to uniting the working class and the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. This is at the core of the revolutionary programme of the Spartacist League. Finish the Civil War! For socialist revolution!"

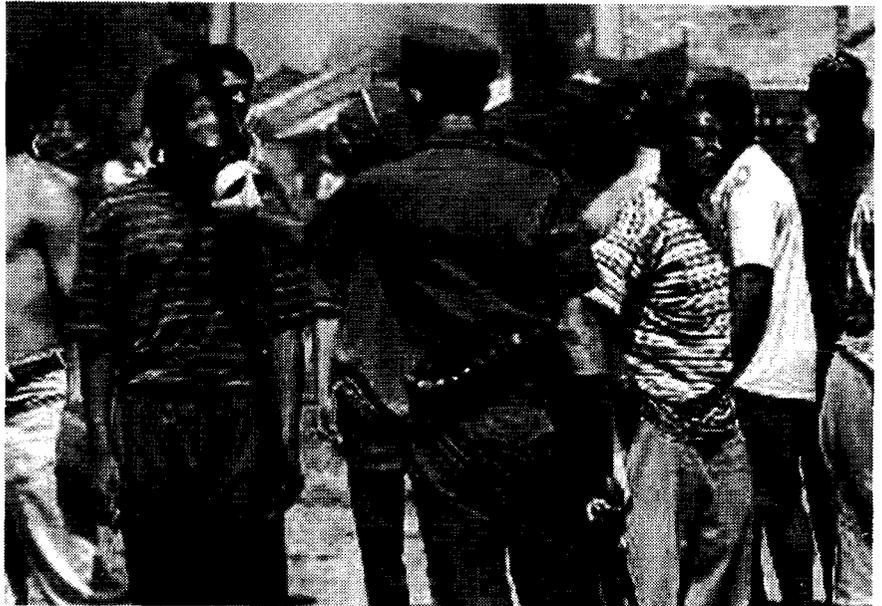
A wide range of trade unions and officials have taken up the call to "Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!" Join this crucial fight! Send protest statements demanding that the charges be dropped to: Richard Devine, State's Attorney of Cook County, Richard J. Daley Center, 55 W. Randolph Street, Chicago, IL 60602, USA. For more information, contact the Partisan Defense Committee at BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX, Tel: 0171-485 1396. ■

Avenge Steven Biko through workers revolution!

Neo-apartheid regime: enemy of South African masses



Left: 1977 funeral of Steve Biko, murdered by police. ANC government offers "amnesty" to apartheid killers, unleashes cops against South African masses. Right: February 6 protest in coloured township near Johannesburg in which four were killed.



JOHANNESBURG — Heaping contempt on the memory of those who fought apartheid terror, the South African government's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has accepted an application for "amnesty" for the cops who tortured and killed Steven Biko in 1977. At the time of his death at age 30, Steve Biko was the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and the most prominent spokesman for a new generation of anti-apartheid militants. His murder was an outrage which shook the world, making him a symbol of all the many thousands martyred in the fight against the brutal apartheid system of racist segregation and repression. It is no less an outrage today that Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) in government seeks to amnesty Steve Biko's murderers.

Restricted to his cell for weeks, shackled and naked, Biko was beaten to the point of unconsciousness, then dumped in the back of a Land Rover for an eleven-hour drive to a prison hospital in Pretoria, where he died of brain damage. His killers are a group of former security policemen who have now confessed to taking part in the murder of at least ten Eastern Cape anti-apartheid activists, many of whom were drugged, tortured and shot dead, then burned on wooden pyres, with their remains dumped into the Fish River to conceal the bloody crimes. The racist killers today approach the TRC for amnesty in the full knowledge that dozens of their fellow apartheid butchers are "confessing" and getting off unscathed.

The apartheid regime rested heavily on a deliberate policy of naked terror to repress the non-white masses in the interests of the capitalist ruling class. When that form of rule became untenable — at bottom, when the black unions emerged, joining their social power to the township revolts and other anti-apartheid struggles — the South African capitalists and their imperialist godfathers turned to the ANC to preserve their system based on the superexploitation of black workers. Ac-

cordingly, the ANC regime installed in 1994 seeks "reconciliation" with the racist torturers and those who profited from their hideous crimes. Headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, the TRC was consciously designed as an impotent safety valve for the victims of apartheid injustice to vent their suffering while their racist tormentors typically not only remain free but in positions of power. Mandela's bourgeois-nationalist ANC serves as the black front men and junior partners for the white ruling class in neo-apartheid South Africa.

The ANC statement on the bid for amnesty by Biko's killers expresses "hopes that former security police officers and medical practitioners implicated who were involved in such activities would break ranks with the past". This was also their line when former defence minister Magnus Malan was let off last October. At that time we pointed out: "For the white racists, the Malan verdict confirmed that the ANC regime would continue to shield them from the vengeance of the black masses" (*Workers Vanguard* no 654, 25 October 1996).

As the ANC presides over capitalist austerity on behalf of the white racist ruling class and foreign investors, this has led to an exacerbation of ethnic and tribal tensions among the non-white masses. In early February, barely two weeks after the news about Biko's killers emerged, the ANC government unleashed police and troops against protesters in the predominantly coloured ("mixed-race") townships of El Dorado, Westbury and Newclare in southern and western Johannesburg. As cops fired buckshot and live ammunition into the crowd, four people were killed and several others injured. The township revolts erupted over government attempts to collect rents and utility rates, as residents accused the regime of renegeing on a 1994 agreement to cancel all past unpaid charges. But the anti-government protest, whose basic demand was entirely justified, was marked by general hostility to blacks among the coloureds involved.

The government's violent response to the coloured revolt — in marked contrast to the conciliatory attitude extended to earlier tax-rate protests by whites in yuppie suburbs like Johannesburg's Sandton — was also intended as an unmistakable message to the residents of black townships who might consider protesting over rates and social services. The latest events underscore yet again that the only road to justice and equality for South Africa's masses lies in a proletarian revolution to sweep away neo-apartheid capitalism, replacing it with a black-centred workers government.

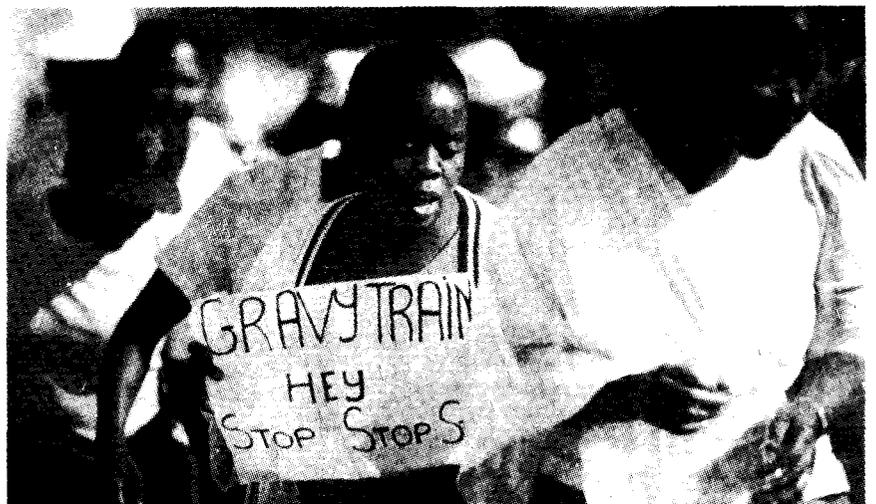
Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

Biko's death in detention after days of interrogation and repeated assaults held up a magnifying glass to the bloody system of apartheid. His personal courage and outspoken leadership earned him a mass following and scores of activists adopted the outlook of the Black Consciousness Movement. Biko founded the BCM in 1970, at a time when older nationalist

groups like the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been banned and driven into exile by the massive crackdown which followed the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

Biko became the leading exponent of BCM, which proposed black self-reliance through self-help community projects and racial pride. Biko's movement was strongly influenced by eclectic nationalist writings, from Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture) in the US to Frantz Fanon and Julius Nyerere in Africa. Biko saw black pride as a counterbalance to white racism and encouraged the unity of all those discriminated against on the grounds of colour or race, including the coloured and Indian sectors of the population.

When a new generation of activists embraced Biko as their young leader in the aftermath of the June 1976 Soweto uprising, the racist police turned their sights on him. Repeated bannings and limited circulation of his writings left Biko's views open to broad interpretation by various nationalists from PAC to the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). His



Nurse during October 1995 strike carries sign protesting ANC regime "gravy train".

political career cut short by assassination, like Malcolm X, Biko in death became an icon easily claimed by divergent political viewpoints.

Defending the BCM leaders against apartheid repression, we pointed to the fundamental weakness in their ideology: the absence of any recognition of the centrality of the black working class in the struggle against white supremacy. One year after the Soweto protests, as the jackboot of apartheid repression again came down on Soweto youth, we wrote: "The failure to strongly mobilize black workers underscores... its lack of a program to link the struggle for democratic rights with the mobilization of the social power of the black proletariat around its class interests" (*Workers Vanguard* no 164, "Soweto Bleeds", 1 July 1977).

That Steve Biko's killers can walk the streets with impunity while anti-apartheid fighters remain imprisoned to this day is a grotesque illustration of what passes for justice in the "new" South Africa. Biko's family has courageously opposed his racist killers' bid for amnesty. Thousands of outraged demonstrators should have taken to the streets. But most left and "radical" groups, including the nationalists in PAC and AZAPO which claim Biko's legacy, have refused to organise protests against the TRC sham. This passivity is a reflection of their tailing after Mandela's nationalist popular-front government, which is based on the "tripartite alliance" of the ANC, the reformist South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The ANC and PAC are applying for amnesty for their own guerrilla fighters, which obscenely equates those who resisted apartheid terror with their executioners.

For a black-centred workers government!

The Mandela government's claim to be constructing a "nonracial" society is a hoax. The rigid structures of racial segregation — the Group Areas Act, the language restrictions, the pass laws — are gone, but the brutal exploitation of black and also coloured workers by the white industrialists, mine owners and wealthy farmers continues as before. The courts, cops and military that enforced apartheid rule remain intact, even if some ANC faces appear in high places. As a reporter for the *Independent* (26 December 1996) put it: "There are still two South Africas; one white, the other black. Whites generally drive cars; blacks queue for mini-buses. Road-repair gangs are black; foremen white."

The bourgeois-nationalist ANC government cannot possibly meet the aspirations of the masses for jobs, homes, decent living standards, medical care and education. In the absence of a conscious struggle for workers revolution, the different sections of the oppressed are being pitted against each other in a dog-eat-dog struggle for crumbs. The government is consciously playing blacks against coloureds and Indians, South Africans against immigrant workers, in order to divert attention from the real enemy: neo-apartheid capitalism, under which the overwhelming majority of the population is kept in desperate poverty, and the blacks remain on the bottom.

We have often written that the explosive situation in South Africa will either be resolved by a class-struggle fight for proletarian power or this society will fracture along racial, ethnic and tribal lines. An example of how the legitimate grievances of one sector of the oppressed can be channelled, in the absence of a class-struggle axis, into hostility towards other sectors was seen in the recent coloured township revolt. The primary organiser was Basil Douglas, a local councillor and member of the murderous Inkatha Freedom



Neo-apartheid Mandela regime fronts for racist capitalist rulers. Right: Cop attack on 1994 supermarket strike.



Party, which is based on the reactionary Zulu tribalism of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was sponsored for years by the Nationalist apartheid regime. The coloured protesters blamed black squatters and neighbouring black Sowetans as the source of their woes.

Meanwhile, some black Sowetans denounced the coloureds as having "had it good" under apartheid. This was an echo of the demagoguery being pushed by the regional ANC government. Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC premier of Gauteng province, in 1994 denounced the coloureds' request to wipe out unpaid back rent, saying he wanted to "vomit" when "others try to use" blacks' "legitimate grievances" (*Cape Times*, 19 September 1994).

At the same time, the ANC government is orchestrating and manipulating a xenophobic backlash targeting immigrant workers from neighbouring African states — a key sector of South Africa's proletariat, especially in the gold mines. This escalating drive is being spearheaded by leading ANC women politicians who direct the country's first privately run deportation camp, called Lindela, in Randfontein. An article aptly headlined "Deporting for Cash" (*Weekly Mail & Guardian*, 13 February) details how the camp was set up by top ANC women including deputy parliamentary speaker Baleka Kgositsile, deputy minister of home affairs Lindi Sisulu and Adelaide Tambo. One of the ANC members involved maintained that the deportation camp was a "way of contributing to the normalisation of South Africa.... As much as we are not against foreigners coming into South Africa, we must assist our government in curbing the influx."

The ANC touts this as an example of "black people in general and African women in particular seeking a stake in the economy of our country"! Their understanding of fighting the oppression of women and blacks is to elevate a few privileged elements of the aspiring black bourgeoisie to grind the black South African and immigrant working masses. Many of the refugees come from countries like Mozambique, which were devastated by the military and economic warfare of the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria because they provided bases for the ANC guerrillas. We demand full citizenship rights for immigrant workers! In counter-position to the nationalism of the ANC, we fight for a socialist federation of southern Africa.

A house painter in the coloured township protests exclaimed: "Blacks are on the gravy train now. We were with them in the struggle but they aren't thinking about that now. The blacks are turning white and they are leaving us behind." The notion that the mass of blacks, not just a handful of ANC leaders (who include coloureds and Indians), are now on "the gravy train" bears no relation at all to the realities of the "new" South Africa. If anything, rising unemploy-

ment has meant a worsening of economic conditions for blacks, as well as coloureds.

A recent report by the COSATU trade-union federation sharply criticised the "neo-liberal" austerity policies of the Mandela government with which it is allied, noting that "the economy in the new South Africa continues largely to represent what it was in 1993, except there is some jobless growth, and a few black faces and companies participating in it". The increasing disaffection of COSATU from the ANC government is significant, because this mass labour organisation contains not only the bulk of the organised black workers but also coloured and Indian, and even some white, workers. Thus, it poses the potential for working-class struggle transcending and cutting across national-ethnic divisions.

If the class principle does not prevail, the scrambling for crumbs off the table of the bourgeoisie can only intensify. Only the forging of a Leninist party that acts as a tribune of the people, defending all sectors of the oppressed as part of the struggle for proletarian state power, can cut through these rising ethnic hatreds born of the horrendous poverty produced by capitalist superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid masters. Under a black-centred workers government, there will be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and other Asians, and those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working people. Such a workers government would expropriate the country's industrial and mineral wealth for the benefit of the toiling masses and would strive to extend the revolution internationally, ultimately to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe, North America and Japan. As we wrote shortly after Mandela became South Africa's first black president:

"So long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in

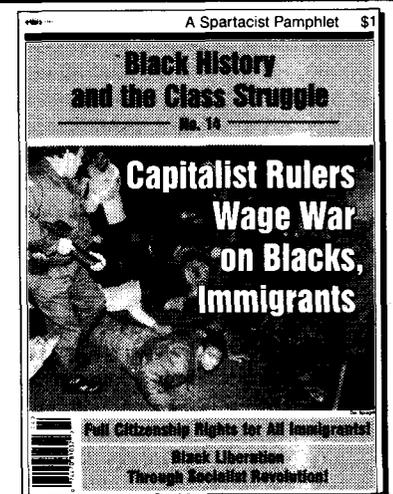
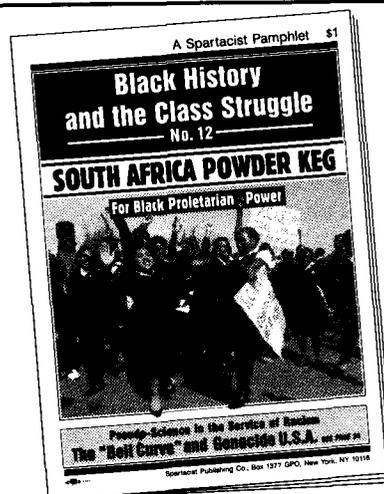
national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. Only a proletarian internationalist perspective, linking the reconstruction of South Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the apartheid state."

— "South Africa Powder Keg", reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* no 12 (February 1995)

The ANC's wretched willingness to amnesty Biko's murderers makes it patently clear that the cry for justice in South Africa will only be answered when the white racist capitalist class and its black front men are swept away by proletarian revolution. The ANC regime's coddling of the apartheid-era butchers contrasts with what happened to the ousted dictator Batista's killers in Cuba following the seizure of power by Fidel Castro's guerrilla forces in 1959. On the road to consolidating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, the Cuban government organised revolutionary tribunals to put Batista's bloody henchmen on trial, executing some 550 of the most notorious criminals. The difference is that in Cuba there was a social revolution in which the old state apparatus was smashed, while in South Africa the ANC entered into a "power sharing" deal with the apartheid rulers.

To avenge the murder of Steve Biko and bring to justice the butchers of countless other anti-apartheid fighters requires a government where revolutionary workers tribunals, including the families of Steve Biko and other murdered fighters, will prosecute and sentence the racist criminals. We Spartacists fight to forge a Trotskyist vanguard party, based on the perspective of permanent revolution, which will champion the interests of all the oppressed, and fight for socialist revolution and its necessary international extension to the industrial centres of the capitalist world.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 662, 21 February 1997.



Get your copy of *Black History and the Class Struggle* no 14 (75p). Special Issue (no 12) devoted to South Africa. Order from/make cheques to Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU. *Black History* is sent to all joint *Workers Hammer/Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

Down with state persecution of Roisin McAliskey!



Guardian

Since her arrest in Northern Ireland last November, Roisin McAliskey has been locked up in English jails and repeatedly denied bail. Pregnant and physically ill, she was first placed in a filthy "punishment cell" in Belmarsh prison, where she showed signs of advanced starvation. Her solicitor Gareth Peirce said "Her body began to eat into her muscles. She's been told to be prepared to be separated from her child after it's born." She is now incarcerated in Holloway Prison under "maximum security" conditions, left to rot in solitary confinement, subjected to nu-

merous daily "strip searches" and denied adequate medical treatment, courtesy of the British "justice" system.

Roisin McAliskey has not been convicted of any crime, but is imprisoned pending extradition to Germany, where she is wanted "for questioning" in connection with an IRA mortar attack on the British Army base at Osnabruck last summer. She strenuously denies any involvement. However, under the European Convention on Extradition she is deprived of any legal right to present her defence, or to challenge any evidence the German authorities may have against her, while the extradition proceedings drag on. McAliskey faces the prospect of a premature birth, in "maximum security" conditions, probably shackled in handcuffs, following which, if her baby survives it will be forcibly taken from her by the state, while she languishes in jail, possibly for years!

Meanwhile her case is being obscenely kicked around like a political football by capitalist governments in London, Bonn and Dublin. Amid public outrage over repeated exposures of systematic torture and frame-ups of prisoners by the British system of *injustice*, the British courts cynically tried to claim that in refusing bail to Roisin McAliskey they are merely complying with the German government's request. The Germans threw this back saying "responsibility for the decision to refuse bail rests exclusively with the British". In Dublin, Labour leader Dick Spring summoned the British ambassador

and warned that the case "could damage the shared objective of British and Irish governments". This refers to the disintegrating imperialist "peace" fraud, which was premised on the subjugation of the Catholic minority in the North, including through maintaining the massive British Army presence. It is still backed to the hilt by the Labour parties both in Britain and Ireland, and by the Dublin government. The state in southern Ireland viciously targets women and Republican prisoners in Irish jails, and its brutality against Travellers is a mirror image of the treatment meted out to the Irish by the British state.

The *Irish Post* (14 December 1996) noted that "Many believe that the charges against Roisin McAliskey are a politically motivated bid to silence her mother's criticism of the peace process". The vindictive treatment of Roisin McAliskey is part of the continuing repression against the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. Her mother, Bernadette McAliskey, is a prominent nationalist and former MP; seventeen years ago, she and her husband Michael were riddled with bullets in their home by a Loyalist death squad. Today Bernadette McAliskey opposes the pro-imperialist "peace" process from within the nationalist framework, viewing the IRA ceasefire as a "sellout". But the nationalist strategy — both of "armed struggle" and of "negotiated settlement" — is a dead end, inevitably attempting to pressurise the imperialists.

The Spartacist League/Britain and the

Dublin Spartacist Group have participated in protests, demanding: Free Roisin McAliskey! No extradition! British troops out now! British imperialism has always exploited antagonisms between workers — English against Irish, Protestant against Catholic, white against black and Asian — in the economic and political interests of the capitalist system of private profit. It cannot be pressurised into acting in the interests of the oppressed and exploited. The record of the Labour Party in government is just as bloody as that of the Tories. In 1969 Labour sent the British troops to Northern Ireland: in 1972 these troops carried out the premeditated murder of 14 Catholics on Bloody Sunday. Labour backed Thatcher as she condemned Bobby Sands and the H-Block hunger strikers to a slow and painful death. Tony Blair's New Labour has backed Major at every point, and solidarised with Ulster Loyalists engaged in mass terror against Catholics during the "Siege of Drumcree" last year.

We seek to unite the working class of these islands in a struggle for workers revolution, which will overthrow British imperialism, smashing the sectarian Orange statelet in Northern Ireland and the clericalist state in the south. Only when the working class seizes power from the capitalist exploiters and oppressors, shattering their state power, can the basis be laid for a society in which there is justice and equality for the poor and oppressed of these islands. ■

Labour...

(Continued from page 1)

campaign for Cullen, a sacked Liverpool docker standing in opposition to New Labour, on a programme which called for education for all, decent health care and the eradication of unemployment. However we also pointed out that the SLP's Old Labour reformism is incapable of satisfying the felt needs of the working class and oppressed. Our leaflet "Vote Mick Cullen!" (23 February) noted: "Although the assault on the working class and the oppressed is international, the SLP election statement does not address the resurgence of racist anti-immigrant hysteria in this country and throughout Europe". The total absence from the SLP's election material of any reference to racism in Britain, or indeed any issue outside Britain, was particularly glaring in the face of New Labour's flag-waving patriotism, and points to the British nationalism of the SLP's programme. Our leaflet insisted that "Only a party which fights for international working-class solidarity across national lines can fight in the interests of the working class and oppressed."

The SLP only received 156 votes. The by-election offered the opportunity to galvanise support for the dockers but the SLP's campaign barely mentioned the dockers fight, which is being knifed by the pro-Blair TUC and TGWU bureaucrats. The SLP's programme renders it incapable in practice of offering a strategy for victory, in opposition to the defeatism of Morris & Co. Dockers leader and SLP member Jimmy Nolan says that solidarity strikes, which are vitally necessary to shut down the port of Liverpool and to break

out of isolation, are not "realistic". Nolan also welcomed Morris & Co's scheme to end the dockers struggle through a "co-operative", to make the workers "partners" in a capitalist company which would end up supplying casual labour to the docks, albeit with union cards. The treacherous pro-Labour union misleaders, who just accepted 980 job losses at Ford Halewood, are an obstacle to class struggle and must be replaced with a revolutionary leadership.

Our Trotskyist programme has enabled us to stand out in sharp opposition to New Labour, and to conduct principled campaigns of critical support to SLP candidates in three by-elections. We counterposed a programme for genuine working class power in opposition to the SLP's reformism. This is in marked distinction to the rest of the left, who are either cravenly loyal to New Labour, or have politically liquidated into the SLP. The Socialist Workers Party is typically acting coy, posturing as the "socialist alternative". On past record these Labour-loyalists will dutifully weigh in behind Labour.

First prize for blind faith in New Labour goes to Workers Power (WP), who "want a Labour landslide", no less. "A massive Labour victory will open up a whole new situation for the working class" they say, while conceding that a Labour government "means to carry on attacking the working class where Major leaves off" (*Workers Power*, no 209, March 1997). While committed to working for defeat of SLP candidates, WP has the gall to urge the self-styled "left" inside the SLP to fight for a "halt to all expulsions" and "remove the ban on socialist groups affiliating to the SLP". WP looks to the Socialist Labour Action platform in

the SLP who, not surprisingly, advocate a vote to New Labour where there is no SLP candidate.

The "socialist groups" WP refers to include Militant Labour/the Socialist Party (SP), who are standing their own candidates in the general election, while simultaneously advocating a Labour government. The *Socialist* (7 March) proclaims: "Time's up for the Tories", and asserts "One thing is certain, the general election will be our chance to end the 18-year long nightmare that we have experienced under the Tories." We do not advocate critical support to Socialist Party candidates. Their campaign is subordinated to electing a Labour government. This outfit has for years refused to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and supports the imperialist "peace" fraud. Nor do we advocate a vote to the Militant-dominated Scottish Socialist Alliance (SSA) candidates, including *Weekly Worker* supporter Mary Ward in Dundee. The founding document of SSA calls to "maximise the anti-Tory vote" which is a call for a Labour victory, but could also permit voting for bourgeois parties such as the Scottish National Party! Inside or outside the SLP, the politics of the SP and *Weekly Worker* put them in a position to constitute a right-wing opposition to Scargill.

We have given critical support to SLP candidates in by-elections, in which they stood in opposition to New Labour, but this does not translate into a pledge to do so in the general election. The SLP is under significant pressure today to advocate voting for New Labour in areas where they don't have candidates, which could subsume the SLP's election campaign into electing New Labour. Scargill has already

announced that the SLP will not run against Labour "lefts" like Ken Livingstone and Tony Benn, which only confirms that the SLP's programme is identical to the Old Labour reformism which Benn has espoused for decades inside the Labour Party, and which has betrayed the working class over and over again. The fact that former International "Bolshevik" Tendency members inside the SLP have endorsed the SLP's election policy *in advance* confirms that they are engaged in a liquidation into Scargill's Labourism.

We seek to advance the consciousness of the working class towards the need for socialist revolution. This means understanding the need to break with Labourism, Old and New, in order to put an end to capitalist exploitation, racism and war. In opposition to the SLP's parliamentarism, our leaflet stated:

"We fight to complete the task begun by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in October 1917. Such a party must be based on an internationalist programme and the understanding that the only guarantee of the welfare of the working class and oppressed is through the destruction of the system based on the exploitation of workers....

"We agree with comrade Lenin that the proletariat cannot take over the existing state and wield it for its own purposes, but must expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class and build a new state power based on the democratic rule of revolutionary workers councils. We say: *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! For workers revolution both sides of the Irish border and both sides of the Irish Sea, establishing a federation of workers republics in the British Isles.*" ■

Let Mumia Abu-Jamal be heard!

MARCH 3—Attorneys for Mumia Abu-Jamal were notified today of two new Pennsylvania Supreme Court rulings which severely damage Mumia's appeal and indicate the Court's intention to uphold the frame-up conviction that sent Jamal to death row in 1982. The first decision denies Mumia's defence the opportunity to present oral argument in his appeal before the Court. This move is clearly aimed at preventing the kind of courtroom exposure of Jamal's frame-up which helped gain worldwide publicity for his cause during his 1995 PCRA appeal hearings.

Even more dangerously, in an almost unheard of procedure the Court is allowing prosecutors to file additional legal papers against Mumia — on top of the standard briefs that both sides have already submitted — while denying the defence the right to reply. This means that the District Attorney's office will have the final word on Mumia's appeal papers, allowing prosecutors to rehash their lying case against him and their misrepresentation of what has happened to date in the appeal process. These rulings underscore the futility of any reliance on the capitalist courts and the need for mass protest and pressure to demand Mumia's freedom now.

On 24 February, moments before a well-publicised scheduled airing of commentaries by death row political prisoner and MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal, Temple University's WRTI-FM radio

pulled the plug on the *Democracy Now* programme. These may well be the last audio recordings of Jamal allowed by jail authorities, yet WRTI shamelessly capitulated to the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and the state that wants to silence him forever. WRTI's cowardly cancellation of Amy Goodman's popular show deprived not only Philadelphia from hearing Mumia's eloquent voice, but eleven other area stations lost their broadcast relays.

This muzzling of Jamal is literally the policing of the airwaves, as WRTI jumps to the command of the FOP. For the trigger-happy cops and the politicians and prosecutors who push the racist death penalty, it's unthinkable to let the public hear Mumia's powerful, incisive voice. His innocence in the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner is clear to anyone who looks at the farce of a trial conducted by notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo. The FOP and their media allies know and fear that those who hear Jamal's searing indictments of this hypocritical injustice system will be moved to fight the racist and barbaric death penalty.

Mumia's censorship by WRTI comes on the heels of an ominous court ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court that granted the Philly DA's motion to strike Jamal's "Supplemental Reply Brief", which challenged the prosecution's false rendering of last October's testimony by Veronica Jones, a key eyewitness for Jamal. This signals that the state Supreme Court may be close to deciding Mumia's

appeal without giving his defence team any notice. Mumia and his supporters have also been subjected to a new round of harassment by prison authorities, who recently barred a visit to Jamal from attorney Jere Krakoff, who is handling Mumia's civil suit against prison authorities.

On 11 February, Krakoff filed an important appeal to overturn restrictions and loopholes contained in the 1996 ruling by US Magistrate Kenneth Benson on Mumia's motion to enjoin prison officials from policies undermining his constitutional rights. The ruling established that Mumia was punitively denied media access by prison officials because of the publication of his book, *Live from Death Row*. However, Benson's decision still allows prison authorities a pretext to open Jamal's legal correspondence and denies him visits from his attorney's designated paralegals. The latest appeal also challenges the state's claim that it has the right to punish Jamal for running a "business", when in fact he was merely exercising his First Amendment right to publish his articles, columns and books. The state's claim that publishing constitutes a "business" was left standing by Benson. This could provide a basis for prison authorities to punish Mumia.

This appeal is an important component in Mumia's fight for effective legal defence as well as against harassment by prison authorities for his writing, including his just-released book, *Death Blossoms*. Officials have also threatened to force the cutting of Mumia's hair in violation of his religious beliefs. And once again, Mumia's

mail has been tampered with: recent confidential legal correspondence from Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, was torn open and "cop killer" scrawled next to Mumia's name!

The PDC adds its voice to the many thousands in Philadelphia and throughout the nation who demand: Let Mumia Abu-Jamal be heard! The entire history of persecution of Jamal, a courageous fighter on behalf of the oppressed, underscores the fact that the cops, courts, prisons and government are joined together in a system of racist injustice. Key to staying the executioner's hand after a death warrant was signed by Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge in 1995 was the wave of international protests. We look to the power of social protest centred on the labour movement in alliance with all the many victims of racist capitalism. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 663, 7 March 1997.

For more information about the campaign to free Mumia, contact the Partisan Defence Committee, BCM Box 4986, London WC1N 3XX, Tel: 01 71-485 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. ■

Lawrence...

(Continued from page 12)

managed to escape with his life.

On 14 February, the day after the inquest verdict, the *Daily Mail* named the five as murderers and challenged them to sue the paper. This is a rabidly right-wing, racist paper which promoted Hitler and Oswald Mosley's British fascists in the 1930s, and which instructed its journalists to provide hostile coverage of anti-racist protests at the time of Stephen Lawrence's murder. The *Mail's* cynical stunt was hailed by Socialist Workers Party (SWP) honcho Paul Foot as "absolutely excellent". But not everybody was so readily taken in by the *Mail's* "conversion". A former *Mail* journalist noted that "The *Mail* wouldn't really care if all British blacks were pushed off the cliffs of Dover" (*Observer*, 16 February). The *Mail's* concern was to deflect public anger away from the racist cops, for fear that the Lawrence case "threatens to damage race relations and the reputation of British justice" (*Daily Mail*, 14 February).

The reputation of British "justice" has repeatedly been exposed as a travesty. On 21 February it was announced that the Bridgewater Four — Vincent Hickey, Michael Hickey, Jim Robinson and Pat Molloy — would be cleared of the 1978 murder of a newspaper boy, for which they had been sentenced to life imprisonment. The most notorious political frame-ups which have been exposed were of Irish people: the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six and the Maguire family. Winston Silcott is another victim of the "justice" system. Demonised and framed for the 1985 killing of PC Blakelock during a police riot at Broadwater Farm, he still languishes in jail. He was acquitted of the cop's murder but remains in prison on a life sentence for a separate case where he clearly acted in self-defence.

Under capitalism systematic and deliberate frame-ups by the cops and the courts are the norm for the poor and oppressed. This is because, as Marx and Lenin explained, the state — which consists of armed forces, police, prisons and courts — is the instrument with which the capitalist class maintains its rule over the working class. For Marxists there can be no question of making the cops and courts "accountable" to the working class and oppressed. The capitalist state has to be shattered through workers revolution. This fundamental premise of Marxism is flatly denied by those groups on the left who subordinate every struggle to the overriding goal of electing a Labour government. Labourism goes hand in hand with the suicidal notion that the capitalist state is neutral and can be reformed. Such illusions lead to whitewashing the cops. A classic example is Militant Labour, (renamed the Socialist Party) who have long preached the lie that the cops are "workers in uniform".

A Labour government will wage war on workers and minorities!

In the face of public outrage over the criminal "justice" system, the British state is vastly strengthening the powers of the cops and courts. Tony Blair's New Labour has often outflanked the Tories in the "law and order" stakes — they have supported repressive legislation — the Criminal Justice Act, the Public Order Act, the Immigration and Asylum Act, and the anti-trade union laws. Labour's support for the latest raft of "law and order" measures, including the Police Bill and the Crime Bill, prompted the *Economist* to dub the Tories and Labour, "Partners in crime".

The conservative bourgeois *Economist* states what is glaringly obvious, but which is still something that the supposed Trotskyist Workers Power (WP)

group is unable to admit. Their blind faith in Labour is expressed in a wish list of "demands" for a Blair government to implement, such as: "Abolish the Public Order Act, the Police and Criminal Evidence Act, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the Official Secrets Act and all repressive measures". WP goes on to call on Labour to "Disarm the police: no plastic bullets, CS gas, riot gear or firearms" (*Workers Power*, February 1997). Fat chance!

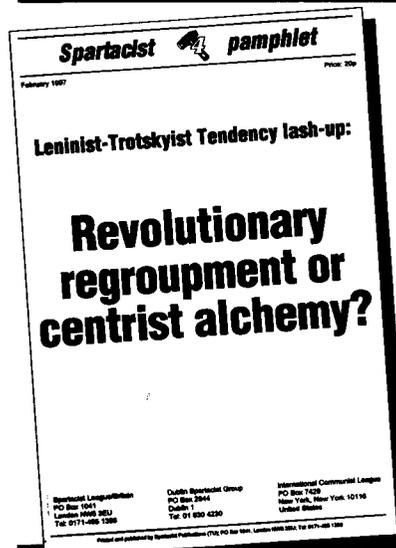
The SWP have their own method of whitewashing the cops. In an article (*Socialist Worker*, 8 February), John Molyneux asks "Are all coppers really bastards?" and answers "Not all coppers are necessarily bastards but unless they get out (which happens quite a lot), or rebel collectively (which is very rare), they are all agents of the state, the system and the ruling class."

The SWP's search for a few good cops is grotesque. In a leaflet titled "The ISO [US affiliate of the British SWP]: looking

for a few good cops", of 26 February, our comrades of the New York Spartacus Youth Club wrote:

"According to Molyneux, the SWP/ISO thinks that cops would cease to be 'agents of the state' if they were to 'rebel collectively.' But unlike the craven opportunists of the SWP/ISO, we Spartacists recognize that when the forces of the repressive state apparatus 'rebel,' they do so as deadly enemies of the working class and minorities."

In September last year the Home Office reported a 170 per cent increase in deaths in police custody in two years! The struggle against racist cop and fascist terror is a vital issue for the entire workers movement, whose struggles on picket lines run up against the scabberding cops and courts time and again. These struggles are betrayed by the Labour and trade union misleaders. To smash capitalist state power it is necessary to forge a racially integrated revolutionary party, which acts uncompromisingly as the tribune of all the oppressed. ■



Out now!

New Spartacist League pamphlet that counterposes the Trotskyist internationalism of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) to the right-centrist politics of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency lash-up.

20p (8 pages)
(Free with subscription)

Order from:
Spartacist Publications,
PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU

Berlin...

(Continued from page 12)

them. Widespread sentiment to stop the Nazis was evident: up to 15,000 workers and anti-fascist youth turned out to protest in Munich, and in Berlin bus drivers refused to transport contingents of fascists to the rally. Yet absolutely nothing was done to mobilise the heavy battalions of labour—and behind them the immigrants, women, gays and many others who are potential victims of fascist terror—in a powerful action which could have neutralised the forces of the state and driven the Nazis back into their sewers. The debacle in Munich stood in sharp contrast to the successful 15 February rout of Nazi skinheads in Berlin's Hellersdorf district two weeks earlier.

It is the capitalist ruling class and state which emboldens the fascists. But anti-Semitism is not just limited to an aberrant fringe. This was illustrated recently when the "respectable" bourgeois mouthpiece, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, labelled the British foreign minister the "Jew Rifkind". Despite their "polite" protestations, this was nothing but an appeal to the most backward racist prejudices from the ruling class that created the Holocaust. In the context of mounting inter-imperialist rivalries and Germany's drive to dominate Europe, the Fourth Reich echoes the rantings of Third Reich spokesmen who denounced not only working-class and communist but also rival imperialist opposition to their "Lebensraum" ("room to live") expansion plans as part of a "Jewish conspiracy".

Predictably the British tabloid press seized the opportunity to indulge in their own frenzy of anti-German chauvinism. But anti-Semitism is not the exclusive preserve of German nationalism. Perhaps the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* might have preferred Rifkind to have quoted an anti-Semitic stanza from Kipling, the poet of the British empire, rather than Luther. Britain, like Germany's other imperialist rivals, slammed the doors on Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi horrors and even shipped Jewish refugees off to a concentration camp in the Australian outback. Today, within the oppressed black minority in Britain, sinister black nationalist outfits like the Farrakhanites peddle the same anti-Semitic filth as the fascist race terrorists of Combat 18.

In Britain, after a spate of murderous racist and fascist attacks on young blacks and Asians in London in 1993, tens of

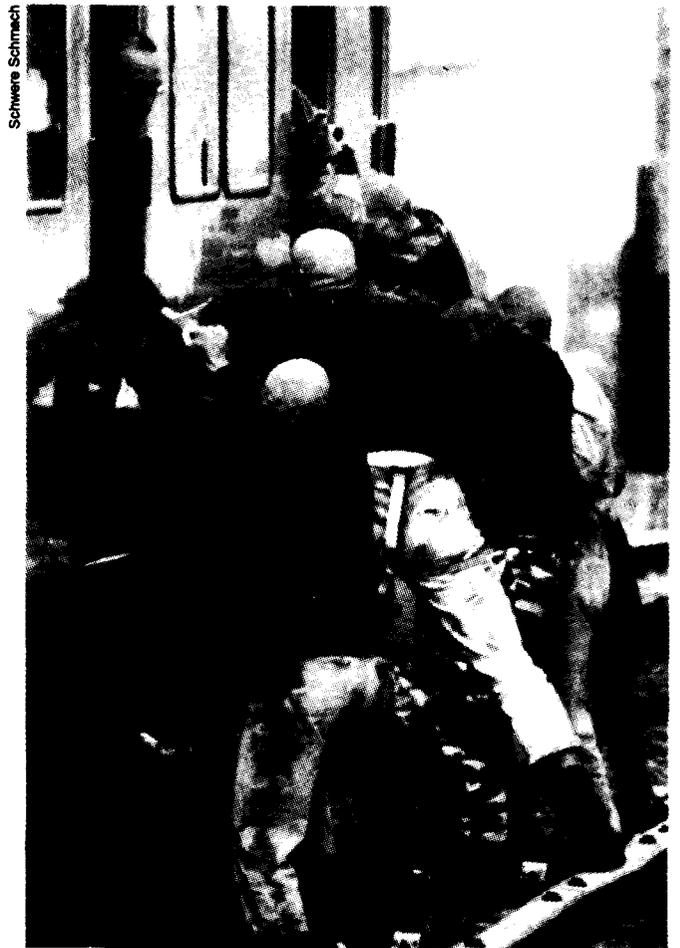
thousands of young people and anti-racist fighters mobilised in the streets, determined to halt the fascist British National Party (BNP) scum in their tracks. The reformist Socialist Workers Party and its Anti Nazi League and the Socialist Party (formerly Militant)/Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE) derailed these struggles with their dead-end strategy calling on the capitalist state to close down the BNP fascist headquarters. We, like our comrades of the SpAD, fight for trade union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascists now.

FEBRUARY 18—Emboldened by the German government's attacks on immigrants and mass deportations of refugees, with unemployment at its highest rate since Hitler came to power in 1933, the Nazi "Young National Democrats" announced they would stage a race-hate march for "Jobs for Germans First" through Berlin's Hellersdorf district on 15 February. The fascists have repeatedly targeted Hellersdorf to terrorise immigrants and have even murdered an Arab woman with impunity. But not this Saturday. Despite a massive show of police force to protect the brownshirt Nazi scum, some 2000 anti-fascist fighters—leftists, trade unionists, immigrants, Jewish students and others—boldly faced down a savage police attack and forcefully drove the Nazi rats back into their sewers.

The television news that evening showed what happened in Berlin on 15 February: there were no goose-stepping Nazis, no immigrant hostels burned to the ground. Instead, there were scenes of cowering skinheads lying on the floor of a subway car under heavy police protection, as would-be *führers* escaped in police vans from a crowd of anti-fascists who gave chase, shouting "Nazis raus!"—Nazis out! Prominent at the head of the determined anti-fascist mobilisation was the red banner of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD, German section of the International Communist League), which proclaimed: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers and Their Families!"

As the united-front action which spiked the Nazi provocation came to a close, Spartakist speaker Renate Dahlhaus declared to the hundreds of anti-racist protesters: "Berlin is a labour and left city, a Jewish city, a Turkish city, a Kurdish city. It's our city and we aren't going to let the Nazis march here!" An SpAD press release issued that afternoon reported:

Skinhead thugs sent fleeing. Militant anti-fascist protest spiked Nazi rally on 15 February in Berlin.



"Under massive protection of the state, the Nazis wanted to crawl out of their rat holes in order to recruit to their programme of firebombing, murder and genocide. But it didn't happen here! The determined action of all the anti-fascist fighters on 15 February was a fitting memorial to the martyred Frank Böttcher, a 17-year-old leftist youth who was brutally stabbed to death just days ago by a Nazi gang in Magdeburg."

On one week's notice, several organisations swung into action with calls for demonstrations against the fascists. A call to mobilise at the same time and place where the Nazis intended to start their rally was issued by the Trade Unionists Against Racism and Fascism, Anti-Fascist Action and other "antifa" groups. Meanwhile, the Social Democrats (SPD), the ex-Stalinist social-democratic Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and others appealed to the state to "ban" its Nazi dogs of war, and called for a demonstration some distance away from the site of the intended Nazi assembly. The SpAD and the Spartakist Youth called on all opponents of Nazi terror to join the former demonstration, at the same time and place where the Nazis intended to mobilise.

The rapidly shifting events and challenges in the course of building this protest were a test in action of the competing political programmes of the anarchists, the SPD, the PDS and the authentic communists represented by the SpAD. An 11 February SpAD leaflet emphasised: "Only a united-front action based on the social power of the workers and which defends and draws in all the oppressed and exploited can stop the Nazi terror, which ultimately is aimed at the organisations of the workers movement itself."

The SpAD counterposed its call for worker/immigrant mobilisations to appeals to the Fourth Reich by the trade-union tops and PDS Hellersdorf district mayor Uwe Klett (echoed by local Christian Democratic [CDU] politicians) to "ban the fascists". Our comrades warned: "You can't stop the fascists together with the bourgeois state which protects and uses them.... Only the proletarian united front, which the Trotskyists fought for in the '30s against the betrayal of the SPD and against the shameful 'social fascism' politics of Stalin/Thälmann, could have prevented the Nazi regime and the Holocaust and opened the way to overthrowing the bourgeoisie which Hitler served."

Today, the government's hounding of immigrants is used to whip up German nationalism—and the fascists are the most consistent German nationalists. The assault on immigrants is the spearhead of a mobilisation by the capitalist class against the entire workers movement. Meanwhile, across Europe the workers have responded with class struggle to defend their living standards.

With their chauvinist call for "jobs for Germans first", the fascists hope to seize on widespread despair in the face of escalating unemployment to push their genocidal programme against immigrants and workers of Turkish and Kurdish descent. As our comrades' leaflet pointed out, this is particularly true in eastern Germany in the aftermath of capitalist *Anschluss* (annexation):

"That is the result of the capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and the sellout of the East German deformed workers state by the SED/PDS. As we warned at the time in our call for the Treptow rally at the beginning of January 1990, where 250,000 demonstrated against the Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial: 'Resurgent fascism is still an extremist fringe phenomenon. It would again threaten all of humanity as soon as the first crises appear in a reunited Greater Germany.' We Trotskyists fought then for a proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East and for a socialist revolution in the West—for a Red Soviet Germany. "Today we see the effects of *Anschluss* in the former DDR, where practically all large-scale industry was smashed by the counter-revolution. In this situation the fascists again smell their chance to come to the aid of the capitalists with their hate-mongering slogan, 'Jobs for Germans first', deflecting rage over the bankruptcy of the 'market economy' against immigrant workers—as was done in 1933 against the Jews. The sharpened rivalries between the imperialists and the accompanying massive attacks on the workers have led across Europe to the growth of fascist movements."

The SpAD leaflet excoriated the trade-union bureaucrats who have bought into the bosses' anti-immigrant frenzy—like IG Metall chief Zwickel, who scandalously echoed the Nazis' battle cry with a demand for "foreigner quotas". It's an outrage that such a racist demand is voiced by the head of IG Metall, which organises more immigrant workers than any other union in Germany. Meanwhile the police terror against immigrants is in-

Spartacist public events

United-front action stopped Berlin Nazi rally!

Speaker from Spartakist Workers Party

Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth Group
London

Thursday, 20 March
7.30pm
Room 11
Friends Meeting House
Opposite Euston Station

Dublin Spartacist
Group
Dublin

Wednesday, 19 March
7.30pm
Room 1
Teachers Club
36 Parnell Square

For more information, contact the SL/SYG: 0171-485 1396
or the DSG: 01 830 4230.

creasingly aimed at these very trade unions, including bloody baton attacks on trade-union rallies.

A test of programme in action

As opposition to the Nazi mobilisation mounted throughout Berlin, the government and its mouthpieces in the bourgeois press worked overtime to lull and demobilise the Nazis' intended victims. The bourgeois press ran lying stories that the Nazis' threatened provocation was cancelled, and Berlin interior minister Schönbohm announced on 13 February that the Nazis would instead rally at an undisclosed indoor site under police protection.

The SpAD played a critical role in countering the government's cover-up for the Nazis. Our comrades blanketed Humboldt University and some of the heavily integrated factories in Berlin with a second leaflet calling to "Stop the Nazis!" and warning: "Don't be fooled by any tricks... Full steam ahead. A joint demonstration of thousands of working people and all potential victims of the Nazis must guarantee that there is no place for Nazis in Berlin."

The political battle continued on the morning of 15 February, as our comrades fought to pull together the diverse forces at the site into the largest possible united mobilisation to counter the massive cop presence and to put the Nazis on the run. This required political combat with the do-nothing PDS/SPD/CDU "stay away" crowd and some chaotic anti-communist, anarchoid types. The SpAD built a substantial contingent and sent out effective "agit-prop" teams to the other, PDS-led demonstration to agitate and appeal for *organised united-front action to stop the Nazis*.

Bullhoming to the 700 assembled at the PDS "peaceful, legal" gabfest, our comrades warned against any confidence in the bourgeois state and urged: "Enough has been said here, now it is necessary to act—that means to stop the Nazis. That's why we are now leaving, to unite with those at Kaulsdorf train station who want to stop the Nazis." Our speech hit the crowd like a tidal wave. Scandalously, "Trade Unionists Against Racism" denounced us as "splitters" and declared they would "spontaneously" decide where to go. As we replied that we had no time to wait for their "spontaneity", some 300 of the demonstrators—including a contingent of Jusos (SPD youth) led by the Cliffite group Linksruck, which is buried inside the SPD—surged forward to link up with the other anti-Nazi forces, chanting "Smash the fascists!"

Meanwhile at Kaulsdorf, the AA/BO (Anti-Fascist Action/National Organisation) called from their sound truck to *dissolve the demonstration*, dangerously urging protesters to proceed individually

to where the Nazis had been sighted at Wuhletal station. The SpAD contingent immediately turned towards Wuhletal and chanted, "Stand together to stop the fascists!" A number of *Autonom* (anarchoid) youth, Turkish and Kurdish student youth and others joined us and marched off as a disciplined, determined, anti-fascist bloc... while the AA/BO leadership stayed behind!

As the anti-fascists—with SpAD banners in the lead and anarchists and Jusos behind us—neared the Wuhletal train station, they met a cordon of police vans and a phalanx of cops with water cannon. Some clever and courageous anti-racist youth had spotted the train car the police had reserved for the Nazis on the elevated platform and were already giving

was seen scurrying for police protection. When reports came in that antifa motorcycle scouts had spotted more Nazis at a nearby train station, Kaulsdorf Nord, the SpAD formed up the remaining anti-fascist forces, still several hundred strong, and marched there at top speed. Finding no Nazis there, the protesters joined with the SpAD in a victory rally.

A report in *Neues Deutschland* (17 February), which is sympathetic to the PDS, falsely credits the PDS with a key role in stopping the Nazis, while acknowledging that Spartakists and *Autonomes* tried to drive the fascists off the train platform. The very next day, in an interview with the Berlin daily *Tagesspiegel*, PDSer Klett distanced himself from the "brawl" on the train platform and called it

said to a roar of applause at the anti-fascist protest: "We aren't here to show the clean face of Germany, because there isn't any. We aren't here for a 'well-fortified or watchful democracy', because this bourgeois democracy protects the fascists and beats up on immigrants and leftists. We're here to stop the fascists!"

Only socialist revolution can eradicate the fascist threat!

Across Europe, racist attacks on immigrants are at the cutting edge of the capitalist rulers' assault on the living standards and union organisations of the entire working class. The interests of labour and minorities must advance together or they will fall back together.

Spartakist Workers Party contingent leads militant protesters in stopping Nazi provocation. Banner reads: "Stop the Nazis through workers united-front action! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families!"



the fascists a good drubbing. Taking the relatively few cops at the subway entrance by surprise, our comrades stormed up the stairs. Our chants of "Nazis raus!" echoed loudly through the station. Meanwhile, in consonance with their wishy-washy politics, the Jusos hesitated and left a space for the cops to close in behind us.

A pitched battle ensued, as the cops went directly for the anti-fascist protesters' heads. One young woman comrade of the Berlin Spartakist Youth was smashed in the face by a cop and sent to the hospital with a broken nose requiring surgery. We were told that other protesters had been brutally beaten in police vans. Over 100 leftists were arrested. We demand: *Drop the charges against all anti-Nazi protesters!*

At the same time, cops were picking skinheads up off the platform and moving them into special subway cars and waiting police vans to speed them to safety. Andreas Storr, self-appointed *fürher* of the fascist "Young National Democrats",

"questionable" whether those who led the breakaway from the PDS rally in order to stop the fascists "could be considered leftists", a standard Stalinist slander of Trotskyists now used in the service of the Fourth Reich.

Klett's craven repudiation is in line with the PDS's actual role, which was to demobilise the anti-Nazi forces. After shamefully standing on the sidelines of the battle, the PDS then joined in *against* the anti-fascists. Acting in concert with the cops, PDS mayor Klett bellowed over a sound system that the attacks against the Nazis on the platform must stop. And while the PDS tries to paint itself as in the vanguard of the fight against fascism, its support to German nationalism has in the past led it into sordid embraces of right-wing chauvinist forces, including a 1993 meeting between a prominent PDS spokesman and a leader of the Nazi "Nationale Offensive".

The PDS and SPD promote suicidal illusions in bourgeois democracy, looking to the capitalist state to ban the fascists in order to "clean up" the Fourth Reich's image in the eyes of the world. But, as Spartakist spokesman Toralf Endruweit

In Germany, fascist arson attacks against immigrant hostels have become so common that they no longer even get reported unless people are killed. Fascist terror is also on the rise in Italy and France, where Le Pen's National Front (NF) recently won governmental control of yet another southern city. The NF has already been implementing its programme with "ethnic cleansing" and murderous thug attacks on leftists and immigrants. To combat the fascist threat requires not just militant street actions, although they certainly have their place, but a programme for revolutionary struggle.

The fascists are recruiting precisely because they are the only force which appears to offer a "radical" social programme. The anarchists offer no programme for fighting capitalism, while the bankrupt reformist misleaders—tailed by the centrists—seek to divert working-class anger against skyrocketing unemployment into the same anti-immigrant chauvinism pushed by the fascists. We Trotskyists fight for a programme of proletarian revolution to sweep away the capitalist system and its fascist dogs of war. The only way to eradicate unemployment, to provide decent housing, education and social services for all, to eliminate the danger of new imperialist wars and new Holocausts, lies through the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the creation of an egalitarian socialist society internationally. For a Socialist United States of Europe!

This requires an uncompromising fight against the poisonous racism which divides the working class. Indifference to racial oppression flows directly from a programme of *class collaboration* with your own bourgeoisie. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for a new, revolutionary leadership—a proletarian internationalist Leninist party—to unite the working class in opposition to its class enemy and to fight for new October socialist revolutions worldwide. Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 662, 21 February 1997.

WORKERS HAMMER

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League

- 1-year subscription to *Workers Hammer* for £3.00 includes *Spartacist*, organ of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist); and *Women and Revolution* (Overseas subscriptions: Airmail £7.00; Europe outside Britain & Ireland £4.00)
- 1-year subscription to *Workers Hammer* PLUS 22 issues of *Workers Vanguard*, Marxist fortnightly of the Spartacist League/US for £8.00. Subscription includes *Spartacist*, organ of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist); *Women and Revolution*; and *Black History and the Class Struggle*

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____ Telephone _____

Make cheques payable/post to: Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU

Contact addresses

Spartacist League/Britain
PO Box 1041
London NW5 3EU
Tel: 0171-485 1396

Dublin Spartacist Group
PO Box 2944
Dublin 1
Tel: 01 830 4230

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

Police attack leftists, protect fascists **Berlin: militant protest spikes Nazi rally**

We reprint below an important report of militant struggle against the Nazi vermin in Germany. On 15 February, 2000 demonstrators stopped a Nazi provocation in Hellersdorf, Berlin. Prominent in this successful action were our comrades of the Spartakist Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SpAD).

On 19 February, a few days after the anti-fascist fighters sent the reactionary scum scurrying for cover, a near fatal attack was carried out in broad daylight on a PDS bookshop keeper in Marzahn. A fascist clad in leather bomber-jacket and jackboots fired a shotgun three times into the bookseller's back. This cowardly terrorist sneak attack is revenge for the 15 February mass action by those who fear the mass mobilisations against them.

Our article highlights how 15 February was a test in action of the competing programmes to fight fascism. Despite the murderous attack on its supporter, the PDS persists in joining the bourgeois chorus against "left-wing violence". A 19 February SpAD statement, urgently calling for workers united-front defence



Cristian V Polentz

February 15: Berlin anti-fascist protesters on train platform confront Nazis cowering in subway car behind police guard.

against fascist attacks, noted:

"The grotesque attempt by Gregor Gysi of the PDS to equate 'left' and 'right' extremists is a deadly syllogism which can only strengthen the hand of the bloody capitalist state, which the PDS

serves, and which is emboldening the fascists with its mass deportations of immigrants and vicious attacks on labour, women, minorities and the left. While the PDS beseeches the Fourth Reich to curb the 'excesses' of 'extremists', their sell-out of the DDR and tepid appeals to 're-

form' the capitalist system all serve to breed the misery on which the fascist maggots feed. The shameful condemnation by the PDS of the bold leftist action which spiked the Nazi provocation in Hellersdorf and their suicidal appeals to the state to curb its own fascist dogs of war recalls the role of their Stalinist and Social Democratic forebears."

On 3 March, some 5000 Nazis marched through Munich under heavy police protection. This fascist provocation was effectively condoned at the highest levels of the state government, as the Christian Social Union, Bavarian sister party of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats, joined in condemning an exhibit which was the target of the Nazi rally—on the war crimes of Hitler's Wehrmacht forces during World War II. This was a serious defeat for the working class as a whole.

Responsibility for this defeat rests squarely at the feet of the reformist misleaders—the Social Democrats (SPD) and the DGB trade-union federation tops—and the various centrists who tail

continued on page 10

Cops/courts shield fascist killers of Stephen Lawrence

Labour helps Tories to strengthen racist police powers



On 13 February the jury at the inquest into the brutal murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence in April 1993 returned a verdict of "unlawful killing in a completely unprovoked racist attack by five

white youths". Yet his killers have repeatedly walked free from the courts. During the inquest, the five racist scum, Neil Acourt, Gary Dobson, Luke Knight, Jamie Acourt and David Norris, sat in court smirking.

At the time of the murder the cops ignored dozens of phone calls which provided the names of the suspects. Instead they investigated the victim, asking Stephen's friends whether he was "involved in any gangs or drug dealing"—code-words for criminalising blacks. The racist cops also suppressed a statement by an eyewitness who had seen two of the accused running away from the scene of the murder. After the inquest Stephen's mother, Doreen Lawrence, issued the following trenchant indictment of the police's role:

"The wall of silence was not only in the

surrounding area where my son was killed but with the police officers who were supposed to be investigating the crime. Right from the start on the night our boy was murdered, it seemed that in the minds of the police he was only a black boy, so why bother?"

In the wake of the capitalist counter-revolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, there has been a sinister rise of fascist terror across Europe. Rising unemployment among Western European youth has gone hand in hand with the brutal superexploitation of dark-skinned immigrant workers. In the absence of mass revolutionary, ie genuinely communist, parties capable of uniting the working class in struggle against the ravages of capitalism, the fascists and other far-right forces have taken advantage of Western Europe's deteriorating social and eco-

nomical conditions. The capitalist state has fuelled these forces through repressive laws against workers and immigrants. The murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 was part of a wave of racist and fascist terror, which in London included the killing of Rolan Adams, Rohit Duggal and Ruhullah Aramesh. What is needed to crush the fascist vermin is mass trade union/minority mobilisations.

The Lawrence family initiated a private prosecution after the public prosecutor halted criminal proceedings supposedly because of "insufficient evidence". But the private prosecution also collapsed when the judge ruled that the evidence of Stephen's friend, Duwayne Brooks was "inadmissible". Duwayne was with Stephen when he was stabbed and he himself just

continued on page 9