

Irish state rams through anti-working class Maastricht treaty

DUBLIN—Much to the relief of Major, Kohl, Mitterrand and Reynolds, Ireland did not go the way of Denmark. The Maastricht Treaty on European union was somewhat rehabilitated by the 69 per cent "yes" vote in the low turn-out Irish referendum on 18 June. The result was secured by a massive campaign waged by the government with the active support of the treacherous Labour and ICTU tops. Although the socially explosive abortion battle—along with the question of the Republic's sham "neutrality"—threatened to give Reynolds & Co a hard ride, in the end the promise of German gold proved overriding. As an

Free abortion on demand!

article in the *Independent* ([London], 18 May) put it: "The government's pitch for a 'yes' vote is little short of electoral bribery, with persistent emphasis on the IR£6bn Dublin expects to garner...if the treaty is passed".

Significantly, the largest vote against Maastricht came from the working-class districts of Dublin. The government's promises of EC prosperity didn't cut any ice here, with many worried that increased austerity and further unem-

ployment is the real price tag. Meanwhile the rural areas tended in the vast majority to vote in favour of the treaty despite the hysterical campaigning of the arch-reactionary SPUC and Family Solidarity elements for a no vote to "save the unborn".

The four main parties in the Dail—Fianna Fail, the Progressive Democrats, Fine Gael and Labour—blocked to ram the treaty through, issuing what the *Sunday Tribune* termed an "almost

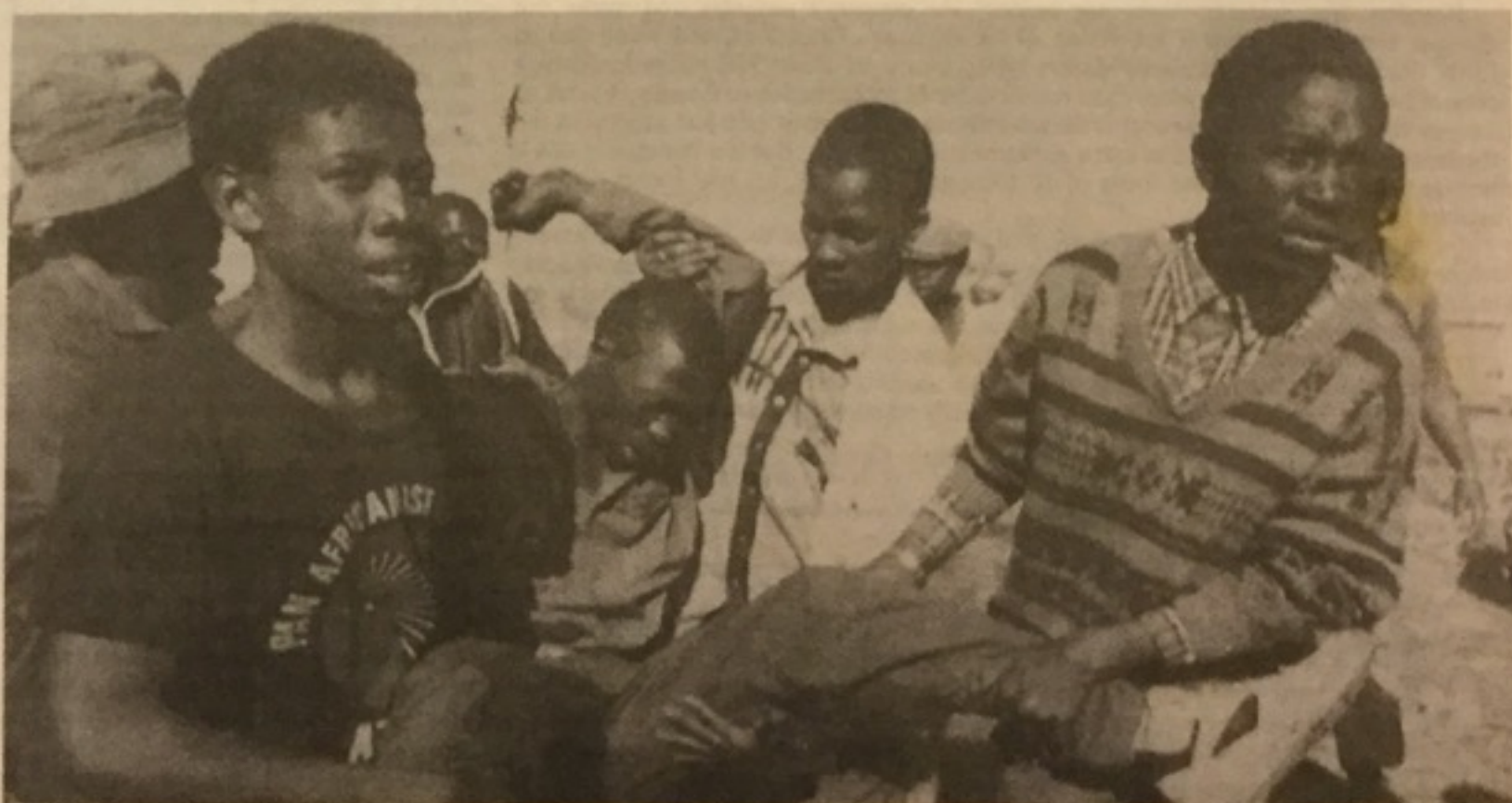
unprecedented joint statement". (The Electricity Supply Board workers who were sold out under the class-collaborationist PESP will remember the last such joint statement when the same four parties called for ending the strike in April 1991.) The usual horse-trading transpired on the trickiest domestic questions. Thus, Labour got a specific commitment from each of the party leaders to declare that there would be a further referendum in the autumn on the right to travel and information on abortion but to be sure Fianna Fail refused to agree that the protocol of the Maastricht Treaty which enshrines
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Black workers: mobilise and fight for power!

South Africa: rage over apartheid massacre

JUNE 22—The grassy plain at the edge of the black township of Boipatong was turned into a killing field. In the Sesotho language, "boipatong" means "place to hide". But on Saturday, 20 June, there was nowhere to hide from the police and army sharpshooters. When President F W De Klerk arrived, hundreds of angry blacks prevented him from getting out of his armoured BMW. Holding the head of the apartheid state responsible for the bloody massacre three days earlier of more than 50 black residents, the angry crowd chased him away, chanting "De Klerk go to hell!" Ninety minutes later a police hippo (armoured personnel carrier) roared up, disgorging heavily armed cops who suddenly began firing without warning. A dozen blacks fell in the first salvo, more were shot down as the blood-bath continued.

The slaughter at Boipatong was a deliberate provocation designed to discredit the African National Congress (ANC), which had called a nationwide campaign of strikes and demonstrations to speed up negotiations for "power sharing". But instead of producing headlines about "black-on-black violence", the Inkatha *impis* (squads) brought in by the authorities may have set off the South African powder keg. Nelson Mandela's ANC leadership may appear to De Klerk to have an unlimited willingness to submit to insult, degradation and provocation. However, the impoverished masses in the squalid townships have a much shorter fuse. Already in April, the apartheid *baas* (boss) was run out of the coloured (mixed-race) township of Mitchell's Plain



Apartheid terror in "post-apartheid" South Africa: black youths carrying wounded comrades in Boipatong, recalls images of 1976 Soweto rebellion.

near Cape Town. Now the whole country, this land drenched in the blood of black people, could blow.

So much for the "neo-apartheid" of the "New South Africa"—which looks more and more like the old. Already De Klerk has threatened to reinstate the state of emergency, and the third round of CODESA (Conference for a Demo-

cratic South Africa) talks could be sunk before they ever begin. Emboldened by its victory in the 17 March "whites only" referendum, the government took a hard line against its ANC collaborators. More than two years after the release of Nelson Mandela and "legalisation" of the underground ANC and SACP (South African Communist Party), blacks still cannot

vote, while the economic devastation and misery of millions consigned to black townships and squatter camps has sharply increased. The racist sociopaths at the core of state power, from the SADF (South African Defence Force) to the shadowy DMI (Directorate of Military Intelligence), are consciously fomenting

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Further exchange with RIL on the Russian Question

Revolutionary Internationalist League
British section of the International
Trotskyist Committee

21 February 1992

To the Editor
Workers Hammer

Dear Comrade,

Without wishing to re-open the debate on the Soviet Union with you I must protest at the caption to the photograph which says "RIL says workers should have 'answered' strike call by Russian chauvinist/imperialist stooge Boris Yeltsin during August counter-coup." We said no such thing. The letter says that you abhor the idea that "workers, answering Yeltsin's strike call to 'defend democracy' might then make their own demands and set their own agenda once they had felt their own strength and the weakness of both sections of the bureaucracy."

Just to leave no doubt on the RIL position of this aspect page 27 of Revolutionary Internationalist 11 sets out the position: "The responsibility for Trotskyists was to oppose the call; in workplaces where there was a vote for strike action on the basis of Yeltsin's call we should have voted against, simultaneously putting forward our own proposals for action based on an independent programme, including a fight to build strike action on that basis. Where strikes did take place in response to Yeltsin's call we would have participated, but attempted to turn them against both wings of the bureaucracy."

I trust that makes our position clear.
Comradely,
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WH replies: The cited quotation from *Revolutionary Internationalist* makes it clear that for the RIL "where strikes did take place in response to Yeltsin's call we would have participated", attempting to

"turn them against both wings of the bureaucracy". This is answering Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary strike call.

We in the International Communist League called on Moscow workers to mobilise to crush the Yeltsinite forces. The RIL was prepared to join with those counterrevolutionary forces. This is a fundamental difference between our two organisations. Downing's own letter of December 1991 makes clear that RIL in fact would welcome workers answering Yeltsin's strike call and thus "make their own demands and set their own agenda". (Obviously if the strikes didn't take place — which in fact they did not — it would be hard for RIL or anyone else to participate in them.)

As we wrote in *Workers Hammer* no 127 (January/February 1992):

"Calling for workers to sweep away Yeltsin's barricades would have meant a military bloc with any of the coup forces that moved to crush the counter-revolutionary rabble. This is the sticking point with the centrist RIL which, beholden to social democratic 'anti-Stalinism', can't stomach being in a bloc with Stalinists even in defence of a workers state. Thus, they seek to distance themselves equally from the coup and Yeltsin. Against RIL's Third Campism in

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The RIL—faced with a situation in Poland where the bureaucracy did not simply collapse but took measures against Solidarność counterrevolution—chose to be on the barricades with the clerical reactionaries and capitalist restorationists in Walesa's camp, who (at the time) had a mass working-class base. In the USSR last August, Yeltsin had no such base, the "perestroika coup" committee committed political suicide and RIL was thus able to straddle the fence. Its Third Campist methodology is not in question, nor the side it would have taken had sections of the Soviet proletariat answered Yeltsin's strike call. This continues to be the nub of our debate with RIL on the Russian question to which Downing refers. ■



TROTSKY

Leon Trotsky on the royal family

The question of the monarchy is not "trivial", as much of the fake left claims; it is the linchpin for archaic values, servility, hierarchy and acceptance of the established order. Even now, as the institution of the British monarchy has become an object of open public ridicule, it finds its staunchest defenders among the arch-traitors of the Labour Party. The monarchy, House of Lords

and established churches are integral props to the maintenance of capitalist class rule in Britain; they will be swept away by proletarian revolution.

We Marxists can... understand far better the course of development of the British labour movement, and better foretell its future than can the present-day "theoreticians" of the Labour Party. The old call of philosophy to "know thyself" has not sounded in their ears. They consider that they are summoned by destiny to re-construct the old society from top to bottom. Yet at the same time they halt, prostrate, before a line chalked across the floor. How can they assault bourgeois property if they dare not refuse pocket money to the Prince of Wales?

Royalty, they declare, "does not hinder" the country's progress and works out cheaper than a president if you count all the expense of elections, and so on and so forth. Such speeches by Labour leaders typify a facet of their "idiosyncrasies" which cannot be called anything other than conservative blockheadedness. Royalty is weak as long as the bourgeois parliament is the instrument of bourgeois rule and as long as the bourgeoisie has no need of extra-parliamentary methods. But the bourgeoisie can if necessary use royalty as the focus of all extra-parliamentary, i.e. *real* forces directed against the working class....

To proclaim a socialist programme and at the same time to declare that royalty "does not hinder" it and comes cheaper is just the same as, for example, acknowledging materialist science but having recourse to a witch's incantations against toothache on the grounds that the witch comes cheaper. In such a "trifle" the whole man is expressed, along with his spurious acknowledgement of materialist science and the complete falsity of his ideological system. For a socialist the question of the monarchy is not decided by today's book-keeping, especially when the books are cooked.

—Leon Trotsky, *Where Is Britain Going?* (1925)



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On Saturday, 4 July, Hitler-lover David Irving and a whole gaggle of fascist "historians" are holding a "seminar" in central London. Also attending are French fascist Robert Faurisson and Kirk Lyons, an attorney representing Fred Leuchter, an American Hitlerite and self-styled "gas chamber" expert. This gathering has but one purpose: to mobilise for *genocide*. As an elementary act of self-defence, trade unionists, leftists, minorities, gays and Jews and all decent people should be mobilised to stop these scum.

Attempting to use a respectable cover as a "historian", Irving's stock-in-trade has been to deny the existence of the Nazi holocaust against six million Jews, in order to recruit the would-be perpetrators of a new fascist depravity. This has nothing to do with history whatsoever—genocide is not debatable. A decade ago, Irving was a central figure in the Clarendon Club, an organisation connected to the overtly fascist League of St George. In February 1981 when the Birmingham University Debating Society invited Irving to speak, the Spartacist Society initiated a united-front demonstration to deny Irving a platform for his glorification of genocide. Instead of building to stop him cold, supporters of the then CPGB and others concentrated their efforts on banning him. Irving spent a futile 10 minutes attempting to speak against a noisy exchange of chants of "Fascists out!" and "Free speech, free speech!" Comrades who later went on to become the Dublin Spartacist Youth

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The Campaign Against Fascism in Europe (CAFE) which has called the 4 July demo against Irving is also calling for an Early Day Motion in Parliament to "ban" the seminar as they did when French fascist Le Pen came to London. Relying on the bourgeois state is a false, suicidal strategy. Laws purportedly banning fascists have historically been used to gag the left, such as the notorious Public Order Act.

The working class has not only the interest but the social power to stop these race-haters—like the mass mobilisation of hundreds of thousands of workers and members of the Jewish community at Cable Street in 1936, which gave the fascists a lesson they did not soon forget. For mass, militant trade union/minority mobilisations to crush the fascist scum! ■

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LO Fête: anti-gay, anti-Trotskyist exclusionism

We have noted over the years that the LO fête—the annual summer gathering of the French and European far left organised by Lutte Ouvrière in the village of Presles outside Paris—has increasingly carried the stamp of this workerist, nationally narrow and Stalinophobic outfit's most unsavoury sides. In the attempt at a populist appeal to backward elements their line and attitude on the race question, the poison of anti-Semitism and their unabashed homophobia are designed to compete for the types a Jean Marie Le Pen would target. Last year LO thugs went after black youth. This year, LO outrageously refused a stand at its 6-8 June fête to Act-Up France, a militant gay rights group which has fought in particular on behalf of AIDS victims, exposing the Mitterrand government's criminal policies.

Upon learning of this exclusion, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF, section of the International Communist League [Fourth Internationalist]) wrote to Act-Up, offering that it share our literature stall at the fête. We noted in our letter that LO is a notoriously homophobic organisation, deliberately refusing to recruit gay militants to its ranks. With the policies of the French government on the question of AIDS sentencing whole sections of the population to death, LO's exclusion should evoke utter disgust in every decent human being, let alone every leftist.

After discussing our proposal, the Paris chapter of Act-Up declined the offer of a shared stall. At the fête, ICL comrades went to the stands of the various organisations present to publicise the exclusion of Act-Up, distributing copies of our letter of protest, printed in the LTF newspaper, *Le Bolchevik*. Most of the LO cadres themselves only learned of the decision to exclude Act-Up from the LTF. The LO leadership became unhinged. They sent an LO veteran and chief of security to us to dramatically announce that since we had broken the "rules of the game" by "distributing a leaflet inside the fête" we too would be excluded from future LO fêtes.

We did not allow LO's swinish antics to go unnoticed. Chanting "Down with the exclusion of homosexuals and Trotskyists", some 25 protesters demonstrated at the end of the well-attended debate between LO and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—the French Mandeliste organisation). Called by the LTF, this protest was also joined by the British Revolutionary Internationalist League (RIL). To its credit, the centrist RIL had called at its forum on every decent socialist militant to take part in the action. (For more on RIL, see letter p2). As it turned out, decent socialist militants were in short supply among the anti-Soviet fake-Trotskyist attendees at the fête. The LCR made it perfectly clear (including in its newspaper *Rouge* following the fête) that it welcomed the exclusion of the ICL. True to their own policies at home, neither the Workers Power leadership (despite the initial impulse of a couple of their members) nor the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party lifted a finger against the LO's bannings. The ban extended as well to the *Courant Communiste International*, a harmless ultra-left grouplet which had the intelligent idea of distributing to

ICL protest of LO exclusion of 7 June 1992. Placard slogans include: "Down with LO's Exclusion of Trotskyists and Homosexuals!", "USSR: Down with the Yeltsin/Bush/Mitterrand Counter-revolution!", "For LO the 'Death of Communism' Means Exclude Communists!"



LO meetings the issue of *Lutte Ouvrière* calling for a vote to the Cold Warrior and union-hating Mitterrand in 1981, exposing LO's hollow claims to a consistent anti-Mitterrand posture.

The ICL-RIL protest and a short speech given by an LTF spokesman drew a lot of attention from those at the debate. The disciplined action had an electrifying impact, comparable, as one comrade noted, to what an organised demonstration in a Maoist "re-education" camp might have among the inmates. As the placards went up, LO leader Duburg was busily explaining that the question of voting rights for immigrants was of no interest to the working class. Summing up their line on special oppression, he concluded with the statement that when women got the right to vote (in France, in 1945) this had not changed anything!

After the protest ended, in the midst of a growing crowd with whom the ICL comrades pursued the debate, we were confronted by a goon squad of some 40 males led by one Kaldy, a leading national spokesman for LO. This massive show of bullying threatened with each minute to get out of control—only quick action by an LTF comrade stopped the blow headed for a young comrade from the ex-DDR; a black sympathiser of the LTF was likewise specially targeted. We demanded to know who was in charge. Kaldy replied hysterically, "No one!"

Amidst vile sexist, anti-homosexual epithets and screams of "Get Out!", the LO goons tried to push the protesters back to the ICL stand. We stood our ground and LO was forced to back off; the protesters withdrew in good order. The following day, at least 40 "security squad" members "escorted" two of our comrades at the central rally where Arlette Laguiller, well-known LO spokeswoman, gave her traditional "Sunday socialism" speech. Said speech began with a long paean to LO's sterling record of...inviting other groups to the fête for "fraternal debates"!

In addition to the Act-Up militants and Trotskyists who were on the receiving end of LO's method of "debate" this year, the black youth who last year were the victims of an ugly attack by LO marshals

would treat this Orwellian twaddle with the contempt it deserves. Our protest against that vile action was documented in a letter from the Central Committee of the LTF to the organisations that participated in the LO fête, reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* no 529, 21 June 1991. Despite a guilty acknowledgment that "mistakes" had taken place previously, LO's policy continues to be one of "disciplined" violence and exclusion of minority youth.

Lutte Ouvrière has never been very good, let alone Leninist, on the questions of special oppression. But under the impact of Cold War II, the collapse of Stalinism and the bourgeois lie of the "death of Communism" all forms of social reaction, what Marx called "the old crap", have flourished, with the fake left capitulating to this in a variety of ways. On the domestic terrain, LO's particular brand of "colour-blind" and homophobic workerism has intensified. Nominally defensist on the Soviet Union (but not

anywhere else capitalism has been overturned), LO's support to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution from Poland to East Germany place it in the camp of the anti-Soviet traitors. Its "neutrality" at the time of the August coup predictably gave rise to an internal state capitalist opposition, which in turn attracted the tender attentions of the British SWP.

At the same time, there are militants in and around LO who find our Trotskyist opposition to Yeltsinite counter-revolution attractive. Indeed, LO's decision to exclude the ICL from future fêtes was motivated not simply by our exposure of its exclusion of Act-Up but also in reaction to our hammering the LO membership on the Russian Question. Today the LO leadership is fostering and consolidating in its cadres a system of values totally counterposed to everything communism stands for. We said earlier that this organisation could head down dangerous paths. So it has and the picture is not a pretty one. ■

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intercommunal warfare to terrorise and demoralise the black masses, as part of the old imperialist adage "divide and rule".

The pictures of black youth in Boipatong carrying the bodies of their slain comrades are strikingly similar to the photo which has come to symbolise to the whole world the Soweto massacre of 1976. And in fact the current explosion of unrest and repression began on Soweto Day, 16 June, the first day of the protest campaign called by the ANC under pressure from mounting discontent. Calling demonstrations and rallies in 70 cities, Mandela threatened a general strike if Pretoria does not agree by 30 June to form an interim government. The 16 June protest shut down Johannesburg and other big cities which are dependent on black labour. Attempting to instil a climate of terror, the government deployed extra police in the townships and called up 50,000 white reservists.

The following day, the apartheid regime gave its bloody reply by unleashing its dogs of war. It was about 8 pm on 17 June when 200 men from the Kwamabela Hostel, a barracks for Zulu workers mainly at the nearby Iscor steel plant and a stronghold of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha, were dropped off in Boipatong, near Sharpeville and Sebokeng in the Transvaal, south of Jo'burg. Later that night they would also attack the nearby squatter camp of Slovo Park (named for SACP leader Joe Slovo). The swath of violence included a nine-month-old child impaled through the head, a pregnant woman riddled with gunshot and knife wounds, and elderly men and women shot or axed as they fled from their homes.

The massacre is one of the largest and most hideous in South African history, and is a textbook operation of the shadowy "hidden hand" of the notorious DMI. There had been rumours for several days that an attack was coming. People standing guard at the township entrance watched as four or five armoured police transports and a yellow police bus unloaded scores of Zulu men. As the killers rampaged from house to house, witnesses saw uniformed police firing at fleeing residents. They watched as a police armoured vehicle helped to smash an opening into a house. The ANC immediately blamed the government for the massacre, saying more black people had died in the three years of De Klerk's "verligte" ("enlightened") administration than in the previous 40 years of apartheid.

"Negotiations" mean apartheid slaughter

Mandela's release from jail in February 1990 opened a new period in South African politics. The apartheid rulers, hard hit by six years of black revolt and economic losses, tried to salvage their class rule by removing some of the most glaring aspects of apartheid legislation, while preserving the economic basis of superexploitation of black labour. Yet the survival of South African capitalism is incompatible with the most elementary rights for the vast oppressed majority—a peaceful resolution is impossible. As we wrote at the time, "De Klerk & Co. would like to present a façade of democracy while leaving intact the existing economic structure. They figure that only Nelson Mandela would have the authority to pull this off." Yet, we added, "it's far from clear that the maximal changes the Nationalist Party is willing to make would meet the minimal demands of the ANC" (*Workers Vanguard* no 496, 23 February 1990).

Thus today, despite the bottomless



Media Workers' Association of South Africa strikers' picket. Black workers are key to smashing apartheid.

appetites of the ANC/SACP to be part of some government, any government, even the illusion of "sharing" power with the apartheid butchers, all they get is the sjambok (whip) and bullets from the R4 assault rifles of the SADF. The current situation has been building to a flash-point since the 17 March racist referendum. To win ANC/SACP approval of a "yes" vote from their white supporters for the Nats' policy of negotiations, De Klerk promised the ANC an interim government. But immediately upon his victory, he reneged on the agreement. Simultaneously he demanded the ANC dismantle its (inactive) military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and hold back on the "mass struggle".

This was followed up with a press campaign retailing horror stories about MK guerrillas returning from exile and throwing their weight around in the townships, often coming up against the more conservative established ANC leadership. There has also been a government round-up of MKers, and a flurry of assassinations of ANC regional leaders and organisers. Meanwhile, right-wing vigilante armies are running amok and the KwaZulu bantustan (dominated by Inkatha leader Buthelezi) is forming its own army. De Klerk and his cohorts understand, even if the SACP anti-Marxists in the ANC leadership would like to obscure this, that state power boils down to armed bodies of men defending the property forms of the ruling class.

The fight De Klerk has picked over disarming MK indicates the regime is preparing violence against the black masses on a massive scale. Yet for all its sputtering, the ANC has gone along. A *Financial Times* (6 June) special survey of South Africa noted that the government already had the ANC's agreement that "a multi-party interim government should retain similar emergency powers to those exercised so brutally by the National Party, which detained 40,000 people in the late 1980s."

Black workers the key

While the ANC is playing games in CODESA, there is massive discontent in the townships and anger at Mandela who called off any freedom struggle, abandoning blacks to growing poverty and the apartheid armies of the night. During a rally near Boipatong yesterday, ANC supporters chanted, "We want arms!" "The Southern Transvaal Spirals Into Bloody Anarchy... It's Worse Than '76" runs a screaming headline in the *Weekly Mail* (29 May). The "anti-apartheid" white liberals are panicked that there is war in the townships again. And this generation of furious, frustrated black youth is less politically conscious and less organised than in the 1970s and '80s. These youth are looking to the MK, and idolise its former commander, SACP leader Chris Hani. But what is the reality

of the SACP?

An article in the *Weekly Mail* (22 May) makes it utterly clear that the SACP and COSATU union tops are only squabbling over places at the table:

"Moses Mayekiso, president of Cast [Civic Association of Southern Transvaal] and general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, explains it like this: 'There's impatience on the part of workers. They are not getting what they are supposed to get from the Codesa process. They are asking why is Cosatu not directly involved—why has there been no response to Cosatu's application to join Codesa.'"

But the workers are getting precisely what they are supposed to get from the "CODESA process"—shafted! That's the whole point of this pseudo-democratic charade. The *South African Labour Bulletin* (May/June 1992) headlines "COSATU: Gaining Influence, Losing Power?" but in the reams of social-democratic obfuscation, what's clear is that the federation which stands at the head of millions of combative black workers is indeed losing power. Shop stewards, who forged union power in sharp class battles, are complaining they are not part of the decision-making process. That's also the point, for the SACP's role was to tame the insurgent union movement, derail its revolutionary aspirations and bring it to heel in the interests of Anglo American and other *verligte* capitalists (now expanded to include the secretive Afrikaner Broederbond!).

Since the old debate over a "workers charter" (to parallel the ANC's Freedom Charter), a syndicalist current has argued for an "independent" union movement. What "independence"? As Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1940 article, found on his desk after he was murdered by a Stalinist assassin: "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." The SACP made its reformist role clear in selling out the 1990 Mercedes-Benz strike in Port Elizabeth—what's needed is a *revolutionary* workers movement.

The situation in South Africa cries out for revolutionary proletarian leadership. Many black militants see the present situation as one of defeat. Yet the black unions have not been broken in struggle. Instead they are being sacrificed on the altar of CODESA, a classic example of the Stalinist "popular front" tying the oppressed to the "democratic" exploiters. Meanwhile, the death toll continues to mount—for what? The black nationalists of the Pan-Africanist Congress appeal to discontented youth with a "militant" programme for defeat, seeing no role for the minority coloured and Indian masses,

and brandishing a slogan, "One settler, one bullet!", which would only push whites into the fascists' arms.


The government is still trying to buy off the ANC, suggesting that "Mr. Mandela should be happy to share in the governing of a prosperous country; better than presiding over a guerrilla army challenging the best-armed regime on the African continent," as the *New York Times* (22 June) paraphrased a government official. Nationalist guerrilla struggle, whether by PAC or the ANC/MK, has never made a dent in the strong South African state. But the Achilles' heel of apartheid is black labour, without which the diamonds, gold and coal stop, and the wheels of industry stand still. A genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be built that can rally behind it the tens of millions of black toilers, their class brothers and sisters in the coloured and Indian population, and the numerous whites who don't want to spend their lives in a garrison state with the likes of the DMI and the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).

South African black workers have the power! Since 1979, this militant proletariat has been at the centre of the anti-apartheid fight, flexing its muscles, gaining confidence in sharp battles against the apartheid regime. It was the black workers and youth in the townships who gave their lives to bring South Africa to a prerevolutionary situation and forced the apartheid rulers into a position where they felt they had to "adapt or die". But the monster of apartheid slavery can't adapt, it must be killed, by the very wage slaves on whose toil it depends. Break with the ANC/SACP stranglehold! Forge a revolutionary vanguard that can prepare, organise and lead the fight for power in a socialist revolution that can make the riches of this land serve all the peoples and races of the African continent. Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 554, 26 June 1992.

A Spartacist Pamphlet

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No. 6

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Bomber Harris: mass murderer

Drop the charges against the anti-Harris protesters!

Nazi war criminal Hermann Goering was sentenced to death at Nuremberg for, among other things the "blitz" bombing of British cities which killed some 60,000 British civilians. In 1992 a statue is erected in London to Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris, the World War II commander of RAF Bomber Command, a prime and unrepentant director of the wanton slaughter of almost 600,000 German civilians through aerial bombardment. The unveiling of the statue outside St Clement Danes, the RAF church on the Strand, on 31 May, the fiftieth anniversary of the first 1000-bomber raid on Cologne, symbolised the obscene hypocrisy of "democratic" imperialism and reflected both "New World Order" arrogance and mounting inter-imperialist rivalries. Of course, Margaret Thatcher, the butcher of the Belgrano, Falklands/ Malvinas war criminal, and opponent of German-dominated European unity, was there. So was the Queen Mother, the wartime Queen, and one of the few royals not presently enmeshed in some household trauma or scandal. But more importantly this frumpy old reactionary was present to represent the monarch as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and as a rallying point for imperialist reaction.

Outside the church a demonstration of anti-war campaigners, pacifists, clerics, former bomber aircrew and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party protested this outrage. Ten protesters were arrested. The Partisan Defence Committee (PDC), a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation, has demanded that all charges be dropped and made a financial donation to the Strand Defence Fund. A PDC protest statement asserted that the demonstrators "committed no 'crime' but should in fact be applauded for ensuring this ceremony and monument to imperialist fire-bombing terror did not pass without protest. We cheered at the silencing of the oldest representative of the criminal archaic 'royal family', as she attempted to hail the mass murderer of Dresden, Cologne and Iraq".

From the earliest days of the development of air power, the imperialist bourgeoisie looked to it as an effective instrument of mass terror. The theory, propounded by the RAF chiefs among others, was that indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population would destroy the enemy's will and capacity to resist. "Bomber" Harris and his RAF cohorts pointed to their success in bombing Iraqi villages into submission in the early 1920s. The "democratic" imperialists have displayed a particular penchant for this type of slaughter from a distance: the fire-bombing of German cities in WWII; Nagasaki and Hiroshima; the French aerial massacres after the Setif events in Algeria in 1945; the "scorched earth" devastation of Korea; the carpet bombing of Vietnam and the rest of Indochina. The military historian John Keegan has noted that the strategy of bombing the civilian population and production facilities in WWII "depended ultimately upon class bias—the judgment that the latent discontents of the proletariat were the Achilles heel of an industrial state" (*The Second World War* [1989]).

Bomber Command's campaign against Germany bears this out. The British began indiscriminate bombing of German cities five months before the blitz on British cities began. Even the rightly notorious German *Schrecklichkeit* (frightfulness) raids on Warsaw and Rotterdam were closely linked to the direct military investment of these cities. Early British bomber raids were more akin to the



The Allied imperialist firebombing of Dresden, between 13 and 15 February 1945: possibly the greatest, single massacre in history.

Dresden, Cologne, Iraq

charge of the Light Brigade, with more bomber crew casualties than casualties among the German populace. But after Harris took over as commander in early 1942 the techniques were refined: night raids, 1000-bomber raids to overwhelm defences and calculated stratagems to raise fire storms. Even so it was not until very late in the war that Germany's military and economic capacity cracked. And this was more due to other factors: the American development of long range fighters and the gaining of air superiority, precision bombing of strategic and often dispersed industries like the oil refineries, and above all the great victories of the Red Army and Soviet people which tore out the guts of the German military machine. Bomber Command's favoured strategy targeted the most proletarian and vulnerable of the population, including the hundreds of thousands of slave labourers forced to work in German industry and housed with little or no air raid facilities. Rather than break the will, Harris' raids created resentment and hatred and revived morale.

The epitome of the bombing strategy was the firebombing of Dresden between 13 and 15 February 1945. A virtually undefended city, its population swollen with refugees, without particular military or industrial significance, Dresden was deliberately turned into a firestorm hell. The inferno could be seen for two hundred miles, people in shelters turned to cinder, others incandescent with the heat, asphyxiated in the storm which sucked oxygen from their lungs. British historians like to cite the low figures of 25,000 or 35,000 killed. Some German sources claim 600,000. A widely accepted figure has been 225,000. Nazi-lovers like David Irving cite high figures in an attempt to amnesty the Holocaust, an unspeakable horror in a category of its own.

Dresden was possibly the greatest single massacre in history—an unalloyed war crime. When news got out about it there was widespread revulsion in the populations of the Allied imperialists. Churchill, who approved of and indeed had egged on the terror bombing, then sought to distance himself from the policy, arguing that "bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the

terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed". Harris remained unrepentant, and being an embarrassment never got the peerage that was dished out to all the other top war commanders.

The aircrews rightly called Harris "Butcher". The odds against surviving a thirty-mission bombing tour were indeed high, and, leaving aside the Eastern Front which is an altogether different question, Bomber Command lost more men than any other arm except the German U-Boat command. In that sense Harris belongs with Field Marshal Haig, of Somme blood-bath fame. The Allied propaganda painted the U-Boats as crazed Nazis, machine-gunning helpless civilians in life-boats. The German populace called the British and American bombers *Terrorflieger*, a more deserved reputation. The horror of Dresden, just like the nuclear annihilation of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, was intended to serve another purpose. Bomber Command's own briefing argues that the raid would "show the Russians when they arrive what Bomber Command can do" (quoted in Max Hastings, *Bomber Command*).

Some of the protesters at St Clement

Danes on 31 May made the patriotic appeal "Honour 55,573 air crew not Butcher Harris" (*Independent*, 1 June). But the war between the Axis imperialists and the Allied imperialists was an inter-imperialist conflict in which the working class had no side. Unlike the Stalinists who broke strikes for Churchill and justify the firebombing of Dresden and other German cities and the nuclear barbarism against Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Trotskyists fought for revolutionary defeatism on both imperialist sides and to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. At the same time, just as we do today, the Trotskyists defended the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution.

There is another fiftieth anniversary this year, that of the siege of Stalingrad. Not least because we struggle to save the Soviet Union in its hour of crisis today and to summon forth the same spirit of defence of the gains of October, our heroes are the soldiers and workers who stemmed the counterrevolutionary tide at Stalingrad, along with the defenders of Leningrad, the Jewish and Communist partisans and the fighters of the Red Army and Soviet people who sacrificed more than 20 million dead. And we honour the martyred French Trotskyists who practised revolutionary fraternisation and organised revolutionary cells in the German armed forces.

The book is not closed on the horrors of imperialist war, such as Dresden. In the one-sided Gulf War the US and British imperialists slaughtered 100,000, all their talk of "precision bombing" being but a cover for the type of indiscriminate slaughter that "Bomber" Harris advocated. It was not until the Thatcher years that statues began to go up to British imperialism's WWII warlords, a sign of the times with the Falklands/Malvinas war jingoism and the war against "the enemy within", the miners. Mountbatten of Burma got his statue after the IRA blew him away, too many long years after he had presided over the Bengal famine and the bloody partition of India. As well the celebration of "Bomber" Harris is intended as a "New World Order" message, and a reminder to the German imperialists not to get too assertive. Harris' statue is an obscene affront to working people everywhere. The imperialists revel in the scenes of counterrevolutionaries hauling down statues of the leaders of the October Revolution. But with the proletarian revolution our turn will come, and the statue of "Bomber" Harris will be among the first to go. ■

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**Defend the immigrants and the right of asylum!
Down with the anti-communist witch hunt!**

Strikes rock Kohl's Germany

The following article is abridged from a special supplement of Spartakist (25 May 1992), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

**Break with social democracy—
not a “grand coalition” of capital,
but a workers government to
expropriate capital!
Bring down Kohl with
workers’ action!**

MAY 22—The strike in West German public service and transport was the biggest labour struggle here since World War II and the first strike by the government workers union (ÖTV) since 1974 — when they brought down the government of Willy Brandt. This wasn't about a lousy 5.4 per cent. It was a provocative test of strength on the part of the German bourgeoisie with major international repercussions. Together with the Social Democrats (SPD), they first bulldozed the East German collectivised economy and have thrown six million unemployed on the street nationally. And now there is a de facto Christian Democratic (CDU)/SPD coalition that wants West German workers to pay for the devastation caused by capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR (East Germany) and Eastern Europe.

German imperialism is emboldened by what they see as capitalist victory over “communism” with the collapse of Stalinism, and at the same time it is under severe economic pressure as it seeks to digest the spoils. But CDU chancellor Helmut Kohl's gang and the SPD labour traitors miscalculated with the most powerful working class in Europe. They precipitated an overwhelmingly popular strike against themselves and the

Postal workers picket in Hamburg during public service strike. Two years after capitalist reunification, German rulers face massive working-class unrest.



consequences of capitalist reunification. Moreover, the strike began to spread to the East, showing the tremendous potential for united class struggle.

The strike had wide support; discontent among the population turned against the regime. According to the latest polls, Kohl is the most unpopular politician in Germany next to (Free Democratic economics minister) Müllemann, and a popular joke about the “tax lie” (Kohl's election promise that there would be no tax increases to pay for reunification) refers to the new “sucker-bait surtax” (*Volksverschungsabgabe*). With this kind of anger, it was a good time to strike, and strike hard. During the strike Bonn was playing with the idea of sending in the Bundeswehr (army) to pick up rubbish. If that had happened, it should have been answered with a general strike.

There was a lot of sentiment among strikers to hold out for at least “six [per cent] before the decimal point”, but any real struggle to regain and defend workers' jobs, wages and benefits from the inroads of economic devastation in the East and the slashing of social programmes, inflation and tax hikes in the West would require the full mobilisation of the working class *East and West*. Because what's involved here is not a squabble over a few D-marks, but a sharp *political class confrontation*. The bourgeoisie has announced the end of the “German model” of organised class collaboration. They would like to introduce the economic policies of Reagan and Thatcher, which signals a hot war against the unions.

This confrontation with the German state is not over. Workers everywhere say they're “pissed off” about this shameful sellout, which means a stinging pay cut — because they knew that for eleven days they had the government where it hurts. In Braunschweig the strike continued after the settlement was announced. The ÖTV ranks — particularly transport and dustmen — rejected the contract by a resounding 55 per cent, but the bureaucrats are shoving it down their throats. Negotiations are under way for East German public employees and strikes are directly posed, but any struggle is being orchestrated by the union tops to begin after the strike ended in the West.

What's necessary is to bring down Kohl through workers' action. Break with social democracy — a “grand coalition” of capital will mean escalating attacks on workers, immigrants, women. What we need is a workers government to expropriate capital!

**From “social partnership”
to class war**

Since the '50s the bosses have kept the workers in line with the help of the SPD-fostered myth of “social partnership”. But

now, as the bourgeoisie declares open war against the working class, *Die Zeit* notes, “The social consensus is disintegrating.” After swallowing the East German deformed workers state, German imperialism has grown more aggressive, seeking its “place in the sun” as did Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany leading up to World War I. And in its *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East), it has taken on new economic burdens that challenge even its tremendous strength.

The Bonn regime has bitten off more than it can chew. In Yugoslavia it bent the rest of the EC to its will by forcing recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, only to see the whole region blow up in internecine civil war. The departure of Genscher after 18 years as foreign minister, the third cabinet resignation in a month, shows how shaky the Bonn regime is. TV coverage of German tanks in Turkish Kurdistan blowing away women and children on Kurdish New Year cost Kohl's defence minister his job. And while mocking the Americans for having to beg Bonn for money to finance the carpet-bombing of the Iraqi population in its Persian Gulf “war”, the Fourth Reich is accumulating its own debt “mountain”.

Bonn pumped more than 180 billion D-marks into East Germany last year (168 billion in public subsidies, 15 billion in private investment). It has also invested 75 billion D-marks to further counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and another 105 billion in Eastern Europe to turn the former deformed workers states into Deutsche Bank neocolonies. So it has to get the money from somewhere. The Bundesbank, the central banker for Europe, can put the squeeze on the capitalists of Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, etc by keeping interest rates high. But that is not enough. The bourgeoisie is also seeking to increase the rate of exploitation of the workers throughout Germany.

This has been at the heart of the cur-



Berlin, Alexanderplatz, 21 May: Several thousand came out to protest “Republikaner” fascist provocation in the heart of the former East German capital. Spartakists (above) called for workers mobilisation to stop the Nazis.

rent offensive against the unions on the part of the bourgeoisie and government. Even before *Anschluss* (annexation of the DDR) Bonn began its campaign of slashing benefits with its so-called "health services reform". Last year they launched a concerted campaign over sick pay, with *Der Spiegel* screaming about workers "partying" on sick days (*krankfeiern*). Now, after 40 years, the CDU/FDP (Free Democratic) cabinet is demanding the reintroduction of unpaid sick days, provoking an angry reaction from the unions.

This year the wage confrontations began in steel, a lower-paid sector of IG Metall where negotiations were dragged out to the beginning of 1992. Then came the bank employees, where despite weak union organisation rotating work stoppages went on for six weeks. Next up were ÖTV, postal workers and rail. Bonn intended to face down these sectors before a showdown with the Metal Workers, the most powerful union in the capitalist West. While Kohl got a slap on the ear, the unions should have shut the country down tight, against both the CDU/CSU/FDP federal government and the SPD-led state governments. That would have thrown a wrench in the bosses' drive against the Metal Workers and the rest of the labour movement.

East and West—strike together!

On Monday, 4 May, East Berlin transport workers walked out in a spontaneous strike in solidarity with their class brothers in the West, risking their own jobs in the face of mass unemployment. One after another, several depots went out. Altogether 30 out of 38 tram lines and a dozen bus lines in East Berlin shut down. The tubes did not run at all. For 24 hours East Berlin transport was virtually closed down. At the Lichtenberg depot the gate was shut with a banner that read "Equal Work, Equal Pay!"

The old Stalinist lie that the West German workers would never fight has been burst. As a letter to the editor in the *Berliner Zeitung* said, "Mass strikes produce clarity." Now East Berlin transport workers are particularly bitter about ÖTV bureaucrats who worked overtime to get them back to work, with the threat of punitive firings hanging over their heads. But remember—the only "illegal" strike is one that loses. There were also reports of brief stoppages in Thüringen and Sachsen. The prospect of a nationwide transport strike had the bourgeoisie sweating. Joint strike action East and West is key!

The bosses and the SPD/DGB (trade-union federation) bureaucrats have tried everything to keep the workers in East and West divided, and to play them off against one another. The anti-Communist witch hunt they have been running is designed to ideologically purge the

workforce and to demoralise and paralyse it. But now workers are increasingly sick of it, particularly when they start to fight. At the Lichtenberg transport depot, the city's firing of bus drivers and other workers as part of the anti-Stasi witch hunt has produced outrage among their co-workers.

The DGB even tried to hold its May

for its defeat by the Red Army in 1945, and want to root out any memory of the workers state in the East.

In late 1989 and early 1990, as the Stalinist Honecker regime started to crumble and masses of East German working people in the streets were demanding real socialism, the SpAD's predecessors, the Trotzistische Liga and



East Berlin, 4 May: Transport workers spread West German public service strike to the East in wildcat strike demanding "Equal Work, Equal Pay". United workers struggle could bring Fourth Reich to its knees.

Day demonstrations under the pay-for-*Anschluss* slogan "Sharing Binds". Following Kohl, the bureaucrats' idea of "solidarity" is telling the workers in the West to tighten their belts for the Frankfurt moneybags, after destroying the East German economy. Thus the arrogant union bureaucrats foster disgusting anti-"Ossie" sentiment (while as part of the witch hunt mainly "Wessies" staff their offices in the East). But the bureaucrats' appeal to Fourth Reich nationalism was hastily withdrawn in the face of outraged protest from the member unions and replaced in a number of cities, including Augsburg (the central DGB rally), Essen and Berlin, with "Solidarity Is an Obligation".

Now the banks and trusts are raking in profits like never before. For them the government has announced drastic cuts in taxes on interest and capital gains; for the workers there are draconian austerity measures. Bonn dismembered the East German health care system and is slashing it in the West, and now it wants to finance reunification out of unemployment and retraining benefits. While the SPD/DGB is verbally protesting this measure, it too is an effect of a counter-revolution in East Germany which they spearheaded, giving the capitalists free rein to liquidate historic gains of the East German working people. The German bourgeoisie and its helpers want revenge

Spartakist-Gruppen, intervened to fight for proletarian political revolution from East Berlin to Moscow, and for a social revolution in the West—for a red Germany of workers councils. When the working class failed to move in the absence of a revolutionary party strong enough to lead it, German imperialism mobilised its power to ram through counter-revolution by reunification. The Spartakists alone intransigently opposed capitalist reunification. Meanwhile the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR) and the rest of the so-called left were on their knees begging for reunification "one (DDR-mark) to one (West German D-mark)", and the SPD were Kohl's bloodhounds as Bonn moved in for the kill.

In the aftermath, we Spartakists called for workers' resistance against the destruction wrought by the Fourth Reich while the SPD-led factory councils were strangling workers' struggles and "co-determining" East German plant closures. From the beginning the SpAD has fought against the vicious SPD-led anti-Communist witch hunt, exposing it as a tool of the rulers to paralyse and split the workers, and demanded "Hands off Markus Wolf [chief of DDR intelligence], Erich Honecker [DDR head of state] and Erich Mielke [DDR state security minister]!" Throughout we have fought for

joint class struggle by workers East and West.

Full citizenship rights for immigrants

A campaign to weaken the working class by splitting it along lines of nationality is being run by a racist popular front against immigrants that extends from the CDU to the SPD, the Greens and the PDS. First they are going after the most vulnerable—those who have arrived most recently and are seeking asylum. Bonn consistently encourages the Nazi/skinhead terrorists by its racist policies and economic devastation. As the elections in the states of Schleswig-Holstein and Baden-Württemberg show, so far the biggest winners in the government's racist manhunt are the fascists. Tens of thousands voted fascist there—disproportionately former SPD voters, spurred by the racist policies of CDU/CSU and SPD. The CDU and SPD in turn use the fascist electoral successes to escalate their own attacks on immigrants.

Immediately after the ÖTV settlement, SPD candidate for chancellor Engholm announced agreement with the CDU/CSU on policies to torpedo the right of asylum and deport additional thousands of immigrants to misery and death. The defence of all immigrants is key to unlocking the power of the organised workers movement. As we wrote in our last issue: "The workers movement must be mobilised to fight for full citizenship rights for immigrants and those seeking asylum." An attack on one is an attack on all. Class unity is vital to workers' struggle. Among our disenfranchised foreign-born brothers and sisters are many of the best fighters for the workers' cause.

Mobilise worker/immigrant power to stop Nazi terror

On 9 May the fascist "Nationalen" threatened to rally with Hitler fan David Irving in the Soviet garrison town of Berlin-Karlshorst—in front of the museum commemorating the Red Army's liberation of Europe from the fascist nightmare on that day in 1945. The SpAD intervened in May Day demonstrations, in the public service strikes and in key metal plants calling for a worker/immigrant mobilisation, finding strong sentiment in the ranks to stop this ominous provocation. The PDS and Greens/Bündnis 90 instead appealed together with the SPD and Heinz Galinski (head of the Berlin Jewish Community) for the Berlin Senate to ban the fascist rally, and launched a vicious violence-baiting campaign against the anti-fascists. Under the impact of the ÖTV strike and pressure from the ranks, and after the ban was confirmed, the DGB along with the SPD joined the call

continued on page 8



Spartakist Workers Party called for workers mobilisation against Nazi provocation in Halle (right), 9 November 1991. Spartakist banner calls: "Workers/Immigrants: Stop the Nazis!"



Bolesch/Fotoarchiv



Drive by German imperialism turned incipient proletarian political revolution into capitalist counterrevolution. Above: Berlin, November 1989, protesters carry banner "For Communist Ideals—No Privileges". Right: Kohl whips up Fourth Reich nationalism at rally in Erfurt, February 1990.



Germany...

(Continued from page 7)

for a counterdemonstration at the last minute.

It was indeed a good thing that the Nazis didn't march in Karlshorst on 9 May, but it was *not* a good thing that a massive presence of riot police held the residents of Karlshorst hostage all day long. It is a deadly illusion to rely on the Fourth Reich to "ban" the fascists. That same night 60 skinheads attacked a leftist pub in Magdeburg with baseball bats, clubs and iron bars, sending eight people to the hospital, one of whom, the young worker Torsten Lamprecht, died. *Murder* was the fascists' answer to the anti-working-class, "no violence" popular front.

In Magdeburg on 9 May, police in front of the pub stood idly by during the attack, despite neighbours' demands that they intervene. In Berlin-Marzahn on 24 April, a young Vietnamese, Nguyen Van Tu, was stabbed to death in broad daylight by skinheads, while the SPD-led Marzahn district council runs a "youth club" for Nazi/skinheads. The government turns its fascist-ridden cops loose against anti-fascist demonstrators. On May Day in Berlin thousands of cops and Federal Border Guards were mobilised first to protect the Nazi/skinhead FAP and then to tear apart the immigrant Kreuzberg district. Obscenely, the so-called cop "union" had an official booth at the DGB rally earlier that day, and their representatives were not pleased with our placard demanding "Cops Out of the DGB!" But the cops as well as the Bundeswehr are the armed fist of the bosses' state.

Stopping fascist terror is a necessary extension of working-class struggle—strike pickets are the embryo of the workers militia. The Spartakists say: Mobilise the workers to stop the Nazis!

Kohl: the would-be Kaiser sits on a shaky throne

Given Kohl's shaky regime, his oneliner, "I am not Willy Brandt," is the joke of the year. The Treuhändanstalt (state agency charged with dismantling the DDR economy) has changed leaderships three times (not always of its own accord), and its "scorched earth" policy was stopped by the bourgeoisie itself. They need East Germany as a low-wage, class-peace paradise and a pivot for the drive to the East.

In a world where escalating inter-imperialist rivalries revive great power lineups reminiscent of the years before World War I, reunited German imperialism is again probing everywhere to see how far they can go. They again want to be the masters in the Balkans and are arming the Turkish army to the teeth. At a Leipzig commanders' conference where

Kohl and the new war minister, CDU hawk Volker Rühle, were present, Bundeswehr general inspector Klaus Naumann said training of German soldiers would now be "hard, challenging and similar to battle conditions" for action outside Germany. And now they are sending troops to Cambodia, where the imperialists are preparing new killing fields.

The appetites of the Fourth Reich's rulers lie now, as before, beyond its eastern borders. By bankrolling Yeltsin's counterrevolution to destroy the Soviet degenerated workers state, they expect to grab for themselves the choicest pieces of the Soviet and East European feast. But for the "New World Order" they now need a new foreign policy—which, given the price tag, is not going to be easy to orchestrate, either to the East or West. The fruits of SPD/Genscher *Ostpolitik* (Germany's "Eastern policy" first implemented by Willy Brandt) are growing economic difficulties at home and bloody civil war abroad.

For decades Bonn's motto has been "a European Germany", in Thomas Mann's famous phrase, as the Federal Republic sought its place as a junior partner in the US-led anti-Soviet imperialist alliance. In a declaration of our international tendency published in a June 1982 special supplement of *Spartacist Britain*, when Reagan flew to Europe to bring his NATO allies into line, we noted:

"West Germany, of late Washington's most loyal NATO ally, is today the most détente-minded. But behind the 'peace-loving' image of Brandt/Schmidt's *Ostpolitik* stands the appetite to reverse the outcome of World War II and recreate a unified capitalist Germany as the dominant European power."

Today the rulers in Bonn want a "German Europe", for now not with panzers but through the D-mark, but they are still too weak to impose it. Despite protest from the Common Market countries the

Germans dictate interest rates in Europe and they even occasionally try to tell the US imperialists where to get off. But the German working class is still a lion blocking their way and has showed it will fight hard against this onslaught.

While Kohl & Co dither, it is SPD chief Bernd Engholm who makes the "sweat and tears" speech on behalf of the German bourgeoisie. The SPD is aiming for the chancellor's office with offers of round table discussions, hints at "grand coalitions" and threats against immigrants and the workers.

Break with the Social Democracy!

On May Day, IG Metall chief Steinkühler questioned "whether the social provocateurs will succeed in drastically weakening the trade unions after the rival system has fallen away." Significantly, he is compelled to raise the "Russian question", although in his own way. Since it was the Soviet Union that crushed Hitler fascism, a victory that led to the planned economies of the East European deformed workers states, West European capital felt compelled to tout the "welfare state". After World War II in the zones occupied by the imperialist victors, capitalism was re-established as a bulwark against Soviet "Bolshevism"—with the inestimable help of the SPD politicians and trade-union bureaucrats. Ludwig Erhard proclaimed the capitalist "social market economy", built on the *crushing* of mass proletarian struggles.

In the prerevolutionary situation which arose after the war the working class, in the Western occupation zones as well as the East, engaged in mass struggles to prevent the restoration of capitalist rule, demanding socialisation of basic industry. But the US-financed Social Democrats were determined to dissipate proletarian resistance and break the considerable Communist influence resurgent in the

unions, particularly in the plant councils. The Communists were purged, militant anti-capitalist resistance was broken, and the councils themselves were turned into class-collaborationist straitjackets—enforcing the reactionary plant council (*Betriebsrat*) law, passed in 1952. With the DGB's support for the Cold War Marshall Plan, workers were firmly tied politically to the state, and the state to anti-Soviet NATO.

While there was much talk of "co-determination" of workers and capitalists (an impossibility in any case), these schemes merely meant a framework to ensure the complicity of the union tops in managing exploitation and purging reds. Increased productivity was accompanied by persistently high unemployment. Millions of immigrant "guest workers" were brought into heavy industry but denied all citizenship rights. The Bundeswehr was built *under the Social Democrats* into the strongest European army in NATO. The SPD was the architect of *Ostpolitik*—designed to economically undermine the Soviet Union and the East European workers states. As German imperialism grew strong enough to again vie for great-power status, resurgent German nationalism—clothed in the "left" garb adopted by the "peace" movement of the '80s—was spearheaded by the SPD.

This was the Social Democrats' "Modell Deutschland" (German model). And thus the SPD naturally acted as the Trojan horse of the counterrevolution in the DDR, giving it a mighty shove so that the "competing system fell away" there. Subsequently, with their anti-Communist witch hunt, with their stranglehold on the unions and as the spearhead of the all-party manhunt against the "flood of asylum-seekers", they have sought to split, paralyse and strangle every instance of workers' resistance. This has divided workers East and West, men and women, immigrant and German. The "left", including the PDS, *all* help fan the flames of the anti-Communist witch hunt and the racist drive against immigrants, and now they seek to convince the workers that an Engholm government would be better than Kohl. This is a dangerous illusion.

The SPD blames everything in the ex-DDR on "40 years of Communism". Today East German workers are being hit in the face with the results of 40 years of social-democratic class collaboration in the Federal Republic.

The bureaucracy that these "labour lieutenants of capital" have at their disposal is truly legion. This includes 30,000 union members of plant councils whose salaries are directly paid by the bosses. Among them are many serious unionists, including immigrants. But if they are to defend the workers' interests they must break out of the *Betriebsrat* trap with its "oath of secrecy" and other airtight obligations to act in the bosses' interest. The plant council makes them complicit



Counterrevolution particularly targeted women workers. East Berlin protesters rallied in March 1990 against childcare cuts.

No swastikas at the Brandenburg Gate!

We reprint below the press statement issued by our comrades in the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) on 23 June. A brief press release was issued following this statement, reporting the arrest of four supporters of the SpAD and the Committee for Social Defence (KfSV) for being proud of having removed and destroyed the Nazi flag of genocide. But as the statement went on to report: "Following an energetic protest in which many passers-by from various countries participated, among them supporters of the Kurdish Workers Party PKK, the anti-fascists were released."

Berlin, 23 June—This afternoon supporters of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defence (KfSV) removed and destroyed a swastika flag that had been hung up by the Galerie am Pariser Platz on a house wall right beside the Brandenburg Gate. With this they put an end to this revolting provocation, to which thousands of Berliners and tourists who daily pass by the Brandenburg Gate were exposed and which was a direct slap in the face to survivors of the Nazi

terror and to all decent people. KfSV spokesman Werner Brand stated: "We won't tolerate this! The swastika stands for the gruesome murder of six million Jews, of Roma, Sinti, homosexuals and other minorities, of Communists and all anti-fascists. Just recently it brought death to Mete Eksi, Nguyen Van Tu and Torsten Lamprecht."

In 1945 the Soviet army smashed the Nazi regime, liberating Europe from fascist terror. 27 million Soviet citizens lost their lives in the struggle against the Nazis before the victorious Red Army could hoist the red flag on the Reichstag as a symbol of liberation. In the deformed workers state of the DDR the system of the swastika was totally destroyed. Berlin is a workers' city with deep anti-fascist roots! When in January 1990 the Spartakists initiated a rally against the Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial in Treptow and the SED/PDS took over this call, a quarter of a million working people came to express their outrage and their protest.

Now the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz is stretching out its hands towards rule over Europe. As they do so, their SPD minions are standing at the head of the anti-Communist witch hunt, in order to

take vengeance on the victory of the Red Army. Simultaneously, the infamous murderer of Jews, Gustav Just is a member of the SPD. The Fourth Reich wants to rehabilitate the Third Reich, with Kohl's and Reagan's obscene obeisance before the SS graves in Bitburg in 1985 already serving this end. On 9 November 1991, the anniversary of the Reich pogrom night, the Nazis staged a parade in Halle, which, as with the provocative appearance of SS-Schönhuber on May 21st at the Alexanderplatz in Berlin, was protected by a massive police mobilisation. Now former MfS [Stasi] head Erich Mielke is being put on trial on the basis of charges from the Nazi period, while the anti-fascist Gerhard Bögelein was condemned to life imprisonment in the SPD city of Hamburg because of supposedly having brought down a Nazi hanging judge in a Soviet POW camp. Freedom for Mielke, hands of Honcker! Immediate freeing of Gerhard Bögelein!

The CDU and SPD are preparing the soil for the fascists with their racist campaigns and the mass deportations of asylum-seekers and immigrant workers. And the PDS makes its pages in *Neues Deutschland* available to the Republi-

kaner Führer Schönhuber for his message of hate. The workers movement must defend the right to asylum. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! To drive the murderous bands of Nazis back into their holes we need a mobilisation of the workers/immigrants, who recently revealed their will to fight in the West and East in the giant ÖTV strike. Then the streets will be safe again!

As Toralf Endruweit, candidate of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei in the Volkskammer elections, stated, "We know what the swastika means and how we have to deal with it. Today we are also honouring in a modest way the heroic Jewish Communist Herbert Baum. To eliminate the fascists once and for all we need a workers revolution that will avenge the victims of the Nazi holocaust. This is what the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei is fighting for. And in the Soviet Union our comrades of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) are fighting against Yeltsin's counterrevolution, to win back political power for the workers and reestablish the country of the October Revolution as the vanguard of the world revolution."

every time a worker is fired and every time a strike is sold out.

The SPD-controlled council members sit around the table at every *Betriebsrat* meeting "in the same boat" with the bosses. And yet various fake-leftists such as the national-Stalinist DKP and pseudo-Trotskyists, followers of Ernest Mandel, in the VSP have long enjoyed the bureaucratic privileges that rubbing shoulders with the bosses in the *Betriebsräte* brings. We Spartakists fight for the complete independence of the workers movement from the bourgeoisie and its state. Our tendency in Germany was forged with the Trotskyist understanding that since 1914 the SPD has been a *bourgeois workers* party, the transmission belt for German nationalism into the workers movement; the SPD must be split in order to win its proletarian base on the road to socialist revolution.

Workers need revolutionary leadership! For proletarian internationalism!

The ÖTV ranks threw Wulf-Mathies' stinking contract on the rubbish heap but see no alternative to the treacherous ÖTV/DGB tops. Whereas workers massively joined the union at the beginning of the strike, now many are quitting. But despite their pro-capitalist leadership, the unions are today the workers' sole defensive organs. If we want to win, instead of throwing out your union card, throw out the bureaucrats who turn the unions into organs for disciplining the workers on behalf of the imperialist state, and thus risk their destruction. The SPD/DGB tops know very well that a *real* solid class struggle in East and West would sweep away not only the Kohl gang but them as well. To conduct a fight to push

through and secure their own interests, the workers need a programme that serves *their* class interests, not those of the bosses. We need a revolutionary leadership and party that is prepared to mobilise the working class to take on the bosses and their state in a struggle leading to the fight for power.

The bourgeoisie talks big about the "death of Communism", but the struggles of the working class the world over give the lie to these pipe-dreams of a "New World Order". In Seoul, 20,000 South Korean workers struggling against super-exploitation and police terror expressed their solidarity with the German strikes. In Warsaw, 15,000 came out on May Day against the capitalist regime of Solidarność leader Walesa. When Los Angeles exploded in rage over an atrocious racist provocation and desperate poverty, the American rulers answered with cop terror and troop occupation. In Berlin, May Day marchers in Kreuzberg carried signs and banners expressing solidarity with Los Angeles.

In the Los Angeles upheaval in the US and the ÖTV strike here, we have seen watershed events in two of the three leading world imperialist powers—and the third, Japan, isn't doing so well either, as the continued decline of the Nikkei stock index shows. Capitalism has in store for humanity only grinding misery, racist terror and imperialist war. The only way to root out this rotting, exploitative system is through socialist revolution.

Against the poisonous nationalism spewed by Bonn and their social-democratic flunkies it is necessary to counterpose a programme of proletarian internationalism. We fight like Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht for the *revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Soviet*

workers. A resolute struggle uniting German and immigrant workers in the entire Fourth Reich would be a beacon to our class brothers and sisters to the Urals and beyond—to defend the Soviet workers state and regain political power in the face of Yeltsin's counterrevolution, with its capitalist "shock treatment" misery and murderous nationalist civil war.

Germany and its West European allies want to create a "Fortress Europe" to keep out refugees escaping the economic and social havoc they have wreaked worldwide. Hardly a day goes by without an incident of vicious anti-Semitism and racist/fascist terror. *Anschluss* turned the clock back 50 years for East German women, destroying the social institutions which provided comprehensive free medical and childcare, and driving women back to "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (children, kitchen, church). Whereas over 90 per cent of women worked in the DDR, two-thirds of the jobless in East Germany are now women. As the Protestant and Catholic churches drive to re-Christianise the East, *all* governmental parties are nearing agreement on a *grossdeutsch* (Greater Germany) anti-abortion law putting women and doctors at the mercy of blackmailing clerical "counsellors".

To undo this all-sided social devastation, the working class must be mobilised to fight for all the oppressed. Full citizenship rights for all immigrants—Stop Nazi terror through worker/immigrant

mobilisations! Preachers, cops and judges out of the bedroom and doctor's office: Abolish Paragraphs 218/219! Down with the church tax! For separation of church and state! In the face of the destruction being carried out by the bourgeoisie, we must fight for a massive programme of public works to rebuild the plants and social institutions, to build millions of quality affordable homes, to clean the filth out of the environment. We must fight for equal pay for equal work—women and men, immigrants and Germans, East and West. The DGB tops go on talking about winning a 35-hour week in 1994, but the bosses are on a drive to *increase* the workweek. The fight for massive social reconstruction, dividing up the work among all hands with a significantly shorter workweek and no loss in pay, means a revolutionary struggle.

Germany remains the key to Europe, for barbarism or socialism. To rebuild this country in the interest of all the working people and plan the economy sensibly on an international scale, it is necessary to fight for a workers government that *expropriates* capital, putting the means of production into the hands of those who produce the wealth. To organise that struggle and lead it to victory, the workers need a revolutionary workers party. Such a party, in the internationalist tradition of Lenin and Trotsky, is what the Spartakists are fighting to build. Join us! ■


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Maastricht...

(Continued from page 1)

the Constitutional prohibition on abortion should be "removed at the earliest opportunity". As for "neutrality" Reynolds et al declined the invitation to commit themselves to yet another referendum on participation in NATO and/or the WEU.

The Catholic Church hierarchy in effect took a position of negative neutrality (what the *Irish Times* called a "non-directive" stance). In exchange, it is demanding a new referendum post-Maastricht aimed at outlawing abortion completely and reversing any slippage in the direction of liberalisation. The bishops announced that "Neither a 'yes' vote nor a 'no' vote provides a totally satisfactory solution to the protection of unborn life": bless the ECUs and pass the crozier.

Marxists on Maastricht: Smash the bosses' Fortress Europe!

As revolutionary Marxists, our position was and is one of implacable opposition to Maastricht, a continuation of the Treaty of Rome—a plan for the economic integration of West Europe on explicitly capitalist grounds. As we wrote in January 1973: "The Common Market is in no sense progressive. It is originally the product of U.S. imperialism's mobilization against the Soviet Union. It is an arena in which the European national bourgeoisies bilk one another and the rest of the world. It is a vehicle for capitalist collaboration against the European labor movements, which have shown little international solidarity."

Within the D-mark dominated European Community as each national capitalist class attempts to become "competitive" it will move to enforce wage freezes, strike-breaking, the liquidation of whole industries, large-scale unemployment. And the necessity to pursue highly deflationary policies to maintain currency stability has meant, for instance, that the unemployment rates in France and Italy—which have been part of the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) for a number of years—has rarely gone below ten per cent. Such is beginning to be the case in Britain.

The social democrats' nonsense about the "social charter" and European union ensuring a better life for all workers of Europe has pathetically been echoed by some on the left. Thus, Workers Power/Irish Workers Group's League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI) has called for an abstention in Ireland and wherever else referenda are slated to take place, stating that "the terms of the Maastricht treaty can also be a basis for extending rights and gains

from states where the working class never won these gains, or where it has lost them" and even that "to some extent European workers will be better armed to fight back on a continental scale after the implementation of the terms of Maastricht".

Behind Workers Power's programmatic conclusion is the profoundly anti-Marxist premise that "capitalism can unite Europe", that "Germany, in alliance with France and Italy" can "press ahead with fashioning out of the EC a supra national state capable of fighting for their interests", that "Within a decade this could mean the creation of a federal European imperialist superstate". This is not a new position. Kautsky, among others, had a similar line. As we noted in "Labor and

ism was the theoretical basis for Kautsky's pacifist-reformist policy toward inter-imperialist war. Lenin compared Kautsky's view with that of the English liberal J.A. Hobson, who sought to console the English middle class after the exhaustion of the Boer War with a vision of new, united world imperialist order (he called it *inter-imperialism*) which could ensure peace."

Long after Kautsky's revisionism was demolished by Lenin, one Ernest Mandel of the United Secretariat also took up the cudgels to declare the possibility of a "super-imperialist" capitalist united states of Europe. And now LRCI adds its twopenny, including the fantastical, bourgeois utopian demand for "the election of a

force" (ie without the US) indicates that NATO itself may be superseded by military blocs corresponding to the needs of the rival imperialist trading blocs, laying the basis for World War III.

Throughout Europe, the forces opposing Maastricht were extremely disparate—from revolutionary internationalists to protectionist reformists and nationalists, wings of the imperialists who favour the US, the German bourgeoisie and outright fascists. In Britain the xenophobic Thatcherites as well as the Bennite "lefts" in the Labour Party oppose Maastricht. In France, Le Pen's National Front fascists as well as the Communist Party are opposed and the referendum is taking on the character of a referendum on the Mitterrand government. And one of the

Reactionary anti-abortion demonstrators from the "Youth Defence" contingent menacing pro-abortion rights counter-demonstrators on 6 June march down Dublin's O'Connell Street.



the Common Market" (*Workers Vanguard* no 15, January 1973), it is a "question of fundamental importance for the socialist movement whether capitalism can overcome its national limitations or whether these limitations must lead inevitably to inter-imperialist war, with the concrete possibility of the annihilation of the human race":

"When this question attained decisive political importance for the socialist movement, in the Second International, Kautsky answered it with the theory of *ultra-imperialism* [which]... projected the peaceful integration of the international monopolies leading to the creation of a genuinely international bourgeoisie and an effective (capitalist) world state system....

"For Kautsky, the role of the proletarian socialist movement was to act as a pressure group on the more progressive, far-sighted sections of the bourgeoisie. The concept of ultra-imperial-

sovereign European Constituent Assembly for all those countries in the EC or who seek to join it, convened and protected by the fighting organisations of the working class".

The signature of the "New World Order" has been the imperialist-backed drive for counterrevolution and capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the one-sided Anglo-American led imperialist slaughter in the Persian Gulf and the reassertion of inter-imperialist rivalries. Thus, large trading blocs are forming up not only in Europe but via the North American free trade agreement and the Japanese sphere in Asia. A concomitant part of the formation of these rival trading blocs is the "Fortress Europe" syndrome—ie, the tightening of measures directed against immigrants and those seeking asylum from murderous, right-wing regimes throughout the third world. An explicit part of the European union package, codified in the Schengen agreement, is the strengthening of anti-immigrant legislation and controls. This can only mean renewed attacks by the state, fuelling stepped-up fascist attacks on all minority workers. One need but look to the rampant attacks on immigrant and minority workers in Germany today to see what Fortress Europe has in store.

At its inception the Common Market was an economic analogue of NATO and the anti-Soviet war drive, a reason in principle for our opposition. A united front of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, NATO was very much dominated by Washington. Now the European Community continues to promote Yeltsinite counterrevolution within the Soviet Union, while shaping up more explicitly as a creature of German imperialism, itself intent on exploiting the peoples of Eastern Europe in competition with rival imperialist powers. The mooted of a German-French European "defence

reasons the bourgeoisie use plebiscites and referenda is precisely the fact that you can't distinguish your "no" vote from those who are in opposition for quite different reasons.

The line-up in Ireland was similarly mixed—with both SPUC and pro-abortion organisations calling for a no vote from opposite sides of the barricades. SPUC's anti-abortion rallies in the run-up to the referendum were marshalled by the sinister "Youth Defence" outfit. These thugs, roaming the streets of Dublin attacking leftists, waving phoney foetus pictures, are an ominous and relatively recent excrescence—a latter-day version of the fascist Blueshirts who fought on the Franco side of the Spanish Civil War. They must be crushed in the egg by trade-union-centred mobilisations! On the other hand, there were those such as Sinn Féin, the rump Workers Party, the disintegrating Communist Party and the Democratic Left who opposed the treaty from the nationalist/reformist standpoint that Irish capitalism is and can be made to be somehow more progressive, humanitarian and pacific than its European counterparts.

It says quite a lot about the LRCI that on Maastricht they were well to the right of these reformist outfits. Their refusal to call for a no vote was in fact a capitulation to mainstream social democracy (eg the Kinnockite British Labour Party), which is overwhelmingly pro-Maastricht. In Ireland this is the line of the Labour Party and the Mary Robinson popular front—who peddle the illusion that association with capitalist Europe will drag Ireland forward out of its reactionary clerical backwardness. Robinson et al make no bones about the fact that this is very much bound up with the Anglo-Irish accords and the search for an imperialist-imposed "solution" in Northern Ireland, which in turn has meant explicit overtures to the Unionists in the North. Even as Robinson and the Labour Party extolled

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Clerical reaction in action: the 21 May issue of the Guardian seized and banned by Irish state because of ad for Marie Stopes clinics which perform abortions.

the virtues of European union, the British occupying army rampaged through Coalisland, County Tyrone in a frenzy of violence against the civilian Catholic population. (A further confirmation that Major's appointment of Sir Patrick Mayhew and his lieutenant Michael Mates signalled a tougher line from 10 Downing St on the North.) For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British troops from Northern Ireland!

Abortion battle looms

Now that Reynolds and his lackeys have secured the passage of Maastricht, the battle lines for the next stage of the abortion struggle are being drawn. The bishops and SPUC reactionaries are pushing for their referendum, hoping to close once and for all the loophole opened by the Supreme Court ruling last March over the case of the 14-year-old alleged rape victim when the court ruled that a woman could obtain an abortion if there was a "real and substantial risk" to her life. But the church is hampered by some recent "troubles" of its own. To wit, the recent exposure of Bishop Casey as the father of a 17-year-old son (followed by mounting evidence that this is hardly an aberrant case amongst the Irish clergy). T-shirts emblazoned with "Wear a condom just in Casey" have been circulating in Dublin. At the same time, ongoing investigations into financial wheeling-dealing (read: perennial corruption) continue to sap whatever little

credibility the present government has. We in the Dublin Spartacist Youth Group have fought for a class-centred struggle for free abortion on demand. While the potential to wage such a fight is palpable, the fake-left groups have consciously tailored their demands to "constitutional" reform. To wrest the right to free abortion on demand means to take on the combined power of the church and the clerical state in the Republic. Without a perspective to struggle for proletarian state power, the reformist tinkering gets subminimal very quickly. The playpen for the whole lot of reformist outfits has been the "Repeal the 8th Amendment Campaign". As we in the DSYG have pointed out, this could accurately be described as the "Keep Abortion Illegal Campaign"—leaving in place as it does other legislation which firmly prohibits abortion. Eg, the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act inherited from British colonial statute and which continues to be used to deny abortion rights to women in the North.

A horrible example is the Militant in Ireland. It has decided that even the sub-reformist "Repeal" campaign is too ultra-left! They write: (*Militant Socialist*, May 1992):

"To campaign now for a referendum to repeal the 8th Amendment would be a mistake.... While maintaining all the arguments in favour of repealing the amendment and in favour of full abortion facilities in Ireland it would be tactically correct to concentrate on

Party. And the SWP has helped maintain the Labourite stranglehold on the British working class. In the recent general elections the SWP—and Militant as well—campaigns for a Kinnock Labour government, in the context of a Labour Party campaign so blatantly right-wing and anti-working-class that its policies were virtually indistinguishable from those of Major's Tories.

As we have noted previously, "Because of the deep treachery of British social democracy such issues as the national question involving semi-assimilated peoples in the British Isles—which would have been easily resolved within the context of proletarian revolution—have not diminished but become inflamed" (*Workers Hammer* no 128, March/April 1992). As proletarian internationalists we uphold the right of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh nations but do not at this point advocate it. Instead, we put forward the perspective of unified class struggle and fight for a federation of workers republics in the British Isles. Key to this is the forging of a Bolshevik party, a Leninist "tribune of the people" to lead workers and the oppressed to take state power. ■

exposing Reynolds's double-dealing and evasiveness. What is needed is a campaign to force Reynolds to come clean and to produce the wording of proposed constitutional changes on the right to travel and information, and draft (!) legislation to give effect to these after a referendum. Even more important, the campaign should demand that the government produces draft legislation to provide for abortion in Ireland under the circumstances permitted by the Supreme Court ruling...."

Militant gives legalism a bad name. But there is also the Cliffite Socialist Workers Movement (SWM) which restricted its call for abortion rights to rape victims at the time of this spring's demonstrations. And those who urgently seek to stop SPUC cold, to mobilise the necessary class fight for free abortion on demand, should not forget that the SWM has sided with the worst clerical reactionaries and anti-woman scum from the counterrevolutionary Solidarność of Lech Walesa to the Afghanistan mujahedin. These virulent anti-Soviet cheerleaders for the forces of black reaction droned on

imperialist drive against the Soviet Union and the crusade against "godless communism" at home and abroad. Indeed, Ireland's application for membership of the UN was vetoed in 1946 by the Soviet Union because Ireland did not then have diplomatic relations with the USSR. Once this was resolved Minister for External Affairs Liam Cosgrave laid out the policy for the first Irish UN delegation: "Ireland was to do what she could to preserve Christian civilisation and to support wherever she could those powers primarily charged with the defence of 'the free world' against communism. 'We belong', as Mr Cosgrave observed in the Dail, 'to the great community of states made up of the United States, Canada and Western Europe.'" (*Ireland Since the Famine*, FSL Lyons [1971]).

We in the DSYG are fighting to forge a revolutionary Leninist vanguard party which can lead the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the liberation of women and all the oppressed. Such a party must be internationalist, dedicated to the defence of the remaining gains of the 1917 October Revolution from Moscow to Havana, intransigently opposed to



Students protest in defence of right to abortion information outside Dublin court in October, 1989.

about "making Irish neutrality real" during the Maastricht referendum (in which they did advocate a no vote). The SWM's attempt to prettify the Irish bourgeoisie's cynical claims along these lines is criminal. There was nothing "neutral" about the Irish bourgeoisie's fuelling "allied" bomber planes at Shannon airport during the Gulf War. Éire has not shrunk either from doing its bit for the decades-long

the Irish bourgeoisie in the South, the British imperialists in the North, the Orange and Green nationalist demagogues and struggling for an equitable and proletarian solution. No to forcible reunification! For an Irish workers republic, part of a socialist federation of the British Isles! Down with the bosses' "Fortress Europe"! For a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

Scotland United...

(Continued from page 12)

for jailed poll tax activist Tommy Sheridan. They should campaign for a halt to all poll tax collection and payment" (*Socialist Worker*, 18 April). By placing demands on Scotland United and seeking to "pressure" it to the left, the SWP in fact gave a left cover to this popular front. The SWP helped build the earlier demonstrations in George Square, but the red flags it has passed out to rally participants have been increasingly swallowed up by Scottish Saltires.

Subsequently the SWP has become more critical of Scotland United. What it counterposes to deals with the nationalists and liberals, however, is capitulation to common-or-garden-variety, social-democratic reformism, minus the overt pacts with the bourgeois parties. Labourite treachery has been a key factor fuelling illusions in nationalism; indeed, the central obstacle to proletarian revolution on this island is the British Labour

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WORKERS HAMMER

Labourites, nationalists, fake left push Scotland United: popular-front trap

GLASGOW—In Scotland, the fourth consecutive win by the Tories in the general election has served to deepen the popular sense of political disenfranchisement. The growth of nationalist sentiment—not necessarily synonymous with support to the SNP—has been fuelled by the perspective of another five years of Westminster Tory rule. In the post-election bickering, Jim Sillars resigned his post as Deputy Leader of the SNP, accusing the Scots of lacking “true nationalist bottle”. A wing of the Labour Party in Scotland has sought to channel widespread resentment and anger into the Scotland United campaign for a multi-option referendum posing a choice of devolution, independence or the status quo.

The well-known nationalist Pat Kane, member of the rock group Hue and Cry and Rector of Glasgow University, said that when he got a phone call on 10 April to join Scotland United, “it was like something from the Samaritans. Anything that kept the head above water. Or the razor blades in their packets” (*Evening Times*, 18 June). And the same day, Labour “left” MP George Galloway went on television making noises against Kinnock and calling for a “patriotic front” against the Tories. Scotland United is an explicit popular front, embracing not only some Labour MPs and trade union officials, but also openly capitalist elements such as spokesmen for the bourgeois nationalist SNP, the Liberal Democrats and the Church of Scotland. Thus, Scotland United is not a step forward—however contradictory—as its fake-left enthusiasts claim; any “leftist” or populist rhetoric notwithstanding, it is a dangerous and even more explicit chaining of the working class to its capitalist masters than even the wretched class collaboration of Kinnock, John Smith and Scottish Labour leader Donald Dewar.

At the recent Scottish Trade Union Congress in Perth, the STUC decided in favour of a referendum and provided a platform for representatives of bourgeois parties and bosses’ organisations speaking under Scotland United’s auspices. Invited speakers included SNP leader Alex Salmond (later disinvited), Bob Macreadie of the Liberal Democrats and Tom McGregor of the pro-devolution Business Says Yes. McGregor made no bones about arguing for a Scottish assembly on the grounds that it would be “good for business”.

While popular front pacts like Scotland United have a nationalist coloration, open talk about coalitionism is rife within sections of the Labour bureaucracy. Thus, some trade union bureaucrats like Scottish NUM president (and ex-CPGBer) George Bolton have come out for tactical voting and an “all Party alliance” against the Tories. For Bolton, like his counterparts in England, the “lessons” of the Labour Party’s electoral disaster boil down to making an explicit deal with other bourgeois parties, which in practice would mean a version of the hated Lib-Lab pact of the late 1970s. This has rightly aroused the disgust of many workers. Thus, at the Edinburgh miners gala, one Scottish mineworker, upon seeing a Lib-



Glasgow, 12 April: Labour MP George Galloway addresses Scotland United rally in the wake of Labour’s general election defeat.

eral Democrat speaking on the platform for Scotland United, angrily said, “This is like turning the clock back a hundred years.”

Recently Donald Dewar attacked Scottish Labour MPs involved with Scotland United, obliquely threatening disciplinary action (*Guardian*, 26 May). Of course, Dewar & Co can hardly in principle attack other Labour MPs for making pacts with bourgeois parties, because the Scot-

land United. The betrayals of these struggles have played no small part in the growth of nationalism in Scotland.

Fake left builds pop front

The remnants of the Communist Party of Britain, rapidly disintegrating after the collapse of Stalinism, have thrown in their lot with the Scotland United campaign. They are in a bloc with the SNP, cheer-

Which Way Now?”, Scottish Militant Labour leaflet).

The Taaffe-Sheridan Militant tendency, having dumped its long-time guru Ted Grant, is a barometer of the increasing impact of nationalism in Scotland. This staid Labourite grouping, for years among the most unionist on the left, has now set up a separate Scottish organisation. Its call for a “socialist Scottish parliament” today is merely a nationalist version of their ingrained parliamentary cretinist view that a bourgeois parliament can be transformed into a workers government, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Militant is also notorious for indulging in the chauvinism characteristic of both Labourism and nationalism. Shortly before being jailed, Sheridan gave a revolting public apology for the BNP fascists, aping their racial epithets in the process (see *Workers Hammer* no 128, March/April 1992). Known for its abject refusal to demand the immediate withdrawal of British imperialist troops from Northern Ireland, Militant has recently taken up the cudgels to alibi the Orange Order! Its supporters applauded a spokesman for the Orange Order who claimed to oppose the BNP at an “anti-fascist” meeting convened by Hamilton Trades Council. And when a member of Anti-Fascist Action attempted to draw a link between Loyalism and fascism in a television spot, *Scottish Militant* (22 May) responded by claiming: “Militant has no truck with Loyalism.... However it is insane to equate Loyalism with fascism.” But in Northern Ireland the Orange Order is very much a recruiting ground for fascist Loyalist paramilitary gangs, while here fascists like the BNP feed off Loyalist sympathies and target Irish republican organisations. The Orange Order is anathema to all decent working people—Protestants as well as Catholics—who genuinely oppose fascism and racist/nationalist bigotry.

While not so grotesque as Militant, the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party also enthused initially over Scotland United. Thus it wrote: “But Scotland United’s leaders should also demand an immediate halt to poll tax warrant sales and freedom

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Labour’s Smith and Brown play British chauvinist card during the April general election.

tish Labour leaders have been doing precisely that with the Liberal Democrats in the context of the Scottish Constitutional Convention. And in a futile attempt to pressure the government to save Ravenscraig, the labour misleaders sought an alliance with Scottish bourgeois politicians, wooing even Tories. Rejecting class struggle, the only thing they secured was an earlier closing for Ravenscraig, marking the end of steel production in Scotland. During the miners strike Scottish NUM leader Mick McGahey negotiated the infamous deal to run scab coal into Ravenscraig. Both the miners strike and the earlier steel strike were stabbed in the back by many of the same trade union misleaders who are today pushing

leaders for the Nazi-infested counterrevolutionary nationalist movements in the Baltics. Another booster of Scotland United is Tommy Sheridan’s Scottish Militant Labour (SML). Sheridan, who was jailed by local Labour officials for his anti-poll tax activities, was recently elected to the Glasgow city council. A leading “activist” in Scotland United is the Labourite head of that council, Charles Gray. Notwithstanding the fact that Gray is an enforcer of the hated poll tax and in fact *Tommy Sheridan’s jailer*, Militant writes approvingly of this popular front: “In contrast, Scotland United has attempted to turn words into action by taking to the streets and seeking to build mass popular support” (“Scotland United/

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