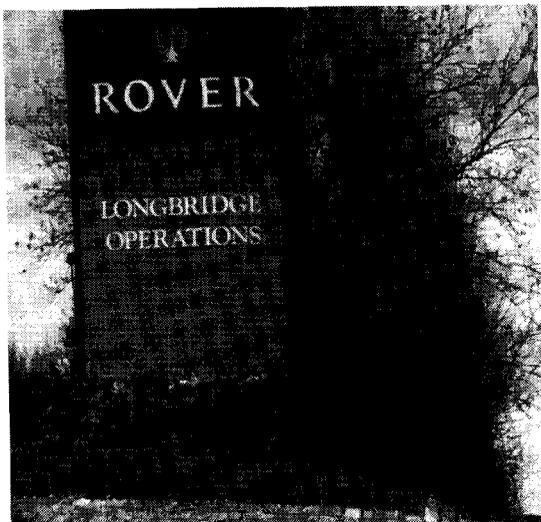


## Rover demonstration: flag-waving orgy for British bosses

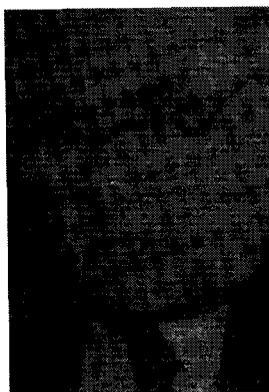
# For class struggle against the Labour government!



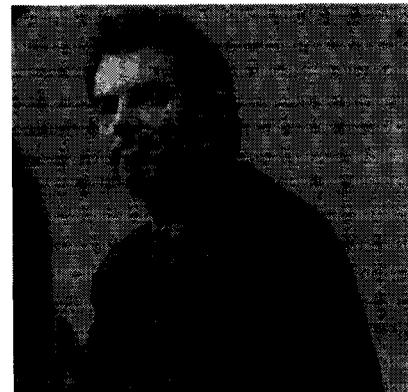
Guardian



Economist



Financial Times



Guardian

As Rover workers face mass redundancies, union chiefs such as Sir Ken Jackson (left) and Labour PM Tony Blair push ugly chauvinism and British nationalism.

German car manufacturer BMW's decision to sell Rover, which they bought in 1994, means tens of thousands of job losses in the West Midlands, the heart of manufacturing industry in Britain. Longbridge, the biggest car plant in Britain which employs 9000 workers, is to be bought by "venture capital" company Alchemy, who will make the majority of workers redundant, sell what's profitable and (perhaps) salvage a small plant making sports cars. Alchemy are also buying the Cowley plant, while Rover Solihull is being bought by Ford, who in turn are threatening to close their car plant at Dagenham, near London which only last

year they planned to expand.

The week after BMW announced they would pull out, Honda reduced production at their Swindon plant by 50 per cent. The massive wave of closures in the car industry is another severe blow to the industrial proletariat. It comes in the wake of decades of job losses, the result of defeats and betrayals of the working class. Harland and Wolff's shipyard in Belfast has served redundancy notices on its entire workforce. A recent report commissioned by the GMB union says manufacturing jobs are being lost at the staggering rate of over 6000 a month; the average under the Tories was 4600.

In response to the job massacre at Rover, Bill Morris, Sir Ken Jackson & Co organised a huge march in Birmingham on 1 April on an explicitly protectionist, British nationalist basis. The official slogans were: "Save British manufacturing industry!" and "Save British jobs!" The leaflet containing these slogans was jointly published by the four main unions in the car industry — the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU); Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU); General, Municipal and Boilermakers Union (GMBU) and Manufacturing, Science and Finance (MSF). While the demonstration reflected anger and

bitterness against BMW and the government, its political perspective was so alien to the actual interests of the working class that it had the full support of the Birmingham *Evening Mail*, an anti-trade union rag, and even of Tony Blair who has nothing but contempt for the working class and oppressed.

Not surprisingly then, the demonstration was an obscene red-white-and-blue orgy of chauvinism, in which trade union banners (and Socialist Workers Party placards) mixed freely with the Union Jack, the racist emblem of the Empire in colonial times and of the subjugation of

*continued on page 6*

## Down with Labour's racist crusade

On New Year's Day, a 20-year-old black man, Jason McGowan, was found lynched, hanging from railings near his home in Telford, Shropshire. He had been investigating the death of his uncle, Harold McGowan, who six months earlier had also been found hanged. The McGowan family had been subjected to a sustained campaign of racist attacks and death threats from thugs associated with the fascist terror group Combat 18. The lynching of black people is the calling card of the Ku Klux Klan. At first the cops covered up the murders by alleging that the men had committed suicide.

Racist terror gangs have systematically targeted prominent athletes, particularly those in interracial couples. In March, black Olympic athlete Ashia Hansen and her white former boyfriend

Chris Cotter were attacked at her Birmingham home. Cotter was stabbed several times by a gang of five fascists who attempted to scalp him. The couple went into hiding and Hansen was forced to flee the country. Earlier this year three white Leeds United football stars beat 19-year-old Asian student Sarfraz Najeib, whom they chased out of a night club, causing him serious injuries.

These attacks and the lynching of the McGowans are the direct result of a xenophobic climate which is being whipped up and orchestrated by Labour ministers, particularly Home Secretary Jack Straw, to justify their government's relentless attacks on the rights of immigrants and asylum-seekers. Since Labour's Immigration and Asylum Act was ushered through parliament, the "liberal"

*continued on page 8*



Ben Curtis

Romanian immigrants "dispersed" by racist Labour government to run-down estate in Glasgow.

# Free jailed Mexican students! Defend public education!

On the morning of 6 February, the notoriously brutal Mexico City federal police invaded the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) which has 270,000 students. This ended a nine-and-a-half-month strike triggered by a plan to dramatically increase tuition fees, effectively blocking the currently limited access to higher education for working-class and poor students. Up to 700 were arrested in a move which amounted to a military occupation of the campus. This came just five days after a similar attack on the "Prepa 3" high school (affiliated to UNAM), where over 250 were arrested.

Several hundred students still languish in Mexican jails, held under false charges that could incarcerate them for years, for the "crime" of fighting to defend public

education. Many cannot afford the bail, and some are being denied medical attention among widespread reports of beatings and torture.

As Marxists, the International Communist League unconditionally defends all the arrested students and fights for labour-centred action to demand: *Drop all the charges! Free all arrested UNAM strikers! Defend public education!* During the strike, the ICL elicited statements of solidarity from unions and student organisations, and organised emergency protests around the world after the mass arrests at Prepa 3 and UNAM.

In response to the government repression, UNAM students initiated a defence fund for militants imprisoned in the Mexican government's crackdown. The ICL

took up this campaign as an elementary act of international solidarity, raising funds to help secure an immediate release of militants who cannot meet the exorbitant bail demanded by the government. Here in Britain, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Group actively appealed to workers and students and met with a positive response, raising £335.82, including £55.05 at Guildhall University, from students who are facing exorbitant tuition fees.

The Mexican bourgeoisie's attacks on public education and brutal state repression unleashed against students, workers and the Zapatistas in Chiapas alike, are part of a wider onslaught against the workers and poor of Mexico in response to a US-backed and IMF-imposed austerity and privatisation package. The UNAM strike tapped into a seething discontent in Mexican society, sparking upheavals like the student strike in El Mexe, where villagers in the state of Hidalgo seized and disarmed 68 cops after a police raid on the campus occupied by students since 5 January. The UNAM strike gained widespread support from workers, especially among the Union of Electrical Workers (SME) and STUNAM campus workers, prompting fears in the ruling class that it could trigger wider social struggle throughout Mexico.

During the course of the strike, the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) and Juventud Espartaquista (JE), Mexican section of the ICL, became known as revolutionary Trotskyists who fight for: *Free, quality education for all! For open admissions with a state-paid living stipend! For teacher/student/worker control of the universities! For workers' strike action to defeat union-busting privatisation and defend public education!* Fighting for these demands requires a struggle against the capitalist system as a whole, because in a system of production for profit, the bourgeoisie will only invest in education and other social areas what it can get out in profit. Even the hard-won gains made by the working class in militant struggle can be reversed unless the proletariat conquers state power.

During the UNAM strike, our comrades of the GEM/JE called to *extend* the strike

to key sectors of the proletariat, because only the working class has the social power to shut down society because of its strategic position in the process of production. This is the way to combat the Mexican bourgeoisie's and US imperialism's attacks on the livelihood of Mexican workers, peasants and oppressed, and fight for socialist revolution. This requires the building of a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions to mobilise the working class in its own interests independent of the bourgeoisie.

One of the main obstacles to this in Mexico is bourgeois nationalism, which binds the Mexican working class to its "own" bourgeoisie. The Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) acts as vehicle for this ideology, along with all the so-called socialist organisations which channel working-class discontent back into support for the PRD. This party is no less a bourgeois party than President Zedillo's PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party): arrests and severe beatings of students on 4 August and 14 October 1999, by riot cops sent in by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, PRD head and former mayor of Mexico City, demonstrate the party's role as representatives of the bourgeoisie. They also confirm in the concrete our understanding of the police as the armed fist of the capitalist state. We demand: All cops out of the unions!

To defeat bourgeois nationalism and other pressures leading to class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the ICL seeks to build a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, composed of the most advanced workers and those students who have been won over to the side of the working class, which can lead the proletariat to conquer state power.

As internationalists, we fight for common class struggle by workers in Mexico and around the world, especially in the advanced capitalist countries, where we seek to smash imperialism from within the "belly of the beast". In the US and Western Europe, the bourgeoisies are also dismantling education and welfare in a drive to be more competitive than their rivals. The Spartacist League/Britain and the Spartacus Youth Group fight together with the GEM/JE in the ICL for new proletarian revolutions based on the model of the Russian Revolution of October 1917. Socialist revolution across the world is the only way to defeat the bourgeoisie's attacks on the working class and youth internationally and lay the material foundations for achieving meaningful economic and social progress. ■



TROTSKY

## Trotsky on the Labour Party

*As Trotsky pointed out almost 80 years ago, the Labour Party has faithfully served British imperialism from Ireland to India, in imperialist wars and against workers strikes. In the pamphlet quoted, he described the mentality of Labour Party leaders, asking: "Why have an outward policeman over Mr. MacDonald when there is an inward one within his soul?" The Spartacist League seeks to build an internationalist revolutionary workers*

*party, the indispensable instrument to overthrow the "outward policeman", British imperialism.*

When speaking of the treasons and betrayals of the social-reformers, we by no means desire to assert that they are all, or a majority of them, merely bought. If so, they would never do for the serious part set to them by bourgeois society....

Suffice it to say that the same bourgeois public opinion which in days of quietude permits them to be in the Opposition, at a decisive moment, when the life or death of bourgeois society is at stake, or at least its most important interests—in a war, a rebellion in Ireland or in India, the great coal lock-out, or the Soviet Republic in Russia—proved capable of forcing them to take the political position which was necessary to the capitalist order. Without wishing in any way to attribute to the personality of Mr. Henderson any titanic features that it does not possess, we may confidently assume that Mr. Henderson as the head of the 'Labour Party' is a supremely important asset to bourgeois society in Britain. For in the heads of the Hendersons the fundamental elements of bourgeois education and the fragmentary scraps of socialism are welded into one by the traditional cement of religion. The question of the economic emancipation of the British proletariat cannot be seriously put as long as the labour movement is not purged of such leaders, organizations, and moods, which are the embodiment of the timid, cringing, cowardly and base submission of the exploited to the public opinion of the exploiters. The inward policeman must be cast out before the outward policeman can be overthrown.

The Communist International teaches the workers to treat the public opinion of the bourgeoisie with contempt, and above all, to scorn these 'socialists' who crawl upon their bellies before the commandments of the bourgeoisie.

— Leon Trotsky, "Social Democracy and the Wars of Intervention in Russia, 1918-1921" (1922)



LENIN

## Free Kuldip Bajwa!

*We print below a letter sent by the Partisan Defence Committee to Home Secretary Jack Straw on 6 April 2000.*

The Partisan Defence Committee demands the immediate, unconditional release of Kuldip Bajwa. Kuldip was sentenced on 7 February at Southwark Crown Court and jailed for 21 months on charges of "violent disorder" stemming from the Carnival against Capitalism in the City of London on 18 June 1999. He was defending himself and other activists from the brutal attack by the police, which included baton charges and driving a police van into a crowd of protesters, leaving 40 hospitalised.

The police brutality on 18 June was followed up in full police-state fashion by spying on meetings and other politi-

cal surveillance, the publishing of pictures of activists, and vindictive political prosecutions like Kuldip's—where his membership in the leftist organisation Workers Power was raised by the prosecution as grounds for the denial of bail!

We oppose this latest expression of this capitalist Labour government's campaign to extend the repressive powers of the state, designed to intimidate and regiment the working class, to silence any political opposition to British imperialism. From day one this Labour government has been the vicious enemy of workers, of racial minorities and immigrants.

Drop all charges against all June 18 protesters! Free Kuldip Bajwa and all those convicted in connection with the 18 June demonstration!

## WORKERS HAMMER

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

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EDITOR: Jo Watt

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Kate Kelsey

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mick Connor

Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU

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## Dublin bus strike sold out

# Irish state threatened army strike-breaking

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Dublin Spartacist Group on 28 March, "Dublin Bus drivers threatened with army strikebreaking: Workers — Shut down all transport! Break with Labour! Down with 'partnership'! Build a revolutionary workers party!". That week the drivers at Dublin Bus started a three-day strike which spread beyond Dublin Bus and, despite the best efforts of the trade union bureaucrats, shut down virtually all of transport.

In the midst of the strike, railway track maintenance workers launched a wildcat strike demanding the reinstatement of two workers, which disrupted service. Bus workers shut down the DART suburban railway. Then, on 29 March, the Dublin Bus strikers joined the track maintenance workers on pickets at rail stations and also picketed out the Bus Eireann intercity bus system. Throughout the week the employers escalated their calls on the government for army strikebreaking. The government and the capitalists also pushed schemes for privatising the transport companies.

In the end, the army was not needed as the pro-capitalist union leaders managed to restrain the workers' militancy, assisted by craft divisions in the unions. The track workers action won the lifting of the high court injunction against pickets and the reinstatement of the two suspended workers. In contrast to the swift victory of this strike, the NBRU tops, led by General Secretary Peter Bunting, succeeded in limiting the effectiveness of the bus strike.

The bus strike was scheduled to conclude on 30 March and resume on 3 April. There was very strong sentiment to continue the strike until it won. However, Bunting arranged for the secondary pickets against Bus Eireann and DART to be taken down on the 30th and threatened "the expulsion of any member of the NBRU who participates in any unofficial action" (*Irish Times*, 31 March).

Over the weekend, when there was no strike, the union tops arranged a sell-out. Talks resulted in an interim 8.5 per cent pay rise (while a three-man commission adjudicates on the remainder of the drivers' 20 per cent pay claim), with significant concessions by the drivers including shorter breaks, and the elimination of extra pay for driving new types of buses. Altogether, the savings generated by these "productivity" concessions were worth more than the money spent on wage increases for the drivers. As one picket told a *Workers Hammer* salesman, the workers were paying for their own wage increase!

To ensure a vote in favour of this rotten deal, the union tops called off the four-day strike due to begin on 3 April before the workers had voted on the settlement. Despite this, the deal was accepted by only 54 per cent, pointing to continued dissatisfaction, coupled with a recognition of the social power which the transport workers had brought to bear the previous week.

Last week the 1100 bus drivers of the National Bus and Rail Union (NBRU) at Dublin Bus began a series of strikes, in which the 1000 SIPTU bus workers honoured the picket lines, and the NBRU is set to go on all-out strike next month. DART train drivers are discussing organising solidarity strikes. Fearing that the

bus strike will escalate into a wider confrontation over the "Partnership for Prosperity and Fairness", the government have threatened to use military vehicles and army drivers to break the strike. This is a provocation against the entire working class. It poses the need for a mobilisation of all union members to turn the bus strike into a pivotal battle, not simply over "partnership" but over elementary trade union rights. It is vital for the working class to defend itself by shutting the city down. All public transport must be brought to a halt—Strike Bus Eireann, DART and all of rail!

The threat to use troops as strikebreakers is a threat to the very existence of the unions. It should be seen as a challenge to every union member in Dublin, a heavily unionised city. The government and the bosses are confident they can get away with army strikebreaking, as they have in ambulance drivers and fire brigades strikes and in Ballymun during the 1998 lift operators' strike. What is urgently needed is a mobilisation of all union members to strike all public transport in the city. To shut it down and prevent scabbing, workers must build mass pickets that no-one crosses. The kind of mobilisation necessary must be fought for in opposition to the trade union bureaucracy. The ICTU tops are known to oppose the bus strike; thus far union leaders have not uttered a word in defence of the unions against the military threat, while NBRU General Secretary Peter Bunting says he is "trying to dampen down pressure from members elsewhere to join this dispute" (*Irish Times*, 27 March) and is "having great difficulty trying to contain this dispute within Dublin" (*Irish Independent*, 27 March).

The trade union bureaucracy are tied hand and foot to the Labour Party and thus to the capitalist system. They knifed the nurses' strike, pulling down the pickets before the rotten settlement had even been voted upon. Today the trade union tops are against calling out the other CIE workers despite a strong desire among these workers for solidarity strikes. Moreover, two-day and three-day strikes are designed to exert pressure, not as a strategy to win.

These "labour lieutenants" of capital are key to the enforcement of "partnership" deals, which they have successfully shoved down workers' throats for years. The whole point of the "Partnership for Prosperity and Fairness", just like its predecessors is to ban strikes, to keep wages down and to boost profits. The bourgeoisie get richer every day living off the fruits of our labour! In return for miserable pay increases, the bosses demand "flexibility" and more "productivity". And while the bourgeoisie trumpets declining unemployment and there is a labour shortage in certain fields there are still over 170,000 people on the dole.

The Labour Court is another means by which the capitalist state defends the interests of the bourgeoisie. Its role was clearly demonstrated earlier in the Dublin Bus dispute, when it ruled that the NBRU workers were asking for too much money! An essential part of our struggle for a revolutionary leadership of the trade unions is opposition to craft unionism,

which divides the workers within a common industry and is a weapon in the hands of the bureaucracy. We fight for one industrial union of all transport workers—for buses and rail.

As the capitalists prepare to use the army to break the strike, the reformist



Morning Star

Dublin bus drivers on strike against austerity wages. Trade union bureaucracy promotes illusions in "partnership" with bosses.

Socialist Workers Party (SWP) springs forward to blur the class line. In the March 2000 Bus Strike Special Issue of *Socialist Worker*, they write "busworkers should start to forge links with the soldiers union, PDFORA."

The SWP goes on: "Soldiers are drawn from working class areas. Many joined the army to defend their country - not to break strikes of fellow workers." Appealing to soldiers not to follow the order to crush a strike can be a valuable tactic in the framework of an all out class battle; if the labour movement really fought back massively in active solidarity against army strikebreaking, many soldiers might well respond to such an appeal. However, the SWP are appealing to nationalism, tacitly supporting the idea of soldiers defending "their country". We agree with Karl Marx that working people have no country, and that the enemy of the working class is at home. The SWP line up behind their "own" bourgeoisie; thus their British group supported the British army being sent to Northern Ireland in 1969 and today their British press refuses to call for troops out. They reserve it for their Irish paper, in small print.

The Irish army is the volunteer army of a capitalist state and soldiers are not workers at all but part of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state and the enemies of the working class. The army, together with the gardai and prison officers, are the core of the capitalist state, which is not neutral but exists to defend private property and the capitalist class. This includes breaking strikes and serving abroad as members of imperialist occupation forces under the command of the UN or NATO. Irish troops in Kosovo served

under then NATO commander Sir Michael Jackson, butcher of Bloody Sunday in Derry in 1972. Attacking strikers in Dublin, the Irish army's role is shown to be not fundamentally different than that of the British army, which subjugates the oppressed Catholics in Northern Ireland and maintains divide and rule of the working class. We demand all Irish/UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, the Near East and East Timor! British troops out of Northern Ireland now!

The SWP's aim is to get Labour back into government. The problem isn't this "right-wing" government but the whole capitalist system, which must be overthrown through workers revolution. Labour is what Lenin termed a bourgeois workers party—it has a working-class base, but a thoroughly pro-capitalist leadership. The Dublin Spartacist Group's

(DSG) strategic task is to build a revolutionary party by splitting Labour, winning its working-class base over to the cause of proletarian revolution.

The position of women here, where the state is intertwined with the Catholic Church, is among the worst in Western Europe. Divorce is prohibitively expensive for workers and abortion is still illegal. We fight for the separation of church and state. For free abortion on demand! The state jails and tortures Republicans, it also foments chauvinism against Travellers and immigrants whom it scapegoats for the problems of the rotting capitalist system. Labour was part of the government which instituted the racist Aliens Order in 1997. We say: No deportations, anyone who comes here should have the right to stay! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! We seek to mobilise the workers movement in defence of Travellers, who suffer hideous oppression, and against racist terror and state persecution.

The DSG seeks to build a Leninist vanguard party that instils revolutionary consciousness in the working class to fight in its own historical interests, for working-class rule. Successful class struggle against the clericalist Irish state would find resonance among both Catholic and Protestant workers in the North, as well as among workers in Britain who are faced with attacks by the capitalist Labour government. Not Orange against Green but class against class! We seek to mobilise the working class on both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea. The DSG and the Spartacist League/Britain struggle to build parties to fight for an Irish workers republic, part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles. ■

# Greece

## Workers movement must fight for immigrants' rights

We print below a letter which has been edited for space.

1 April 2000

To Workers Hammer,

Since 1991, after the collapse of the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe, Greece has become the recipient of increasingly large numbers of immigrants and refugees, from the Balkan countries, especially Albania, but also from the former USSR, Asia and Africa. Included in this are many tens of thousands of immigrants of Greek descent who come from southern Albania and the former Soviet republics.

Immigrants have become subject to hard racist oppression, blatant discrimination, cruel exploitation by the bosses, mass deportations and terror at the hands of the police and fascist gangs. The immigrants share the national oppression that is directed against Roma and the national

Socialist Movement) promulgated two laws for the registration of immigrants and the institution of a "green card" system of temporary residence. A new bill is being prepared, which will make getting a temporary residence permit even more difficult.

The PASOK government is also ready to abolish political asylum. This measure will condemn hundreds of Turks, Kurds and other political refugees to mass deportation. Especially after the delivery of Abdullah Öcalan by the Greek government to the Turkish government, and the recent rapprochement of the two bourgeoisies, the residence in Greece of Kurdish and Turkish political refugees is under threat. Greece occupies last place among countries of the European Union for the granting of political asylum, and it has the smallest number of registered refugees.

The fascist gang "Chrisi Afi" (Golden

rights". The general lines of their policy can be summarised as the demand for the legalisation of foreign workers and the slogan "open the borders" to immigrants and refugees. In this way, in reality, they deny complete equal rights for immigrants because legalisation means only a residence permit, which can be taken away by the state, while the blackmail regime of work permits is maintained. The slogan "open the borders" creates illusions about the real role of the bourgeois state and its apparatus. The only road to establish a state apparatus that functions in the interests of the proletariat is the overthrow of the bourgeois state and the establishment of proletarian power.

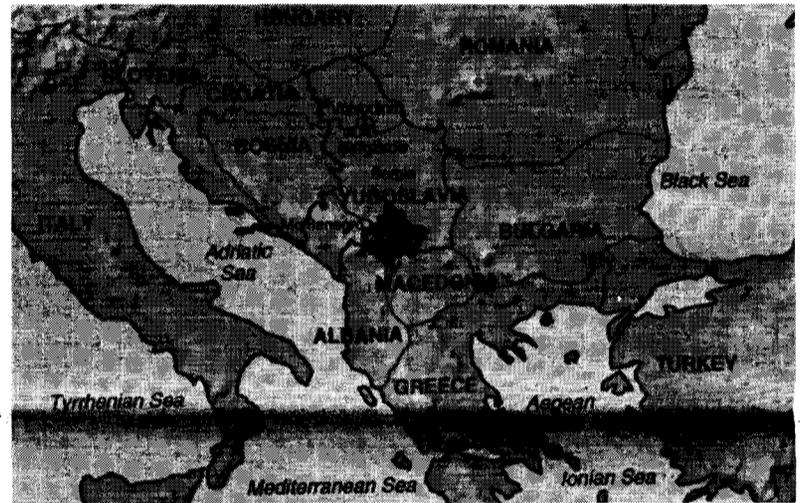
The Cliffites of Sosialistiko Ergatiko Komma (Socialist Workers Party) — who voted for the PASOK government in 1996 — demand "Open the borders, smash Nazis" and then call on the state to

proposing only the organised self-defence of organisations of the left.

The Mandelites of OKDE (Organisation of the Communist Internationalists of Greece) participate in the Network of Social Support to Immigrants and Refugees — a humanitarian organisation composed of elements of the left. The central slogans of the Network are "open borders", "legalisation" and "outlaw the fascists". Among the demands of the Network is citizenship only for those immigrants who have been in Greece for ten years. The Network has links with the European Union and the state General Secretary for Youth, ie with the apparatus that is carrying out the racist policy. In the last anti-racist festival of the Network the main spokesman was Alain Krivine who called for an "accord" in the Balkans under the auspices of United Nations or the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in



AP



Workers Vanguard map

April 1999: NATO bombing of Albanian refugee convoy in Kosovo killed 82. Immigrants and refugees from imperialist carnage in the Balkans, many of them Albanians, now face racist terror in Greece and throughout Europe.

minorities (Turks, Macedonians, Pomaks).

From 1991 to 1998 there were one and a half million recorded deportations, 43 murders of immigrants, as well as 135 immigrants killed trying to cross into Greece, usually drowned as their small boats overturned, or killed crossing minefields. Murders of Albanians at the borders, torture in police stations, immigrants killed by police guns "discharging" are routine. In the summer of 1999, after the public racist declaration of the [PASOK] prime minister, Kostas Simitis, who blamed immigrants for a rise in crime, an extensive police operation was launched in which thousands of immigrants were rounded up in stadiums. Many of them were then deported. The climax of the racist frenzy was the armed attack of a fascist gang against immigrants in the centre of Athens in October 1999 which resulted in three immigrants killed and two others paralysed for life. Today foreign workers constitute 25 per cent of the working class of the country and comprise its most oppressed and exploited layer.

In 1997, the government of the bourgeois populist PASOK (Pan-Hellenic

Dawn) has carried out more than 70 attacks on immigrants, including the attempted murder of a leftist student in July 1998, and the murderous pogrom in the centre of Athens. Despite the terror to which they are subjected, foreign workers gave the first small proof of their resistance with limited local strikes in Macedonia and Magnesia in 1996 and 1998 as well as demonstrations of black immigrants against racist murders.

The bureaucratic tops of the General Labour Confederation of Greece (GSEE) back the main aims of the PASOK government's policy on immigration, supporting the deportation of "illegal" immigrants and all those judged dangerous to "public order". The Builders Union and the Metal Union, on the initiative of the Stalinists [KKE], organised squads to hunt down illegal foreign workers on work sites and then, like common narks, turned them over to the police. At the same time, they have raised slogans calling for the exclusion of foreign workers from public works. The shameful role played by the union bureaucrats, acting as informers for the police against immigrants for deportation, strikingly confirms their true nature as agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement and agents of the capitalist state who spread among Greek workers the chauvinist poison that "foreigners are taking jobs".

None of the so-called Trotskyist organisations in Greece raises the call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, despite their literary declaration for "equal

close the offices of the "Golden Dawn" and outlaw the fascists. Thus they spread illusions in the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state and place the task of struggling against fascism in the hands of the bourgeois apparatus.

The Greek section of the CWI (Committee for a Workers' International), Xekinima, and its transitional group YRE (Youth against Racism in Europe), call on the state to outlaw all the organisations of the extreme right and to activate all the anti-racist laws. In all the declarations of the YRE, there is no mention of "socialism" or "revolution", as they are limited to democratic demands in the context of capitalism. Xekinima capitulates to the state, calling on the government to introduce a bill that "will treat immigrants as people with equal rights" through "a process of dialogue between political parties, anti-racist organisations and immigrant communities" (Xekinima, March 2000). At the same time, it proposes to assess manpower needs, with the participation of workers and agrarian unions. Thus, the right to work is adapted to the needs of the market and the union bureaucrats can further the state's policy of mass deportation of "excess" immigrants.

The Communist League-Workers Power, while correctly rejecting slogans for the state to outlaw the fascists, limits its demands for immigrants to the slogan of "legalisation". So it raised the slogan "a green card for all immigrants" in 1997. It also doesn't link the fight against fascists with the mobilisation of the working class,

Europe.

The central task of the workers movement in defence of the rights of foreign workers is the struggle for the immediate granting of full citizenship rights for all immigrants. A sharp test for the workers movement is the mobilisation of the native working class alongside their immigrant class brothers and sisters to stop fascist terror against the immigrant communities, the formation of workers defence squads and multinational workers militias against fascist terror. Appeals to the bourgeois state to act against the fascist gangs are not only ineffective, they are completely disorienting. Even if the bourgeois state did, for its own reasons, ban the fascists, at the very next moment it would then turn against leftist organisations.

The formation of left political blocs exclusively on the basis of democratic rights for immigrants represents a petty-bourgeois, popular-front policy. It is petty-bourgeois because it addresses the question of racism from the angle of humanitarian support, seeing immigrants simply as defenceless victims and not as an active factor for proletarian revolution.

The liberation of immigrants, as well as all the oppressed social layers requires the building of a Leninist vanguard party fighting for proletarian revolution. It requires a party that acts as a tribune of the people, rallying all the oppressed around the working class in the quest for socialism.

Comradely,  
Spyros

Visit the ICL  
web site!

[www.icl-fi.org](http://www.icl-fi.org)

## Beware European Union social democrats— Forge multiethnic revolutionary workers parties!

# Austria: Down with racist demagogue Haider!

We print below an edited leaflet issued on 18 February by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League, along with an introduction from *Workers Vanguard* no 730, 25 February. The SpAD distributed this leaflet at a protest of nearly 300,000 people in Vienna against Jörg Haider's openly racist Freedom Party (FPÖ). Following the FPÖ's entry into a coalition government with the People's Party (ÖVP) earlier this year, mass protests have taken place not only in Austria but throughout Western Europe. The presence of the FPÖ in the government poses a sinister threat to the Austrian working class, immigrants and other minorities. At the same time, the political thrust of these protests is to restore to power the Socialist Party (SPÖ) which long administered the racist, capitalist Austrian state. As for the SPÖ's posture of representing a bulwark against Haider, the social-democratic ex-chancellor of Austria, Viktor Klima, declared that "he would not categorically exclude in the future forming a coalition" with the FPÖ if that's what it takes to get back in power (*L'Humanité*, 26 January).

As the leaflet details, various reformist and centrist groups have seized on opposition to the FPÖ in order to fall in behind the social-democratic rulers of their own imperialist countries, just as they backed their own rulers in the US-led imperialist war of domination against Serbia last year. While Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party calls for support to the European Union (EU) in order to tail the Blair Labour government, its German sister group, Linksruck, explicitly backs German imperialism and the government of Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Schröder. In a leaflet distributed at a 19 February protest in Berlin, Linksruck argued: "Because Haider is a fascist, he must be isolated — thus Schröder is totally right to threaten Austria with sanctions.... The blockade of the European Union is strengthening the resistance movement against this racist and anti-social government."

This is unabashed support to the aim of the European imperialist powers, with Germany at the head, to cohere the EU as a military and political force following the creation of a unified currency under the terms of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. Following the Balkans War, Germany and the other EU states moved rapidly to establish a unified European military force

### For a United Socialist States of Europe!

as a counterweight to the US-dominated NATO alliance. As the *New York Times* (20 February) noted, anti-Haider statements by German and French leaders "reflected a growing determination to turn a union that was long essentially a trade bloc into an ever closer political community with some aspects of a federal state".

pean partners, kick the Austrians in the shin."

While ordering the first German expeditionary force into the Balkans since Hitler's Wehrmacht, at home the Schröder regime which cynically intones "never again" is perpetrating racist terror and deportations against Turks, Kurds and



**February 19, Vienna: 300,000 protest Haider's racist FPÖ. Western European social democrats have seized on FPÖ's entry into Austrian government in drive to strengthen European Union imperialist bloc.**

In imposing sanctions against the FPÖ's entry into the Austrian government, German imperialism and its partners are asserting a precedent to dictate policy to other EU member states.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (11 February) quoted in the leaflet gives a hint of how the Social Democrats' "anti-fascist" rhetoric is used to further the ambitions of German imperialism:

"The Holocaust and 'never again' are becoming the code words for the founding myth of a European nation.... Germany has participated in a war for the first time since 1945, led by a left government. The reason given was to stifle a new fascism in the Balkans.... In connection with the European left, he [Schröder] works toward the Europeanisation of the Holocaust. This eases the burden on the Germans, especially when they, together with their Euro-

other "non-Germans". Indeed, the same EU governments which hypocritically denounce the FPÖ for its pronounced anti-immigrant racism joined less than three years ago in implementing the Schengen accord aimed at keeping Slavic and dark-skinned immigrants out of racist "Fortress Europe".

As rivalries among the major imperialist powers — the US, Germany and Japan — intensify, we Marxists, proletarian internationalists, stand in steadfast opposition to our "own" imperialist rulers and declare: "The main enemy is at home!"

Many leftists and workers are taking to the streets to demonstrate against Haider and the FPÖ, an extremely racist and reactionary party. Haider and his cronies dem-

onstrate their fascistic views, for example celebrating the "orderly employment policy" of the Nazis. Now, with the FPÖ in the government, the SPÖ is trying to portray itself as the defender of "democracy", while for decades itself carrying out racist state terror against immigrants and refugees and actively preparing the way for the FPÖ. One only has to think of the brutal murder of refugee Marcus Omofuma in April 1999 by the SPÖ cops and the massive deportations, often to certain death. Encouraged by this SPÖ-led racist state terror, in the mid-1990s Austrian Nazis began a wave of terror against immigrants, refugees, Roma and Sinti [Gypsies] and leftists.

The capitalist governments of Europe, most of which are led by social democrats, imposed a hypocritical bilateral boycott against the ÖVP/FPÖ government of Austria at the ministerial level. At the same time, Nazis were marching through the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, protected by the cops of the SPD/Green government. These governments are pursuing the same racist policies against immigrants, refugees and Roma and Sinti that the FPÖ intends to carry out. In an article on 2 February, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* put its finger on it: "If it were a question only of this, the EU would have to keep an eye on German minister of the interior Otto Schily." The current deportations of 180,000 Balkan refugees will be continued and intensified by the SPD/Green government and also the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]-supported state governments — in co-operation with the "boycotted" FPÖ ministers.

For almost 50 years without interruption, the racist SPÖ has administered Austrian imperialism — the other successor state to the Third Reich — with which it is indissolubly bound. SPÖ president Adolf Schärf ran his 1957 election campaign on the slogan, "People who were once for Adolf are voting Adolf again this year." Today this SPÖ, behind the scenes, is leading the demonstrations against the ÖVP/FPÖ government, for their capitalist Austria. The vanguard for the SPÖ in this are the "leftist" and pseudo-Trotskyist groups such as the Communist Party of Austria, ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt [ASt — part of the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI)], the [Cliffite] Linkswende and the newly formed Socialist Left Party (SLP), formerly the SOV [Taaffeites], all of whom want to make the SPÖ-led ÖGB [Austrian Trade Union Federation] fight for the continuation of class collaboration in an SPÖ-administered capitalism. That means the interests of the workers are subordinated to those of the capitalist exploiters.

In contrast we fight to bring down racist capitalism. For this, what is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the trade unions and the building of a new revolutionary workers party, which mobilises the proletariat independently and in its own class interests. The social democratic trade union bureaucracy, which the entire fake left supports, is a barrier to this. While the fake lefts want to tie youth and workers again to the social democracy, we fight to split the working-class base from these bourgeois workers parties.

*continued on page 11*



**German SPD chancellor Schröder with French Socialist Party prime minister Jospin. Social democrats led European imperialist powers in NATO war against Serbia. German tank in Macedonia, near Kosovo border, March 1999.**

# Rover...

(Continued from page 1)

Catholics in Northern Ireland today. Also present was the English cross of St George which, like the Union Jack, is used by fascist outfits. Several signs gave vent to blatant anti-German chauvinism, such as "We won two world wars — let's win the third". The rally chair, TGWU bureaucrat Tony Woodley, who sold a rotten productivity deal to Rover workers in 1998, used the platform to denounce the "obscenity of people in Germany, including trade union workers, deciding the future of 40,000 workers whilst in Britain we were being kept in the dark". The enemy of workers in Britain is the British bourgeoisie!

The *only* thing the union bureaucrats are offering the proletariat, which in the Birmingham area is racially integrated, is chauvinism and rhetoric about "saving" British industry. Until such time as workers revolution rips it from their hands, British industry belongs to the bloodsucking capitalists. The working class has no country!

Social-chauvinism and nationalism are an integral part of the political programme of Labour and the trade union bureaucracy whose loyalty is to British imperialism. Protectionism leads to trade wars, laying the basis for war between imperialist powers which are engaged in a ruthless struggle against each other for control of markets and spheres of influence. Protectionism also pits workers in Britain against workers in other countries, lining them up behind their "own" bourgeoisie and preparing them to be cannon fodder in imperialist wars. Only international proletarian revolution can eliminate the threat of a third, nuclear, world war.

The Labourite union bureaucracy of today upholds the rotten tradition of those social democrats who supported their "own" ruling class in the first imperialist world war. VI Lenin, leader of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, pointed out that they had been bribed by the crumbs of imperialist profit and that their social-chauvinism means defence of "national interests" and abandonment of class struggle. "What is the economic substance of defensism in the war of 1914-15?", Lenin asked in "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International" (1916):

"The bourgeoisie of *all* the big powers are waging the war to divide and exploit the world, and oppress other nations. A few crumbs of the bourgeoisie's huge profits may come the way of the small group of labour bureaucrats, labour aristocrats, and petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers. Social-chauvinism and opportunism have the same class basis, namely, the alliance of a small section of privileged workers with 'their' national bourgeoisie *against* the 'working-class masses; the alliance between the lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the



Zastava car plant in Kragujevac after NATO bombing. ICL joined COBAS-initiated fund drive to aid Yugoslav workers.

bourgeoisie *against* the class the latter is exploiting."

Last year the trade union bureaucracy fully backed Blair and NATO in the massive bombing of Serbia, a small dependent country, in the biggest military conflagration in Europe since World War II whose purpose was imperialist domination and military occupation of the Balkans. The International Communist League fought

British industry", is poison to the working class, and fuels racist terror against minorities. Twenty years ago, following the defeat of the steel strike, the fascist National Front marched through Corby, a steel town in England, on the slogan "British jobs for British workers". And protectionism certainly does not save jobs; indeed saving jobs is a far cry from what the likes of Bill Morris are in business for.



Ford Dagenham workers on 1984 miners support march. Forging a Trotskyist party is key to mobilising the social power of the multiethnic working class.

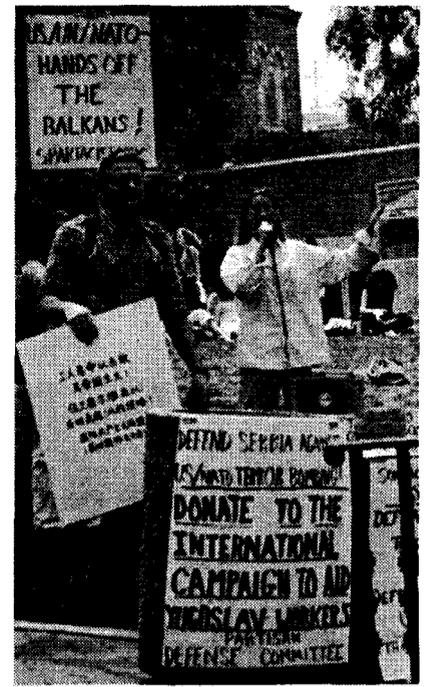
for the defeat of imperialism through workers revolution and defence of Serbia and today we call for all imperialist troops out of the Balkans. We also participated in an international campaign begun by car workers in Italy to aid car workers in the Zastava car plant in Kragujevac, Yugoslavia whose factory was deliberately bombed by NATO knowing full well it was protected by a "live shield" of Yugoslav workers.

Protectionism, which calls to "save

Former Liverpool dockers sold down the river by Morris know this only too well. These bureaucrats, out-and-out Blair loyalists, have been complicit in massive attacks on workers, including in the car industry.

The working class has the fighting strength to defend itself against the current attack on jobs, which should be met with strikes shutting down the entire car industry. The only way forward is real class struggle, against the Labour government, smashing the reactionary anti-trade union laws in the process. But this requires a sharp break with the trade union bureaucracy who are wedded to Labour and to capitalism. The working class in Birmingham and the West Midlands, centred in the car plants, is often integrated, while racist attacks are increasing dramatically. Mobilising the proletariat in defence of its own class interests and the interests of all the oppressed — blacks and Asians, Irish and immigrants — points to the need for a break with Labour and for a new revolutionary leadership.

The Spartacist League fights to build a multiethnic revolutionary workers party, forged in political struggle against Labour. A Leninist vanguard party will be built on the understanding that workers can defend their own interests and those of all the oppressed only through their mass



Young Spartacus

mobilisation in struggle which culminates *not* in another version of parliament but in a genuine, revolutionary workers government which expropriates the bourgeoisie and institutes a planned economy which will re-industrialise this country and open the road to a socialist future.

## Labour-loyal "socialists" wallow in British chauvinism

The entire gamut of Labourite "socialists" are revelling in the union bureaucracy's flag-waving patriotic demonstration in Birmingham. This is the domestic side of the social-chauvinism — socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds — they displayed during the Balkans War when they beat the drums for British imperialism. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) mobilised heavily for the march and supplied thousands of placards which dominated the demonstration, thus giving it a "socialist" cover.

The SWP was instrumental in building a platform for disgusting German-bashing chauvinism. Their slogans were: "Save our jobs/ Occupy, organise, fight for the right to work/ Renationalise Rover now!" The demonstration was a graphic illustration of the fact that harking back to the Old Labour saw of "nationalisation of the losers", calling for the British government to save British industry, means rank protectionism and xenophobia. The SWP placards blended in so completely with the patriotic character of the demonstration that some people who carried them were literally wrapped in the Union Jack.

*Socialist Worker* (8 April) eulogised the demonstration as "The great jobs revolt", didn't mention its patriotic character but mentioned nonchalantly that: "There were many brilliant things about Saturday's march — like the fact that the Nazi National Front were turned away from joining the march by car workers stewarding the demonstration". Needless to say they took no responsibility for having built and supported a demonstration that the NF wanted to join.

Today, the "socialists" who supported the Birmingham demonstration bear their share of responsibility for the growth of racist terror gangs, such as the scum who murdered Harold and Jason McGowan in Telford, who are emboldened by the flag-waving of Labour and the union bureaucracy. The Socialist Party (SP) enthused that the Birmingham demonstration was "a massive display of human solidarity" which "shows the potential strength working-class people coming together can have" (*Socialist*, 7 April). The presence of Union Jacks wouldn't have bothered the SP who have frequently hosted Billy Hutchinson of the Loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force at their events.

## Social-chauvinism



Workers Hammer

SWP placards dominated chauvinist march in Birmingham to "save British industry".

*Workers Power* (April 2000) gushes over the "magnificent 80,000 march in Birmingham" but opines that "it was left to Carl Chinn, in the midst of a revivalist 'patriotic' speech calling for support to British manufacturing, to call for action". The "action" *Workers Power* has in mind, "to force Labour to nationalise Rover" is to re-run this British nationalist spectacle in London! This is fitting for a group who sponsored an obscene pro-NATO meeting in London last year as an act of support to their beloved Labour government during NATO's nightly bombing raids over Serbia. Their British press published a letter from workers in Germany in "solidarity" with Rover workers, which states: "If there is now an outbreak of hate against everything German at your place, this is understandable". *Workers Power* capitulates to social-democratic nationalism which is the antithesis of proletarian internationalism.

The British left hark back to the "good old days" of nationalised industry, which in the car industry meant workers were exploited by British Leyland, and laid off by them, sometimes at the rate of 1000 a month. Those days are gone, and to demand nationalisations from Blair's government — who are hell bent on privatising the London Underground, council housing and the air traffic control sys-

tem — isn't just ludicrous. It's also a cover for abject capitulation to British chauvinism and nationalism. What's necessary is the mobilisation of workers *independently* of the class enemy and of their agents within the workers movement.

### Imperialist rivalry leads to war

Internationally, competition between imperialist powers has sharpened since counterrevolution destroyed the Soviet Union. Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union, a degenerated workers state which, despite the rule of a corrupt nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, was based on a planned collectivised economy which issued out of the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. Today, rivalry is intense between the major imperialist powers — the US, Japan and Germany — and there are conflicts among different powers within the European Union (EU), the trade bloc dominated by Germany. The car industry in Britain, which employs roughly 800,000 workers, is entirely owned by foreign companies, particularly American and Japanese firms who use Britain as a foothold within the EU. It graphically illustrates the workings of the system of imperialism, which Lenin



1997: Car workers protested in both France and Belgium against closure of Renault plant in Vilvoorde, Belgium.

states, which in the post-Soviet period are increasingly involved in inter-imperialist rivalry.

The EU, which was previously a diplomatic appendage to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance, is today an unstable adjunct to the military, economic and political priorities of European capitalists. As proletarian internationalists, the ICL opposes the EU, an imperialist economic bloc which is a vehicle for capitalist co-operation against the workers of Europe and against immigrants as well as against rival imperialist powers. Like Lenin, we believe that it is impossible to cohere a stable European bourgeois "superstate" because capitalism is organised on the basis of nation-states.

The British bourgeoisie is divided in their attitude to the EU, which reflects a conflict between loyalty to US imperialism and its German rival. The City of London acts as a junior partner of Wall Street in competition with Frankfurt, but manufacturers tend to seek closer ties to the EU and to favour joining the Euro. Manufacturing capitalists are concerned that goods made in Britain cost more than those made in the Euro-zone and are therefore harder to sell outside Britain. At the Birmingham demonstration the union bureaucrats echoed this argument, pleading to the government that the strong pound disadvantages British exports.

To gear up for Britain joining the Euro, Blair is obsessed with appropriating the Union Jack from the "Eurosceptics" and has embarked on a patriotic crusade. He says: "On Europe, standing up for Britain does not mean being anti-Europe. It is not pro-British to be anti-Europe" and includes in his list of Britain's interests

"moving Europe closer to the USA" (*Independent*, 29 March). This describes the role he seeks for Britain as a junior partner of US imperialism within the EU.

Our opposition to the EU is based on proletarian internationalism which is counterposed to the nationalist protectionism pushed by "Eurosceptics", Old Labour reformists such as Scargill, as well as pro-EU union bureaucrats such as Ken Jackson and Bill Morris. The disgusting flag-waving chauvinism of their "save Rover" campaign is the fitting adjunct of their no-class-struggle policy reflecting their eagerness to serve British imperialism at home and abroad.

The trade union movement must wage a class-struggle fight for jobs and better working conditions across national boundaries, which will necessarily challenge the entire capitalist system. Capitalism created a world market and in so doing, as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels observed over 150 years ago, it simultaneously laid the basis for proletarian internationalism. German workers face similar attacks from Gerhard Schröder's Social Democrats in government as workers here face from Blair and New Labour. Throughout Europe, the strategic task for revolutionaries is to win workers to the understanding of the need for a complete break with social democracy.

The ICL is dedicated to the task of re-forging Trotsky's Fourth International, the necessary instrument to fight for new October revolutions, through intransigent political struggle against social-democratic parties and their fake "socialist" hangers on. For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles, part of a Socialist United States of Europe! ■



Workers Hammer

Imperialism means dominance of finance capital. Workers' banner attacks Bank of England Governor Eddie George.

described as capitalism at its highest stage, characterised by the domination of finance capital and the concentration of production in the hands of a small number of very large companies. Competition between these companies for domination of international markets is relentless, and there is constant striving for rationalisation.

The largest names in the car industry — General Motors, Ford, Volkswagen, Toyota and Daimler-Chrysler — have all been involved in a recent round of mergers and takeover bids for companies such as Fiat, Honda, Peugeot-Citroen and BMW. The *Economist* (26 February) reports that six firms now account for 70 per cent of the market, and that BMW, although profitable, was being drained by Rover, its "English patient" whose cars were so hard to sell that "a fleet of the excellent Rover 75 saloon is clogging parking lots in the English Midlands". Moreover, even though these huge corporations frequently set up operations in far-flung countries, they remain based in particular nation-

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Somewhat unusually for them, Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) said "no to anti-German campaigns", "no to British nationalism", and "fight for a socialist solution to the economic crisis". But the SLP's programme is Old Labour reformism which is based on protectionism and nationalisation. Scargill has always supported protectionism. In 1992, during massive demonstrations against the pit closures, he joined with Sir Winston Churchill Jnr in a campaign to "save British coal". These demonstrations were a harbinger of what's being pushed in response to the closures in the car industry today. They were a cross-class coalition whose primary political axis was British nationalism. The counterposition was stark between the 1984-85 miners strike which had *international proletarian*

### Spartacist League/Britain

PO Box 1041, London NW5 3EU. Tel: 020 7485 1396

### Dublin Spartacist Group

PO Box 2944, Dublin 1. Tel: 01 855 8409

### International Communist League

Box 7429 GPO, New York, New York 10116, USA

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# Racism...

(Continued from page 1)

broadsheets as well as the tabloid press have been filled with racist filth, targeting so-called "bogus" refugees, while Straw and his Tory shadow Anne Widdecombe compete in chauvinist demagoguery.

The Immigration and Asylum Act criminalises those seeking refuge in Britain, as well as making it virtually impossible to gain entry legally. Asylum-seekers are denied state benefits — which even under the Tories were still considered a right. Labour has replaced this with vouchers and a token £10 cash payment, which total only 70 per cent of welfare benefit. In addition to this, they are dispersed around the country, forced to live in desolate conditions in run-down estates in cities such as Glasgow and Liverpool, or isolated in all-white areas of the leafy shires and villages in Norfolk, the South coast and Yorkshire. Kurdish, Tamil, African and Eastern European refugees become sitting targets for racist attack.

Communist League (ICL) is for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, reflecting the fact that the immigration question is fundamentally a democratic question which is, however, strategic to proletarian unity. We fight for these rights for all who have made it into the country, within or outside the law. Democratic rights such as this can be won and secured only by the proletariat fighting to overthrow capitalism and to establish a socialist economy in a society free from exploitation and all oppression. The Spartacist League fights to forge the multiethnic revolutionary workers party which is necessary for this task. A Leninist vanguard party will be built in the course of class struggle fighting for working-class independence and a complete break from Labourism, in sharp political battle against the Labourite misleaders.

## Lawrence inquiry: whitewash of Labour's racist rule

The Labour government used the Stephen Lawrence inquiry to make believe



Guardian

Refugees protest at Campsfield House Detention Centre, 1997. One sign reads: "We are political refugees, not criminals." The Blair Labour government whips up racist anti-immigrant hysteria.

Many refugees are fleeing the consequences of NATO's murderous Balkan War, in which Labour played a leading role, cynically claiming they were bombing Serbia to defend Kosovo Albanians. Labour's true attitude was shown in a BBC television *Panorama* programme which showed a Kosovo Albanian woman and her young children who had been "dispersed" to Liverpool, minus the father who was locked up in a detention centre, which is common for refugees. Upon arrival at the council estate where they were to be housed they were met by a racist thug wielding an implement in full view of television cameras.

In this atmosphere, Roma (Gypsies) have been singled out, many of whom are refugees from state terror and skinhead gangs in the Balkans and the Czech Republic. They are being persecuted for begging, threatened with prison sentences and with the loss of their children — by the same government which denies them the legal right to get a job or even to welfare. We say: *Asylum rights for all refugees from right-wing terror!* The workers movement must oppose Labour's anti-immigrant crusade, which is fuelling murderous attacks on British blacks and Asians. For revolutionaries, a strategic task in the fight against racism in Britain and throughout Europe is to break the workers from the grip of the social-chauvinist social-democratic parties such as Labour. The interests of the workers and minorities must advance together, or they will fall back separately.

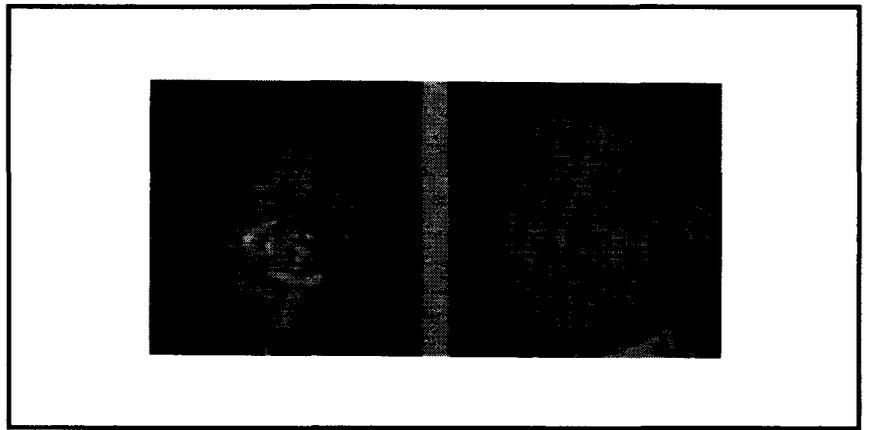
A key demand of the International

that there is now "a new era in race relations" for Britain's black and Asian minorities and that the racist cops can be reformed. Straw is still flaunting the inquiry as his "anti-racist credentials" even as he rants against Gypsies and asylum-seekers. A year ago the Spartacist League was unique in insisting that the police are integral to the capitalist state which is inherently racist and cannot be reformed. Racist oppression provoked such deep anger that the inquiry was forced to acknowledge "institutional racism" in the police. Labour used this to give the appearance of tackling racism and to refurbish the deeply tarnished authority of the capitalist state. We wrote at the time:

"Labour's public inquiry into the police cover-up was a whitewash. It guaranteed in advance that the fascistic killers would remain free and exonerated the cops who systematically protected them. Labour spokesmen now mouth pious platitudes purporting to tackle 'institutional racism' through legislation. But 'race relations' legislation can not alter the scores of black and Asian deaths in police 'custody', nor is it intended to. The police are the core of the capitalist state which is necessarily racist, and the capitalist state cannot be anything other than what it is — the instrument for oppression of the working class by the capitalist rulers — no matter which party administers it. The Labour government is a capitalist government which rules for racist British imperialism."

— *Workers Hammer* no 167, March/April 1999

The Spartacist League fights to mobilise the social power of the proletariat to stop racist and fascist attacks. Fascists are



Independent photos

Harold (left) and Jason McGowan, victims of racist terror.

extra-parliamentary race terrorists, whose ultimate aim is the crushing of the workers movement. They are kept in reserve by the capitalist class to be unleashed in times of acute crisis or working-class upheaval. We call for trade union/minority mobilisations to stop the fascists and fight for mass trade union-centred social protest against the attacks of the capitalist state. To bring the power of the working class to bear in defence of its interests and the interests of all the oppressed it must be mobilised independently of and in opposition to Labourism and all the agencies of the capitalist state.

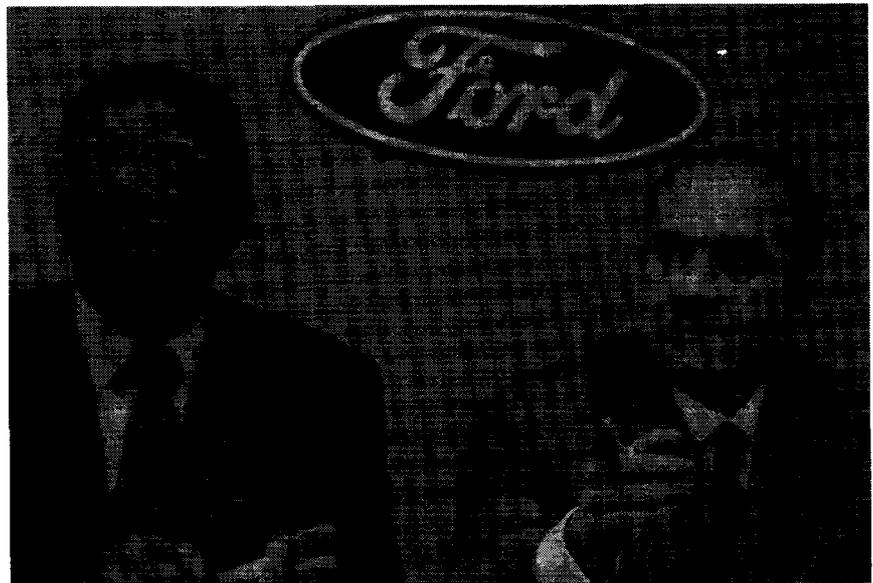
Black and Asian workers in Britain are far from being simply defenceless victims of racist oppression. In October last year, around 1000 workers at the Ford plant in Dagenham of whom nearly half are Asian or black, took strike action against racist intimidation inside the factory, exemplified by the case of Sukhjit Parma, an Indian worker who was subjected to a campaign of racist abuse, including Ku Klux Klan graffiti. He had also been forced to work in a fume-filled spray booth without a protective mask. When an Asian shop steward was physically assaulted by a racist foreman, workers at Dagenham walked out demanding a strike ballot. These integrated strikes against racism were of enormous significance because they pointed to the type of social power that really could stop racist terror.

The ability of the working class to shut down capitalist production through strike action is the Achilles heel of capitalism. The working class has the social power to sweep away the entire capitalist system, but this requires a revolutionary internationalist party that fights to make the

leaders are determined nothing will rock the boat, thus TGWU bureaucrat Bill Morris worked overtime to squelch the Dagenham strikes. Fearful of further losses in production, Ford flew in top boss Jacques Nasser from the United States. Morris worked hand-in-hand with Nasser to stop further strikes in exchange for a "promise" of committees to monitor racial equality. Now Ford is threatening to close the plant altogether.

Racism is inherent in the capitalist system, which is based on the exploitation of the working class for the profits and rule of the bosses. The bourgeoisie deliberately fosters racism in society in order to divide the proletariat along racial lines and thus deflect the possibilities of united class struggle against the capitalist exploiters. In Britain racism is the legacy of the vast colonial empire formerly ruled over by the arrogant British ruling class, which is a past master in the game of divide and rule. Labour always defended the "British Empire" and has a long sordid history of fomenting anti-immigrant racism — the last Labour government introduced racist "virginity" tests for Asian women, at Heathrow airport. When in government, Labour rules for racist British imperialism.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe has greatly intensified the climate of anti-immigrant racism throughout Europe. While racist demagogues rant against asylum-seekers supposedly getting rich on social security benefits, the truth is that in most of Western Europe, social democrats in government are slamming the door on refugees



Matthew Fearn

TGWU head Bill Morris and Ford boss Jacques Nasser (right). Morris' class-collaboration put an end to integrated strikes against racism at Ford Dagenham last year.

working class conscious of the necessity for socialist revolution.

The chief obstacle to mobilising the social power of the proletariat is the trade union bureaucracy, which is tied to Labour and the capitalist system. With Labour in government, the trade union

and have been dismantling "welfare" programmes. In Britain as elsewhere, attacks against immigrants are the cutting edge of attacks on the entire proletariat. The capitalist rulers no longer see any need to stave off the "spectre of communism" by providing workers with necessities. As

# Ken Livingstone: 100 per cent New Labour

"I have supported the Government in 99 per cent of my votes cast in Parliament" said Ken Livingstone last year (*Independent*, 11 August 1999). Without a doubt, a vote for Livingstone in the May London mayoral elections is a vote for New Labour: he supported the government's imperialist bombing of Serbia, he is for the British Army in Northern Ireland, and he is emphatically for the racist police. What socialist in their right mind would peddle that as a "real choice" for the working class in London?

The London "Socialist" Alliance (LSA) is doing just that, promoting the pro-imperialist Livingstone for all they're worth and running their own slate for the Greater London Assembly. Dominated by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the LSA is made up of Labourite outfits including Workers Power, the Socialist Party, the Alliance for Workers Liberty, the Communist Party of Great Britain, and *Socialist Outlook*. Just when the Labour government is at its most unpopular, widely seen as racist and losing support in its working-class "heartlands", the LSA arrives to offer the Ken Livingstone brand of New Labour politics. Livingstone has been expelled from the party, but has not broken politically with New Labour. Nor does he claim to have done so.

The groups making up the LSA are all pro-imperialist Labourites. Tying the working class to the capitalist order

through Labourite reformism is their reason for existence. All of them voted for Blair, and old habits die hard. Veteran SWP leader Ian Birchall explained to a *Workers Hammer* seller his rationale for supporting Livingstone, "Vote for imperialist swine? I've been voting for swine for 30 years." The social-chauvinism of these groups was sharply expressed last year when they each supported the war aims of the imperialist Labour government in the Balkans. They were joined in this by their man Livingstone who saluted the terror bombing of Serbia. In contrast, the Spartacist League called to "Defeat imperialism through workers revolution — Defend Serbia!"

The LSA tout as the centrepiece of Livingstone's platform his supposed opposition to the privatisation of London Underground. Privatisation is accompanied by massive attacks on the unions, on jobs, safety and working conditions. Livingstone says he favours selling bonds, as happened in New York City in the mid-1970s, in which a board composed of major financial institutions directed selling of bonds, and looting of city workers' union pension funds to finance the city, in a campaign of union-busting attacks on the workforce. An Underground system financed by bonds held by City of London bankers would necessarily seek to carve its profits out of the hide of the workers. The LSA say support Livingstone to "give



Morning Star



Labour Left Briefing

Livingstone and supporter, RMT leader Bob Crow, united in opposition to strikes against Tube privatisation.

Blair a bloody nose". We think transport workers in the Tube, rail and buses ought to give both Blair and Livingstone a bloody nose by striking against privatisation.

Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) is also running a slate for the London assembly, headed by Scargill who proudly says he wouldn't vote for Livingstone "if he was standing for Mayor of Toy Town". By deliberately not standing against Livingstone the SLP are in fact giving him back-handed support, regardless of what Scargill says personally.

The SLP calls for "an integrated publicly-owned and publicly-accountable transport system which will keep London Underground out of private hands" (*Socialist News*, February/March 2000). But preventing privatisation of the Tube requires strikes by the rail unions and leading SLPer Bob Crow, RMT assistant general secretary, is chief among the bureaucrats who have opposed strikes in Tube and rail. In contrast to Scargill, Crow is telling rail union members "to support Ken Livingstone in the ballot as the best way to stop the privatisation of the Underground" (*Labour Left Briefing*, December 1999). But, for or against Livingstone, what Scargill and Crow agree on is: strikes are not the way.

In a Spartacist League leaflet issued after last October's Paddington rail crash we wrote,

"A solid strike could link pay and working conditions to safety and it could launch an effective struggle to stop privatisation of the Underground.... The unions have the potential power to turn the tide against the

bosses and the Labour government through class struggle which could turn the anti-union laws into scraps of paper, but the Labourite bureaucracy squanders this power and paralyses the workforce by directing them to lobby the capitalist Labour government."

At the height of the racist frenzy instigated by Labour's Immigration and Asylum Act, Livingstone chimed in to denounce Roma Gypsies, who are persecuted and branded as beggars. His column in the *Independent* (15 March) headlined "How I would clear aggressive beggars off our streets", and declared he would "increase the number of police on the beat and the amount of their time that police spend on foot on the streets". The LSA "platform" contains the word "racism" exactly once, in a utopian, reformist demand for "an end to the racism and corruption of the Metropolitan Police". In a 6 March press release, the LSA denounced Labour candidate Frank Dobson for his "smear campaign" against "Ken" and hotly protested that Dobson "attacked the London Socialist Alliance (LSA) for being 'anti-police'".

As for Livingstone's "left" credentials, even Witchfinder General Neil Kinnock, who hounded the tame parliamentarist Militant tendency out of the Labour Party in a "reds under the bed" scare in the '80s, knows what Livingstone is not. In a *Guardian* report on "The case against Ken Livingstone" (19 January), Kinnock says "Red Ken" was always a bit of a joke. I don't think he's even a Red." The same is certainly true for the London Socialist Alliance. ■



IPH PB

Roger Sylvester was killed in police custody. Livingstone vows to make the Met "London's finest"; LSA pushes reformist lie that cops can be other than armed fist of racist capitalist state.

the bourgeoisie seeks to drive up the rate of exploitation, immigrants are scapegoated for unemployment and immiseration.

## "Socialists" who buy into New Labour's agenda

Labour-loyal "socialists" such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers Power ostentatiously rehash New Labour's hogwash about reform of the cops. This is nowhere more clear than when they are drumming up support for Ken Livingstone for London mayor. Livingstone added his voice to the xenophobic anti-Gypsy crescendo rising from the Home Office, promising he would deploy more cops to "clear aggressive beggars off our streets" (*Independent*, 15 March). His "key policies" include "Make the Met Police 'London's finest' — root out corrupt and racist minority". The only thing red about Livingstone is the red in the Union Jack.

In a true meeting of minds a number of Labourite groups have joined forces in the

London Socialist Alliance (LSA), to promote Livingstone's mayoral ambitions while running candidates in the Greater London Assembly (GLA) elections in May. The LSA's programme calls for "an end to the racism and corruption of the Metropolitan Police" and does not mention racist and fascist attacks. The cops, the courts and prisons are the core of the capitalist state, which exists to protect and serve the capitalist class and their profits. The cops are "accountable" only to the capitalist class system which they serve. The capitalist state cannot be reformed, it must be shattered in the course of class struggle and replaced by a new, proletarian, state power.

Workers Power's own programme for the GLA elections is classic reformism. Like their partners in the LSA they call to: "Root out police racism and brutality". They echo directly the racist codewords "anti-social crimes": "The police force exists to protect the employers' property. That's why they are present in large numbers to oppose strikes or demonstrations,

but not to deal with anti-social crimes on our streets or estates. We want to replace the police with democratic defence forces in which all adults do a turn of duty." Taken literally, Workers Power calls for a "people's militia" to fight crime, which if ever realised would be some kind of racist vigilante squad. Basically this utopian, reactionary demand is just a way of giving left cover to the LSA slate of which they are part, whose programme explicitly says that racism can be rooted out of the Met police force.

The power of the multiracial working class when it is mobilised under a revolutionary leadership, independently of the capitalist class enemy, was illustrated by the trade union/black mobilisation that drove the Ku Klux Klan from New York City's streets on 23 October 1999. The International Socialist Organization (ISO), the SWP's sister organisation in the US, tailed Democratic Party liberals such as Al Sharpton, for whom the main danger on 23 October was not the KKK but the mobilisation of the working

class — led by open reds — against the race terrorists. Doing the Democrats' dirty work, the ISO social democrats went so far as to share a platform with the cops and to help provide a platform for KKK lynchings. This integrated demonstration, built by the Spartacist League/US of around 8000 trade unionists, blacks and youth was a microcosm of what a revolutionary party would look like in action.

There will be no end to racist brutality until the capitalist system it serves is uprooted through proletarian socialist revolution which will seize the means of production and begin to build a socialist society which will wipe out poverty, hunger, homelessness and racial oppression. Black and Asian workers will play a role in the proletarian vanguard disproportionate to their number in the proletariat — they have fewer illusions in the social-chauvinist Labour Party and the capitalist system and more to gain from its overthrow. There is no justice for blacks, Asians and working people from the capitalist state. ■

# Kosovo...

(Continued from page 12)

Gowan concludes: "Thus the declaratory aim of the air war could not have been its operational aim.... The only certain coherent link between evident NATO means and goals is that between the bombing campaign against the Yugoslav state and the goal of gaining eventual NATO occupation of Kosovo."

Gowan also underlines how the Kosovo Liberation Army acted as NATO auxiliaries during the bombardment, writing: "The logic of the war, as NATO experts acknowledge, gave an increasingly important role to KLA ground forces, whose task was to target Yugoslav troop concentrations for NATO air strikes and to draw Yugoslav military forces into open combat thus making them vulnerable to air strikes."

Yet at the start of the war, Workers Power (WP), in a statement distributed at a 30 March 1999 public meeting in London, demanded that the US and Britain "give the KLA the weapons to drive out the Serbian troops". In short, WP appealed to the NATO imperialists to arm NATO's Albanian auxiliaries!

While giving absolutely no political support to the nationalist UCK, we have defended the right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians against the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. But when the imperialists began to gear up for war against Serbia (while simultaneously giving secret military training to the UCK), we said that the question of self-determination had become subordinated to the military defence of Serbia against the NATO imperialists.

War is always a decisive test for revolutionaries. We opposed "our" rapacious imperialist rulers and called for military defence of Serbia, while giving not an iota of political support to the capitalist Milosevic regime. We gave concrete expression to our proletarian internationalism by joining in the campaign initiated by the syndicalist-influenced Italian COBAS trade unions to provide financial assistance to Yugoslav workers whose factories had been bombed by NATO. Above all, we stressed the need to forge Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat in overthrowing the imperialist rulers through socialist revolution.

## "Socialist" drummer boys for imperialist war

Acting as an adjunct to NATO's ministry of disinformation, the fake socialists retailed outlandish accounts of Serbian "genocide" of Albanians, serving to promote war fever among the working people in the imperialist countries. The fact is there was no genocide. While NATO mouthpieces trumpeted claims that 100,000 or more Albanians had been slaughtered by Serbian forces, not long after the war ended the UN's International Criminal Tribunal on Yugoslavia reported the total number of Albanian dead as some 2000, of which only 350 had been killed by Serb pogromists. Meanwhile, as many as 2600 Yugoslav civilians were killed by NATO terror bombing!

It is a sign of how far the opportunist left has gone in embracing the imperialist order that one of the panel discussions featured at the annual "Socialist Scholars Conference" to be held later this month in New York City is titled, "Is U.S. Intervention (Ever) Justified?" One of the speakers is Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) head Bogdan Denitch, who at the height of the air war last year railed, "The bombing should stop only when Belgrade agrees to pull out or is pushed out of Kosovo" (*Nation*, 26 April 1999). When

Denitch decreed at the start of last year's Socialist Scholars Conference that there would be no discussion of the war, his fellow "socialist" panelists dutifully kept silent, including self-styled "antiwar radical" Noam Chomsky. In this gathering of a thousand supposed socialists, only the Spartacist League rose in proletarian revolutionary opposition to the US-led bombardment. Our comrades also raised signs demanding "Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" and "Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!"

Under the impact of a major war in Europe involving the imperialist powers, we were presented with the spectacle of erstwhile "revolutionaries" and "anti-imperialists" joining pro-imperialist war rallies. In the US, the reformist International Socialist Organization (ISO) sold its press at a Los Angeles demonstration replete with signs reading, "NATO All the Way". In Britain, Workers Power provided a platform for UCK spokesmen who openly praised NATO's war, and participated in a 10 April 1999 London demonstration featuring Albanian and NATO flags and slogans like "NATO Good Luck!"



Workers Hammer photos

ICL fought for proletarian revolutionary opposition to imperialist war against Serbia. NATO "socialists" like Workers Power, seen here at April 1999 London pro-war march, pushed "human rights" cover for NATO war of domination.

During the war, the ISO pleaded with the bloodthirsty US rulers to "stop the bombing". After the bombing stopped, the ISO bemoaned the "Cruel Aftermath of NATO's War" (*Socialist Worker* [US], 30 July 1999). Yet in article after article before and after the air war, these fake socialists didn't even call for NATO to get out of the Balkans, let alone for the military defence of Serbia! Even now, nine months into the NATO occupation of Kosovo, *Socialist Worker* [US] (3 March) refuses to call for the withdrawal of imperialist forces, chastising the Western rulers only for having "accepted the logic of the nationalist leaders who went to war against each other in the Balkans".

These social democrats would have you believe that by pressuring the imperialist bourgeoisie, the capitalist system can be reformed into a just and peaceful order. During the war, the ISO lamented that the "vast sums wasted on bombing Serbia could be used to remove many of the underlying causes of conflicts in the world" (*Socialist Worker* [US], 9 April 1999). But imperialism is not a "policy" that can be made more humane. VI Lenin, the leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, called it "the highest stage of capitalism": a system based on ruthless plunder of the colonial and ex-colonial world, grinding exploitation of the proletariat at home, and a constant battle for markets and spheres of exploitation among the handful of big powers which inevitably produces wars to redivide the world. The only way to end the threat of war is through international proletarian revolution.

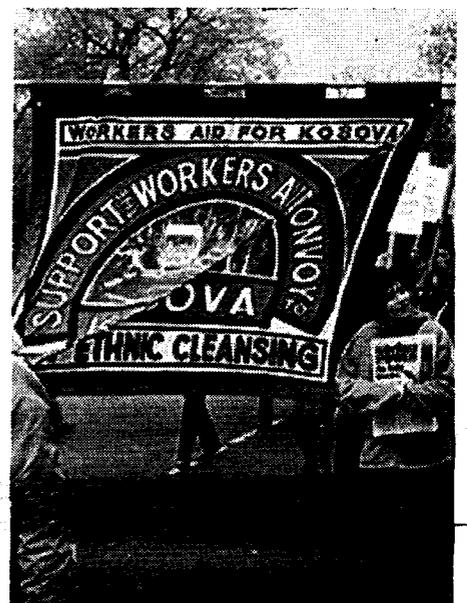
Reformism and opportunism is always nationally defined. Thus the fake-left

groups in Europe capitulated to the interests of their respective national bourgeoisies. The ISO's parent organisation, the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), promoted illusions in the "left wing" of the very Labour Party which prosecuted the war for British imperialism. They built an "antiwar" coalition with Labour left Tony Benn, a "little England" nationalist who complained that the NATO bombing of Serbia hadn't been authorised by the UN. Leading SWP spokesman Alex Callinicos even signed onto a call in the *New Statesman* (10 May 1999) for the UN or the OSCE to militarily intervene in Kosovo—in effect, siding with the European imperialists who chafed under the US-dominated NATO alliance.

The French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), flagship section of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International", endorsed a similar call for "a multinational police force... under the auspices of the OSCE to enforce a transitional accord" (*Rouge*, 1 April 1999). This was the nationalist, anti-American line pushed by the French and German governments, both dominated

Eurocorps is supposed to be expanded into a 60,000-strong rapidreaction corps. Meanwhile, the US has charged its Western European allies with harbouring a spy for Serbia at NATO's headquarters during the bombing. The growing rivalry has also been evident on other fronts, as seen in the recent wrangle between the US and Germany over who would head up the International Monetary Fund.

For their part, the American rulers' imperial arrogance is boundless. They don't want any American soldiers to come home from Kosovo in body bags, especially during an election year. Moreover, they expect their European imperialist rivals to foot the bill for the Kosovo occupation and to provide substantial military manpower under US control. Since the retreat of US soldiers from stone-throwing Serbs in Mitrovica, the Joint Chiefs of Staff have placed restrictions on how American soldiers in Kosovo can be deployed, even though they are supposed to be under joint (ie European) NATO command. Last month, the Pentagon flatly rejected a demand by NATO's American supreme commander, General Wesley Clark, for the dispatch of thousands more



by social democrats, in an attempt to minimise a direct US role in the Balkans. Again, after the war the LCR openly lined up behind the European Union (EU) imperialist powers, declaring that "the 'peace accords' establishing a protectorate in Kosovo under UN mandate allowed the EU governments to get back in the saddle, avoiding the absolute hegemony of the United States and NATO. They represent a lesser evil, at least assuring the massive return of the Albano-Kosovar populations, which would have been unthinkable without an international interposition force" (*Rouge*, 2 September 1999).

## Only socialist revolution can end imperialist war

NATO leaders celebrated their unity in the war against Serbia, but behind this facade the war accentuated tensions among the imperialist powers, which have been intensifying since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. Thus in the final days of the war Germany and France manoeuvred to undercut American domination over the imperialist occupation forces, insisting that these be under a UN imprimatur. Faced with huge antiwar demonstrations among the proletariat, Italy and also Greece broke ranks during the war to call for a bombing pause.

As soon as the bombing ended, Germany and the other Western European states announced plans to build a military force independent of Washington to match their increasing economic rivalry with the US. Next month the EU's Eurocorps is sending a 350-strong force to Kosovo. By 2003, the

soldiers, insisting that reinforcements would have to come from the Western European powers.

Our proletarian-internationalist opposition to the NATO war against Serbia was part of the fight to overthrow capitalism around the world. The indispensable instrument for this is a revolutionary proletarian party. The bloodstained American imperialists who tried to bomb Vietnam back to the Stone Age, who slaughtered tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 "Desert Storm" and continue to bomb that country incessantly, are the same racist rulers who carry out a relentless war at home against workers, blacks, immigrants and other minorities. The fake-socialist drummer boys for NATO who lined up with their imperialist governments were in effect pledging that they are no revolutionary threat on the home terrain.

Just as the Balkans proved to be the powder keg that ignited World War I, today the interimperialist rivalries which are increasingly evident over Kosovo could come to be the tripwire for a new global conflagration. It was the October Revolution of 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, which ended World War I for the Russian workers and peasants and established the world's first workers state, a beacon of revolutionary internationalism for the proletariat around the world. In the US, the most powerful and rapacious imperialist power today, the Spartacist League/US seeks to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggles of the multiracial working class to power and to put an end to imperialist carnage once and for all. ■

# Haider...

(Continued from page 5)

The truth is that the social democrats see rightists such as Haider as a threat to European economic unity, which the European capitalist rulers know is necessary for the EU to compete successfully as an imperialist trade bloc against Japan and especially the United States. This is the reason for the sharp reactions especially of Belgium and France — which face strong fascist, extreme rightist, anti-Europe movements in their own countries — dangerous diplomatic sanctions which can lead to war.

The SPD's Bundestag [parliamentary] deputy fraction head, SPD "leftist" Gernot Erler, hit the nail on the head: "In terms of foreign policy, it will be 'serious' if Haider tries to block the eastward expansion of the EU" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 27 January). An Austria dominated by Haider could block the expansion of the EU to eastern and southern Europe, which was one of the main reasons for the Balkan War led by the governing Social Democrats. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* commented on 11 February: "The anti-Haider action was born at the Stockholm Holocaust Conference. It was conceived in the Balkan War. From then on the lefts — above all the Germans — carried their Europe under their hearts, no matter where it beat." And Tony Cliff's fake-left Socialist Workers Party, British parent organisation of Linkswende, appealed to their imperialism: "There should be no cooperation with the Freedom Party. We are supporting the European Union's position" (*Times*, 3 February).

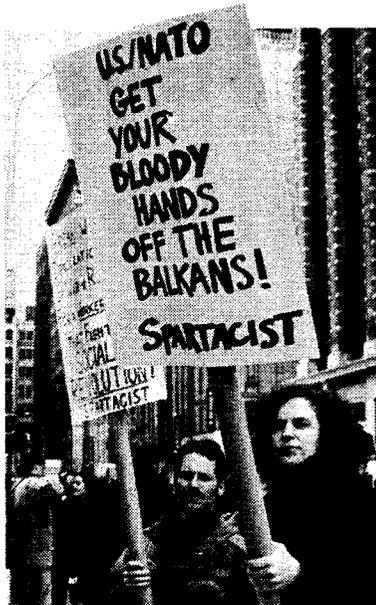
Meanwhile the social democrats all over Europe are using their campaign against Haider to wrap themselves in the flag of "anti-fascist" patriotism and to build chauvinist mobilisations in order to distract from their own attacks on the living standards of the masses. For instance, at a 5 February demonstration in Berlin, social-democratic leftists like Linksruck and the [anarchoid] Autonomes chanted, "Austria, Shut Up!" in front of the Austrian embassy and "USA Genocide Centre!" in front of the US embassy, while they strolled through the government district of the Fourth Reich without saying a word against German imperialism. And throughout Europe, the fake Trotskyists, who all supported the election of the social democrats, marched in lockstep with them, drums beating, just like in the war against Yugoslavia last summer. So Workers Power, British fraternal group of the ASL, which called to "Vote Labour" in the elections, demanded "Independence for Kosovo" and supported the UCK [Kosovo



ICL protests in France, Germany, US. We fought for revolutionary-internationalist opposition to NATO war of imperialist domination against Serbia.



Spartakist



Young Spartacus

Liberation Army], a transparent cover for their support for the goals of their own British imperialism in the war against Yugoslavia. Now these social-chauvinists write about the FPÖ/ÖVP coalition: "The new coalition will launch massive attacks on workers' rights and huge cuts in public spending. First in line, of course, will be Austria's migrant workers and refugees." They disappear Tony Blair's Labour government at the precise time when its campaign against refugees is fuelling deadly attacks.

The German-dominated EU is an unstable conglomerate of the European capitalists which is directed against the workers of Europe, non-European immigrants and the main international competitors of German imperialism, the USA and Japan. Because capitalism is organised on the basis of independent nation-states — which is the real cause of the repeated imperialist wars to redivide the world and also the real reason for the war in the Balkans last year — the perspective of a progressive European state, as preached by [French Socialist prime minister] Jospin and Schröder, is nothing other than a lying reactionary utopia. Imperialism, marked by the domination of finance capital, is the

epoch of wars and revolutions. With the world already divided up among the major capitalist powers, war is ultimately their only means to redivide markets and spheres of influence. As proletarian internationalists we demand: *Down with racist fortress Europe! Down with the treaties of Maastricht and Schengen! For the United Socialist States of Europe!*

Social-democratic regimes and popular fronts (a capitalist government in the form of a coalition between bourgeois parties and workers parties, where the workers' interests are subordinated to the interests of the capitalist ruling class) have been brought into power since the counterrevolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union with the explicit aim of destroying the "social welfare state". The capitalist rulers no longer feel obliged to guarantee workers in the West a higher living standard in order to compete with the social gains of the planned economies of the Eastern European deformed workers states that emerged from the victory of the Red Army in the Second World War. After the last election, the ÖVP decided that the Austrian Social Democracy hadn't given them enough concessions and opted for the FPÖ.

In all the European countries, bourgeois nationalism is leading to a sharp increase in racism against the dark-skinned and Eastern European immigrant populations of Europe. They are confronted with mass deportations and state as well as fascist violence. Immigrants, who as "guest workers" are no longer needed to do the low-paid dirty work, are being thrown out, while [immigrant] youth of the second generation are treated with contempt by the rulers. Without a job and without a future, they are feared by the ruling class as socially explosive. Throughout Europe, capitalist regimes governed by supposed "socialists" turn their cops loose to terrorise these youth.

Racist oppression is inseparably linked to capitalist exploitation. While the bourgeoisie is trying to drive up the rate of exploitation, the immigrants are not only victims of deportations, but are also used as a convenient scapegoat for unemployment and impoverishment. Racism against immigrants is the battering ram for attacks on the whole working class. The working

class and minorities must advance their interests together, or they will be beaten back separately. The workers movement must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and refugees.

The immigrant sections of the working class in Western Europe are not just victims, but an important component of the forces that are capable of smashing this racist capitalist system. But the mobilisation of the power of the integrated working class demands a political struggle against the social-democratic leaderships in the workers movement, which serve as a transmission belt to channel racist poison into the working class. *For a revolutionary, multiethnic workers party!*

Haider and his followers are seen as kindred spirits by fascistic types all over Europe: Le Pen in France, the NPD in Germany and the Lega Nord and Alleanza Nazionale in Italy. Haider's FPÖ is purely an electoral machine and does not correspond to what Marxists understand by fascism. Reactionary views alone do not define fascism. A number of Margaret Thatcher's advisers thought Britain should have allied itself with Germany against the Soviet Union in World War II and otherwise had fascist views. As Trotsky explained in "Whither France":

"Finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers... The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery."

In a situation in which there are no fascist mobilisations in the streets and the main question is the participation of the FPÖ in the government, the slogans "Stop Haider", "Strike Now" can only be a call for extra-parliamentary action for a new parliamentary coalition, that is, a "more militant" call to replace the FPÖ with the SPÖ.

That is how, in 1994, the conservative Berlusconi government in Italy was brought down by a general strike and replaced with a capitalist popular-front government, which continued and intensified racist state terror and attacks on the working class. Now in Austria, the fake left is cynically urging on the working class, doing the donkey work of pulling the parliamentary ambitions of the social democracy out of the mud. "Strike now!" says the SLP, ASL calls for a general strike and Linkswende says: "That is our perspective — the Berlusconi solution."

Imperialism is not a bad policy, as the fake-Trotskyist groups want us to believe, but the highest stage of capitalism, which is based on the private ownership of the means of production by the few who exploit the proletariat and oppress the majority of the population. That is why it necessarily generates war, racism and misery. The fascists are the extreme expression of the interests of the bourgeoisie and are their reserve army against the proletariat. Therefore the fight against fascism must be linked to the fight to topple the capitalist system of exploitation.

We stand for workers revolution from New York to London and Paris to Berlin and Vienna. The social democrats and their leftist hangers-on stand in the way. If the fascists are the last reserve of capitalism in extremis, the social democrats (including ex-Stalinists and associated remnants) with their politics of class collaboration are the next to last reserve, a safety valve for imperialism. Only the destruction of capitalism through workers revolution and the construction of the *United Socialist States of Europe* as part of a worldwide socialist society can lay the basis for a development of the productive forces which will truly benefit mankind. *For the reforging of the Fourth International! For new October Revolutions worldwide! Join us!* ■

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# WORKERS HAMMER

## Imperialist overlords in Kosovo

# NATO occupation means oppression of Serbs, Albanians

We print below an article adapted from Workers Vanguard, newspaper of the Spartacist League/US, issue no 732, 24 March 2000.

For 78 days last spring, the NATO military machine led by American imperialism waged a massive bombing campaign against Serbia, a dependent country about the size of Ireland. Systematically destroying the infrastructure necessary for the civilian population to survive, the NATO imperialists wreaked more devastation than Hitler's Germany did in Serbia in World War II. Having brought the country to its knees, the NATO powers have occupied Kosovo with close to 50,000 troops, turning it into an imperialist protectorate.

While most of the reformist and centrist left internationally beat the drums for imperialist military intervention, the Spartacist League and other sections of the International Communist League exposed the lie that the NATO war had anything to do with "humanitarian" defence of the Kosovo Albanians. Forthrightly opposing our "own" imperialist rulers, we called to "Defeat imperialism through workers revolution—Defend Serbia!" As the NATO troops began entering Kosovo, we warned:

"This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed the world over. It will place the Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region."

— "All British/US/UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans now!" *WH* no 169, July/August 1999

This is precisely what has occurred. Within a month of the arrival of the first NATO troops, the vast majority of the Serb and Roma (Gypsy) residents—more than 200,000 people—were driven from Kosovo. The imperialist "peacekeepers" stood by as armed units of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK) led pogromist attacks, looting and burning Serb and Roma homes and shops and massacring whole families.

Having emboldened the Albanian pogromists and forced the remaining Serbs into tiny isolated enclaves, the imperialist forces are now attacking both Serbs and Albanians. The flashpoint in all this is the industrial town of Mitrovica, which is effectively partitioned with about 9000 Serbs on the north bank of the Ibar River and 90,000 Albanians on the south. After months of escalating confrontation between French NATO troops and demonstrators on both sides of the ethnic divide, Mitrovica erupted in early February after an attack on a bus load of Serbs which left two dead. French troops have shot Serbs and Albanians alike in a series of deadly



Testa/NY Times



Mitrovica, Kosovo: Serbs protest against NATO's KFOR occupation force, Albanians face off against imperialist "peacekeepers".

## All British/US/UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!

armed clashes.

Occupying troops have gone house to house smashing down doors and terrorising the Serbian population in an ostensible search for weapons. When US troops rampaged through the Serbian enclave in late February, they were met with a barrage of stones from Serb residents defending their homes. Speaking of the arrogance of the American occupation forces, one Serb said, "Their attitude is: 'We are here; we have power; we are in charge'." On 15 March, US soldiers also swept through Albanian homes in the eastern part of Kosovo, seizing arms, ammunition and UCK uniforms and imprisoning nine men at the huge American military base there, Camp Bondsteel.

In recent weeks, forces calling themselves the UCPMB—Albanian initials for the "Liberation Army of Presevo, Medvedje and Bujanovac"—have attacked these districts in southern Serbia—a region dubbed "eastern Kosovo" by Albanian nationalists—where Albanians outnumber ethnic Serbs. Posters in Kosovo reportedly urge Albanians to join the fight for "eastern Kosovo". Last week, the UCPMB staged a firefight with Serbian policemen in the village of Dobrosin, which was subsequently emptied of Albanians. The White House is openly worried that the UCK/UCPMB will provoke a wider war. The *Daily Telegraph* (3 March) reports that "American peacekeeping troops are rapidly building a base on the other side of the border near Dobrosin and gun turrets now face towards the village. Nato knows that Dobrosin has the potential to drag it into further war."

The terms of oppression have been reversed for the peoples inhabiting Kosovo. While the Albanians were victimised under the Serb-chauvinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic, now most Serbs have been driven out and the UCK is the de facto civil power in most of Kosovo. At the same time, the imperialists—who are currently hostile to an independent Kosovo and any talk of a Greater Albania—have made it clear that they will be calling the shots. The imperialists have set up detention camps to hold Serb and Albanian Kosovars seized by NATO forces, and more than 1000 additional troops—largely French and Italian—are now being sent in. Meanwhile, some 30,000 occupation troops remain in Bosnia, with thousands more in Albania and Macedonia. As proletarian internationalists, the ICL demands an end to the imperialist economic sanctions against Serbia and that all British/US/UN/NATO forces get out of the Balkans now! Down with the imperialist occupation! For a socialist federation of the Balkans!

### The lie of "human rights" imperialism

From the outset, we asserted that NATO's bombardment of Serbia was a war of domination aimed at realising longstanding American plans to insert a substantial US/NATO military presence in the region. More broadly, the US sought to assert its "right" to run roughshod over small, dependent countries, and to demonstrate particularly to its Western European imperialist rivals that the enormous Amer-

ican military arsenal continues to make it top dog. To drive home this point, the US rulers refused to even countenance the figleaf of a United Nations authorisation—or Western European calls that the military operation be carried out under the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)—instead running the war solely under the banner of the US-dominated NATO alliance.

That most self-proclaimed "socialist" organisations in the US and Europe parroted the imperialists' *war propaganda*, saying the central issue was defence of the Kosovo Albanians and calling for "solidarity" with NATO's UCK pawns, was an expression of their support for the war aims of their own imperialist rulers. It did not take a crystal ball to discern that NATO's professions of concern for the plight of the Kosovo Albanians was a cynical cover for a war of domination. In an article in the Autumn 1999 *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, British leftist academic Peter Gowan writes:

"NATO said it was bombing Yugoslav/Serbian forces to prevent them from attacking the Kosovar Albanian population. Yet the means NATO employed for this supposed purpose—an alliance with the KLA [UCK] combined with high altitude bombing of Kosovo when weather permitted—had an effect opposite to the declaratory aim: Serbian security forces launched a full scale offensive against the KLA and forcibly expelled hundreds of thousands of Albanians from Kosovo. This was an outcome which Pentagon chiefs had foreseen as likely, before the war was launched."

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