

South African university students demonstrate against the sweeping attacks on the right to organise politically both on and off campus, introduced on October 19 by the Minister of National Education of the apartheid regime, F.W. de Klerk. Universities which fail to comply with the new laws will be deprived of their state subsidies, which provide 80 per cent of their income.  
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## Critical vote for Scargill

### STATEMENT BY THE EDITORIAL BOARD

ARTHUR SCARGILL's decision to resign as president of the NUM and stand for re-election is an attempt to jump over the political questions at the heart of the struggle in the miners' union by an organisational manoeuvre. Scargill aims to outflank the right-wing opposition by calling a snap election which is bound, under the circumstances, to take on the character of a plebiscite — 'back me or sack me'. Scargill's opposition to pit closures, six-day working and the Coal Board's new disciplinary procedure has won him the support of the

majority of miners, determined to resist the continuous series of attacks on jobs, working and safety conditions.

But Scargill's personal reputation is not a substitute for a socialist programme. Politically he is a professional centrist whose entire life has been an attempt to walk a tight-rope between reform and revolution. Scargill's solution for the crisis-ridden coal industry is a combination of extra-parliamentary militancy and the election of a Labour government to legislate a new, utopian 'Plan for Coal'. Strip away the rhet-

# Council unions must act now



SCARGILL

By Philip Marchant

EVENTS of the last two months have confirmed that Labour councils, once held up as 'hard left', have become the leading exponents of 'new realism'.

Whilst the Labour Party itself has only got as far as putting its policies 'up for review', the former fire-brands in local authorities like Camden, Islington and Haringey have overtaken the national party in their enthusiastic acceptance of the Tory inner-city programme.

This transformation can only be understood by grasping fully the incapacity of reformism, including its 'left' variety, to develop any independent perspective for the working class.

Local government was only able to create an appearance of 'autonomy' by the relatively large budgets of the boom years. Even so, Labour councils failed dismally to address the central problems confronting the working class — jobs, housing, education, health and transport.

Major betrayals in housing policy in the 50s and 60s, which saw private building

contractors turn into millionaires overnight and working class families condemned to live in purpose-built slums, gave way to the more cautious, but essentially piecemeal, approach of the late 70s and early 80s. Whatever the individual merits of certain policies — cheap fares, equal opportunities programmes, housing renovation, etc — councils tried to market them in such a way that their basic inability to tackle the most serious general problems was masked.

Well before the June re-election of Thatcher, the majority of 'rebel' Labour councils had signalled their real intentions by dropping all opposition to rate-capping. When faced with the implications of their actions — disqualification from office and heavy fines — they decided that discretion was the better part of valour.

This collapse in the face of Tory attacks was the curtain-raiser to running up the white flag outside the office of Environment Secretary Nicholas Ridley in October. Though certainly taking

their cue from the post-election 'spirit of re-evaluation' set in motion by the right-wing leadership of the party, Labour councillors had, in fact, already experienced sleepless nights thinking about personal bankruptcy and ruined careers. They arrived very quickly, and with considerable unity, at the decision to abandon the working class to the Tories.

The trip by the Association of London Authorities (ALA), which represents 15 Labour-controlled boroughs, to see Ridley on October 13, marked the end of seven years of opposition to Tory cuts. Labour councils are now offering themselves as brokers to conduct Tory business in the inner-city areas. Margaret Hodge, leader of both Islington Council and the ALA, expressed this new ambition bluntly when she called for joint action by Tory ministers, Labour councillors and private firms to revive the inner-city.

The impact of this new line on the working class has been immediate. Cam-

den Council, having ditched its election manifesto and started to carry out cuts has, since October, been 'repatriating' homeless Irish people. Almost the only voice raised in defence of this racist practice, in a newspaper article published at the end of November, was... Margaret Hodge!

Workers and youth must demand that Constituency Labour Parties and councillors opposed to the cuts force the resignation of Labour councillors who are doing the Tories' dirty work. Demand fresh elections on socialist policies — no cuts in jobs or services; no collaboration with the Tory poll-tax; housing for the homeless and the proper maintenance of existing stock;

Town Hall unions must act immediately — emergency conferences must be called to decide a programme of action to fight the cuts;

Build Councils of Action to unite the organised working class in trade unions and workers' political parties with the unemployed, the youth, pensioners, housewives and all local working class organisations;

Join the Workers International League.

oric and he remains tied to the political outlook of the Labour leaders, supplemented by the 'advice' of the 'Morning Star' and a few fake 'Trotskyist' groups.

Scargill faces an unholy alliance in the NUM of Communist Party Euros led by George Bolton, Midlands right-wingers, the pioneers of six-day working in South Wales led by Des Duffield (who only two years ago was counted a Scargill 'loyalist') and John Walsh, the North Yorkshire NUM agent.

There can be no future for the coal industry under capitalism. Already 66 pits have closed since the miners' strike. The experience of the miners' overtime ban shows that half-measures can achieve nothing. Only a leadership which bases itself on the struggle for power by the working class, draws a political sword on the Kinnocks and Willises and fights for the mines to be run under workers' control as part of a planned socialist economy can carry forward the miners' fight.

The Workers International League, therefore, calls on miners to give a resounding but critical vote for Scargill against the right wing.

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# Square mile of scandal

**THE biggest takeover bid ever launched in Britain, that of Guinness for Distillers, qualifies for a second entry in the Guinness Book of Records under the heading of 'the world's biggest unarmoured robbery'.**

The list of those charged so far by the Fraud Squad reads like a mini-Who's Who of big business: Ernest Saunders, former Chairman of Guinness; Gerald Ronson, the head of Heron Corporation, the second largest privately owned combine in the country; Roger Seelig, former takeover expert with merchant bankers Morgan Grenfell; Sir Jack Lyons, the City tycoon; and Tony Parnes, a leading stockbroker currently detained in Los Angeles awaiting extradition.

Not surprisingly, they all vigorously protest their innocence. Probably, like most people, they find it hard to distinguish clearly between what they are alleged to have done and the system of grand larceny which is the essence of capitalism. So how did it come about that all these upstanding citizens now find themselves awaiting trial and, in the case of Saunders, reduced to making ends meet on £600 a week?

Saunders has been charged with forty offences, including perverting the course of justice, destroying and falsifying evidence and, last but not least, stealing most of the £25 million which Guinness paid out in the secret operation to boost its share prices during the takeover battle for Distillers.

It was the arch-exponent of 'insider' trading, Ivan Boesky of New York, who blew the whistle on Guinness after his arrest in November 1986, thus showing little gratitude for the \$100 million invested in his operations by Guinness as a reward for his assistance in the affair.

The Department of Trade and Industry set up an in-

By David Lewis

vestigation team but, before they had completed their report, the Fraud Squad had stepped in and arrested Saunders. Now the DTI refuses to publish their report on the grounds that it may prejudice the case when it comes to court. So much for public accountability.

To return to the £25 million, the police allege that it was spread around to good effect. Approximately £6 million went to Gerald Ronson's Heron group. He subsequently returned it all, claiming that he did not know that he had done anything wrong. This is strange since, in other respects, he appears to have a highly developed sense of what is correct: if the takings at one of his petrol stations do not match the amount of goods sold then he just deducts the difference from the pay of those who work there.

Roger Seelig, who led the team from the Morgan Grenfell merchant banking firm that helped to mastermind the takeover, is said to have been directly involved in three aspects of the covert operation. He is alleged to have arranged for Guinness to pay £7.6 million to the merchant bank Henry Ansbacher to insure its clients against any loss in buying and selling Guinness shares, to have bought 5.9 million Guinness shares from the American investment bank L.F. Rothschild to stop them making a loss and to have been involved in paying £1.95 million to Rudani Corporation.

Seelig, said to be the archetype of the 'new breed' of City of London financiers, is joined on the list of defendants by an altogether more traditional figure. 71-year-old Sir Jack Lyons has been charged with nine offences, including the theft of £3.25 million, false accounting and forgery.

The fifth man to be arrested so far, Tony Parnes, will probably not be the last. Roger Seelig implies that

he is being unfairly singled out when he says that if he wrote a book on the City it would be entitled 'Hyprocity'. In this respect, he is absolutely right. The capitalist press and the government are parading the Guinness arrests as evidence of the self-regulatory ability of the finance sharks who infest the City of London.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The methods employed by Guinness are not new to capitalism, but they become more widespread as, in its crisis, it reaches new parasitic depths. The sharp increase in the rate of takeovers under the Thatcher government makes such affairs inevitable.

## Supporters of Mayekiso slandered

**IVAN BEAVIS, leading Communist Campaign Group and 'Morning Star' supporter and Metropolitan District Secretary of the local government union NALGO, has made a vicious and slanderous attack on the campaign for the release of South African black trade union leader Moses Mayekiso. Mayekiso is currently on trial for his life in South Africa charged with high treason.**

Speaking at the AGM of a branch of his union, Beavis stated that campaigns such as 'Friends of Moses Mayekiso' were known to be used by the South African secret service 'BOSS' in order to 'disrupt the movement' in Britain and South Africa.

Beavis' remarks are part of a concerted Stalinist campaign to

IN SPITE of the refusal of the TUC to lead a serious struggle against the Tory anti-union laws, support for trade unions among adults is now increasing.

A survey conducted by the Gallup Poll during August revealed that 7 out of 10 adults think that trade unions are necessary, an increase of 20 per cent over a similar survey conducted in 1979.

THE national steering group of Trade Unions Against the MSC has successfully defeated an attempt to liquidate it into a rank-and-file committee.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party attending the national conference in Birmingham on November 7 attacked the steering group's policy to fight for TUC withdrawal from the corporatist MSC.

The fight to expose TUC leaders who collaborate with the state while refusing to defend the working class was, according to the SWP and RCP members, an 'ab-



BEAVIS

smear all black opponents of the class collaborationist policies of the African National Congress (ANC).

## 'Star' eclipsed

THE crisis which is sweeping through the Stalinist movement internationally was reflected in the British party at its 40th National Congress in November.

The upwardly-mobile 'Euro' majority of the Communist Party of Great Britain finally broke the party's 57-year link with the daily 'Morning Star' newspaper and confirmed the expulsion of 22 leading 'Morning Star' supporters.

They overwhelmingly voted to delete the rule in the CPGB's constitution which obliged members to 'read the Morning Star and to help in every way the circulation of the paper'.

Membership of the party

itself is down to 10,350, with the Young Communist League down to an all-time low of 44. The official paper of the party, '7 Days', has a circulation of only 5,500.

The treasurer told the Congress that the party was 'technically bankrupt' and would need to raise cash by selling its St John Street headquarters in London (the 'Morning Star' was recently forced to sell its premises to the proprietor of 'Sunday Sport').

The financial bankruptcy of both factions of British Stalinism accompanies their political bankruptcy. The 40th Congress decisions will hasten the transformation of the 'Morning Star' supporters' Communist Campaign Group into an official party but does not signal any major differences of principle between the two sides. Both are wedded to the dangerous fantasy of a 'parliamentary road to socialism' and seek to subordinate the working class to the capitalist state.

THE Thatcher government has awarded its supporters in the drug industry massive increases in profits. Under the Pharmaceuticals Price Regulation Scheme introduced in October 1986, prescription charges have soared by 16 per cent.



HUNDREDS of supporters of NALGO marched from Finsbury Park in north London to a rally at the Britannia Leisure Centre in Hoxton on November 14. Members Marion Gaima and Nuj Som Raj, who are threatened with deportation by the Home Office, are also present.

## Anti-MSA campaign will continue

By Ian Harrison

stract' fight.

They tried to split the conference on the basis of rank-and-file action, divorced from opposition to the TUC leaders' treachery. Supporting them were members of the WRP 'Workers Press' group. Martin Ralph, NATFHE, and a member of the group, said the fight against collaboration within the TUC 'was dependent on many factors, least of all us'. Bronwen Handyside, Lambeth NALGO, followed up by saying the TUC could not be broken from the MSC.

Writing off the struggles of

nine-and-a-half million workers in the trade unions, they both agreed 'fresh forces' were necessary. The 'fresh forces' were the 'unemployed' and 'quantities of people that are going to raise questions inside the unions about what goes on in there'. Just what questions they did not say.

Les Huckfield, MEP, revealed that the Tory government had successfully forced a number of Labour-controlled councils to act as managing agents for MSC schemes, in exchange for the government's support for regional development grants from the EEC.

Retired MP Ernie Roberts announced that a national unemployed workers' movement, sponsored by the Labour Party's Campaign Group of MPs, would be founded on November 30.

Speaking for the steering group, Maggie Arkwright said that it was necessary to organise the unemployed within the trade union movement. Arkwright emphasised that a principle was at stake in the fight for TUC withdrawal from the MSC. She warned that the Tories were preparing to overhaul the schemes and kick the TUC out of the MSC.

## Councils to be poll-capped

**A HASTILY added provision in the Tories' poll tax legislation will give the government even more control over local council spending than they had with rate-capping.**

Once a council has set its budget for the year ahead, it will be scrutinised by the Tories and if they consider it too high they will demand an immediate reduction. The local

authority will have the theoretical right of appeal, but the government will have the last say and will be able to put a compulsion order through the House of Commons.

If a council only carries out part of the required reduction, the government will be able to impose tight financial control over the council's future spending plans.

# AIRLIE PLAYS THE NATIONALIST CARD

THE single union deal agreed by the AEU engineers for the proposed Ford electronics plant in Dundee has caused a flurry of recrimination in the trade union bureaucracy.

TUC general secretary Norman Willis is anxious to keep the argument under wraps to prevent rank-and-file union members becoming involved. He has chaired a private meeting of the national officers of Ford unions in an effort to defuse the situation.

At stake for Ford workers are thousands of jobs and fifty years' worth of hard-won agreements on pay and conditions. The Dundee 'experiment' is designed to act as a wedge to undermine the traditional union structure and negotiating machinery which covers the present 32,700 workforce in Ford's 22 British plants. It goes hand-in-hand with the company's current attempt to impose a three-year wage deal linked to significant changes in working practices.

The single union status of the proposed Dundee factory has the full backing of the Scottish CIO and the Communist Party. James Airlie, the AEU's chief negotiating officer at Ford and a leading Euro-Stainist who was jointly responsible for the 'work-in' at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders which led to thousands of jobs being lost, has been the driving force behind the proposal. He said he weighed the practical risks involved in signing a deal that excluded the other unions but claimed that

By Eugene Ludlow

after much 'heart searching' he had realised that single union agreements were the only way to attract investment to Britain. It was, he said, his 'sincerely held belief' that union opposition to the deal would result in Ford going elsewhere in Europe.

Dundee has high unemployment and is designated a 'special investment area'. Ford UK contend that, since the plant will be operated by Ford of America as part of their Diverse Products Operations (DPO), it should be a green field site and that it should be subject to special agreements with the British plants. However, Ford already operate DPO factories at Enfield and Treforest which take part in the established negotiating procedures.

Ford's European operations are the largest and most important outside the United States. With international competition in motor production intensifying, particularly in the light of the



AIRLIE

huge US trade deficit and the world-wide stock market crash, Ford are looking to cut costs in their British plants which are the 'gateway to the European market'.

The Japanese company Nissan set the pace for the assault on wages and conditions when they opened their car plant in Washington, Tyneside, after having negotiated a single union deal with the AEU. Ford are compelled to follow

suit if they are to stay in the race.

Dundee will set a precedent which the trade union leaders, already accommodating their fifth-column colleagues of the EETPU and the AEU, will find hard to resist. Under Willis's paternal direction, AEU general secretary Gavin Laird, previously keen to trumpet the Dundee agreement from the rooftops (he is also a director of the Scottish Development Agency), has gone quiet.

The TUC has imposed a virtual news blackout on the inter-union discussions, a conscious move to take the heat off the AEU and placate Ford of America who claim to be having second thoughts about the deal because of the storm of opposition it has raised.

Mick Murphy, the T&GWU automotive officer, and on the face of it one of the most vociferous opponents of the single union deal at Dundee, blocked a vote of no confidence in Airlie from representatives of Ford manual workers to prevent an open split within the TUC.

- Ford workers and all other trade unionists must demand an end to the secret talks at Congress House;
- The AEU leaders must be compelled to repudiate all single union deals or face expulsion from the TUC;
- Jobs, wages and conditions in the motor industry can only be defended through the building of a revolutionary socialist leadership which will fight for its nationalisation under workers' control.

## Swingeing attack on claimants

By Alistair Wrightson

AMONG the latest Tory attacks on the poor and unemployed is the decision to freeze child benefit for eighteen months at its current level of £7.25 a week.

It had been expected to rise to £7.55 in April 1988. By withholding the increase, John Moore, Social Services Secretary, aims to save £1 billion by 1990. But Tory plans go much further. They intend to abolish child benefit which is currently paid as of right to seven million mothers.

This move comes alongside a major overhaul of the benefits system through the Social Security Act which comes into force next April.

Over three-and-a-half million claimants stand to lose as a result of cuts in housing benefit. These include pensioners, unemployed young people under 25 and unemployed people without children. The Tory measures are a return to the hated means-testing of the 1930s.

## KEETON'S STRIKE

THE strike by AEU members at Keeton Sons and Co., Sheffield, is continuing into its 18th month. The strike began on July 2, 1986, over a management attempt to introduce 'multi-manning' of machines. The AEU members refused to accept management demands that engineers should ignore safety procedures in order to operate up to four machines at once.

The members voted to continue their strike even though they are no longer receiving strike pay. The AEU rule book does not allow strike pay for disputes continuing beyond 52 weeks.

- Donations and messages of support should be sent to Keeton Strike Committee, AEU House, Furnival Gate, Sheffield S1 3HE.

ACCORDING to figures prepared by the Labour Research Department, the profits of Rupert Murdoch's News International company have increased by 42 per cent in the year ending June 1987. Figures reveal pre-tax profits of £111.5 million. The profits made per employee were £17,549 — an increase of 1,319.1 per cent over the previous year.

THE EETPU has signed three more single union agreements in South Wales, two of them involving no-strike clauses. The electricians' union is boasting that it will sign a further nine deals in the same area by next summer.

## Postal workers must demand leaders fight

By Ian Harrison

THE result of the ballot by postal workers for industrial action gives the leadership of the UCW a clear mandate to lead a strike. 133,000 workers returned ballot papers, recording a vote of 73,349 (55.5 per cent) for strike action with 58,917 voting against.

Union of Communication Workers general secretary Alan Tuffin has already made it clear that he intends to use this mandate to put pressure on the Post Office management to make a compromise offer. And this under circumstances where management are not prepared to concede anything without a trade-off in increased productivity from staff.

One hundred years after the demand for an eight-hour day was first raised by workers, Post Office staff are obliged to work a 43-hour, six-day week. Shift starting times are amongst the most unsociable undertaken by any group of workers.

Tuffin, in the tradition of Post Office union leaders, is preparing to abandon the fight before it has begun. His predecessors refused to fight the privatisation of British Telecom and the development of private courier services for mail and parcels.

It is clear that the grounds for a fight today to improve working conditions and wages are more favourable to postal workers than they were in 1971, when the Post Office mail service was substantially in the red.

Postal services face peak demand at Christmas. By launching all-out strike action and linking the fight for a shorter working week with the defence of counter ser-



Postal workers at the huge Mount Pleasant sorting office in London take strike action in July against the use of casual labour

vices and Girobank, postal workers would win support from wide sections of the public.

Benefit claimants, pensioners and low-paid workers, who contributed to the £129 million profit made by the Post Office last year, have been the first to feel the cuts in local services. The privatisation of 'Post Office Counters Ltd' will mean even longer queues as staff

cuts are implemented.

Postal workers must oppose Tuffin's diversion of selective strike action or overtime bans. They must demand immediate sympathetic strike action by the NCU telecommunications union, occupy the sorting offices and depots and insist that Tuffin leads the fight for a shorter working week without trade-offs or deals on productivity.

## 'Scab's charter' announced

By Susan Keepence

IN October the government announced its next round of attacks on trade union rights by publishing its fourth anti-union bill.

The bill goes further than the previously published green paper. It enables any right-wing trade unionist to fight majority decisions for strike action through the courts.

This legislation will bring into being a 'scab's charter'. It removes the right of unions to discipline individual strike-breakers even after ballots have been held.

The other main provisions of the bill are as follows:

- Union officials to be elected by postal vote;
- Unions will be required to appoint an independent scrutineer for ballots and elections. The government will have powers to specify qualifying conditions for scrutineers;
- A so-called commissioner for trade unions will be appointed to assist individual right-wingers to take legal action against their own unions, with funds for legal advice and representation;
- Industrial action to defend existing closed shops will be outlawed;
- Remaining legal immunities for closed shops will be abolished and any individual who is sacked as a

result of non-membership will be able to sue for compensation;

- Individual members will be able to demand access to their union's accounts and register of members. This 'right' will be enforceable by court order;

- Unions will be prevented from paying fines imposed on members taking strike action by raising loans using union property as security;

- The government will, in practice, be given a legal veto on the wording of strike ballots;

- Unions taking strike action in companies with multiple work places will be obliged to ballot each place of work.

The TUC Conference in September passed a resolution of paper opposition to the Tory anti-union laws which commits the bureaucrats of Congress House to do absolutely nothing. At the same time it gave a green light to the single union, no-strike deals of the EETPU and AEU.

Trade unionists must demand the recall of the TUC. It must throw out the decisions taken in September and demand that the TUC and Labour leaders mobilise the entire working class on a programme of action to defeat the Tories.

# OPEN WARFARE IN FRENCH C.P.

**THE French Communist Party has entered its deepest ever crisis. The increasingly bitter struggle over the past two years between the 'hardliners' led by general secretary Georges Marchais and the so-called 'renovators' has finally erupted into open warfare.**

On October 14 — two days after he announced his intention to run as a rival to the official Stalinist candidate in the 1988 presidential elections — Pierre Juquin, leader of the renovators, was expelled from the party.

The renovator faction hopes to distance itself from the disastrous performance of the CP in recent years which have seen its support slump from 25 per cent in the presidential election of 1969 to 9.8 per cent in the 1986 general election.

The Communist Party's participation in the coalition government with Mitterrand's Socialist Party from

## By our own correspondent

a swathe through manufacturing industry, including mining, steel and cars.

French Stalinism lent its support to economic nationalism and racist plans to 'repatriate' Arab and African workers which provoked a series of strikes. One

and helped precipitate the present split.

In March 1986 only 35 Communist Party deputies were returned to the National Assembly in the worst electoral performance since 1932.

Juquin resigned as a Central Committee member in the summer of 1986. Although the renovators lay the blame for the drastic decline of support during and after the coalition at the door of Marchais and the hardline leadership, they themselves stand for a revamped version of the Popular Front, drawing even closer to the right-wing reformist 'Socialist' Party and attempting to rebuild bridges to the Arab and African workers among whom support for the CP has sunk to an all-time low.

Frightened by the growth of the fascist National Front, Juquin aims to bring the working class under the wing of the reformist bureaucracy under the banner of defending 'democracy' against the fascists.

In January this year, two further shocks saw the resignation of Resistance veteran and former minister Marcel Rigout from the Central Committee and the

resignation of another leading member Claude Poperen. In May the Political Bureau rejected Juquin's appeal for a 'unity' candidate and unanimously appointed Marchais' chosen successor as general secretary, André Lajoinie, as its presidential candidate.

On the ground, this once monolithic party is in chaos. Hundreds of party members are funnelling out of the door and support in the CGT trade union federation is slipping.

The response of the Marchais leadership to the renovators' challenge has been to attempt to ban all internal discussion. Resignations are being demanded from oppositionists with the alternative of expulsion. In local areas where the renovators dominate, members of the leadership are not being

invited to speak. Much of the support for the renovators comes from middle class elements who in some areas are refusing to pay party dues or obey discipline. Others are walking out, like the mayor of Metz in eastern France who recently left, taking several dozen members with him.

As a new reregistration is pending, Marchais and Lajoinie are considering whether to expel the opposition piecemeal or simply not reregister it.

There are, in effect, two parties fighting it out in the French Communist Party — both of them Stalinist and moving further to the right along different routes. The historic crisis of the Stalinist movement in France creates the greatest opportunity for the building of a Trotskyist revolutionary party.

## Hoxha stands accused

**THE former Stalinist boss of Albania, Enver Hoxha, who led the country for four decades until his death in 1985, has been accused of gross sexual corruption.**

According to his interpreter Ilir Bulka, Hoxha systematically coerced followers into having homosexual relations with him, while publicly outlawing homosexuality and making it punishable by seven years in a labour camp.

'To refuse Hoxha's advances,' Bulka said, 'was tantamount to a death sentence.' He also claimed that among Hoxha's many victims in the Communist Party of Albania was former prime minister Mehmet Sheshu whom Hoxha had personally killed.

Hoxha was Stalin's most ardent admirer. The Soviet poet Yevtushenko, in his poem 'The heirs of Stalin', imagines a telephone placed in Stalin's coffin so that he could maintain contact with Hoxha!

1969	(Presidential election)	25%
1978	(General election)	20.5%
1981	April (Presidential election)	16.5%
	May (General election)	16%
1986	(General election)	9.8%

1981-4 cost it the support of large sections of workers even in its traditional strongholds, as it was seen to endorse Mitterrand's slump policies. With four Stalinists in the cabinet, unemployment soared as closures cut

Stalinist mayor of a Paris suburb ordered the bulldozing of an immigrant workers' hostel.

The abrupt opportunist break from the coalition in July 1984 did nothing to restore Stalinist fortunes

## Inflation provokes strike wave

By Richard Price

**THE social and economic crisis of Yugoslavia is reaching explosive proportions. Efforts to 'restructure' the economy in an attempt to stabilise the country's \$20 billion foreign debt and an inflation rate officially running at 136 per cent (but rumoured to be as high as 200 per cent) have been met by fierce working class opposition and over 1,000 strikes this year.**

Yugoslavia, due to repay \$5.5 billion of its foreign debt this year, was forced to apply to the IMF for a further rescheduling of the debt in October. The IMF, whose existing arrangements with Yugoslavia involve a twice-yearly review of its economy, has been increasingly insistent that further loans must be tied to strict austerity measures.

Premier Branko Mikulic, who was forced to withdraw the first draft of his economic programme, presented a revised package in November which was immediately criticised by Croatian and Slovenian representatives as worse than the first.

On November 5, the official Stalinist trade unions

of Slovenia called on the government to resign in view of its failure to solve the economic crisis.

Mikulic's economic measures which are a desperate attempt to balance between the IMF bankers and the working class have succeeded in angering both. They consist of a currency devaluation of 24.6 per cent, wage cuts and a freeze on most prices (but with drastic increases on some staple items). On November 15, bread and telephone calls went up by 33 per cent, railway travel by 61 per cent, petrol by 66 per cent, electricity by 69 per cent and sugar by 175 per cent.

Two days later, 5,000 foundry workers in Skopje, Macedonia, marched on the regional parliament demanding that their wages of £9 per week (which were due to be cut by 10 per cent) be doubled.

The government was immediately forced to climb down, promising that they would be paid the national average for foundry workers. On November 18, 2,000 al-

uminium workers in Skopje went on strike and gained a 71 per cent wage increase. At Prilep, fifty miles to the south, 1,500 wood-processing workers from a firm declared bankrupt under the Bankruptcy Law introduced in July, struck. Under this law a total of 1.5 million workers are expected to be made unemployed.

On November 20, it was announced that Agrokomerc, Bosnia's largest industrial enterprise employing 15,000 workers and recently at the centre of a \$1 billion scandal, is also to be wound up under the new law.

At the end of November, 3,000 miners in Bosnia won a 60 per cent pay rise after a five-day stoppage which saw strikers in violent clashes with scabs and management.

The daily paper 'Vjesnik' reported that 200 strikers 'threw miners ready to work out of buses, physically confronted the management, attacked state property and blocked the maintenance of the mines'.

The vast disparities which have developed between different regions are reviving and fuelling nationalist and separatist tendencies. In the southern province of Kosovo, 85 per cent of whose population are ethnic Albanians, wages are one sixth of those paid in Slovenia. Unemployment is running at over 50 per cent. In October, riot police were sent into Kosovo amid growing antagonism between the Albanian, Serbian and Montenegrin populations.

## Union leaders walk out on Gonzalez

By Daniel Evans

**RELATIONS** between leaders of Spain's reformist UGT trade union federation and the Socialist Workers Party government of Felipe Gonzalez have reached breaking point.

Following the government's presentation in October of its budget proposals for 1988 which include limits on old-age pension and civil service salary increases of four per cent, the UGT's general secretary Nicolas Redondo resigned his post as a 'Socialist' parliamentary deputy.

Redondo, the man most responsible for the election of Gonzalez to the leadership of the party in 1974, was joined in his resignation by the UGT's co-leader Anton Saracibar, and ten other UGT-sponsored deputies were considering following suit.

The UGT leaders are proposing to join forces with the second largest and Communist Party-led trade union federation, the Workers' Commissions. A joint campaign of 'mobilisations' in opposition to government policies is claimed to be the motive.

Redondo's exit followed hot on the heels of the forced

resignation of Pablo Castellano, leader of the 'Socialist Left' faction within the SWP. His comments on the corruption within the party's leadership were too much for Gonzalez who, according to one party official, 'cannot stand any form of criticism or debate' and is 'obsessed with what happened to the British Labour Party as a result of the trade unions'.

Since taking office in 1982 on the back of a rising wave of working class militancy, Gonzalez has unashamedly tailored his administration's economic policies to the requirements of the world banks and the IMF. Tight wage control has been

accompanied by changes in legislation to allow massive foreign investment, as the so-called Socialist government wrestles with Spain's legacy of economic stagnation from the Franco years.

The last year has seen social turmoil as hundreds of thousands of workers, students and youth, unwilling to bear the brunt of these policies, battled with riot police on mass demonstrations and picket lines. The move by the UGT leaders to distance themselves from the discredited Gonzalez is a cynical and treacherous ploy to contain the frustration of the working class within the safe confines of reformism and Stalinism.

## WORKERS IN BATTLE WITH POLICE

**OVER 2,000 workers from the Red Flag tractor factory in Brasov, central Romania, took strike action and fought pitched battles with troops and riot police on November 15.**

The local mayor's office and Communist Party headquarters were stormed and

secret files set on fire amid chants of 'Down with the Dictator' and 'We want bread'. On the way to the mayor's office, they were joined by 4,000 workers from other local factories.

The Stalinist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu, which pioneered the raising of loans from Western banks,

recently launched an all-out export drive in an attempt to cut its foreign debt. The pay-off has been acute food shortages and speed-up in the factories.

The workers' demands are said to have included opposition to Sunday working and compulsory transfers, adequate food and fuel supplies

and better working conditions. Between 1,000 and 2,000 workers were subsequently taken away for questioning by security police. According to newspaper reports in West Germany, at least two policemen and an unknown number of workers may have died during the protest.

# China: further down the capitalist road

By Martin Sullivan

**THE 13th Congress of China's Communist Party in October confirmed proposals contained in the new five-year plan. Deng Xiaoping, the 84-year-old general secretary, 'retired' and was replaced by Zhao Ziyang.**

The proposals are the most far-reaching attack on China's centrally planned economy since the beginning of 'reforms' in 1978. They open the door to capitalist restoration in China.

For the first time since the overthrow of capitalism in 1949, peasants will be able to lease their plots of land to farm while they take up full-time employment in rural factories.

China's cash-starved cities will soon be able to sell off land to raise funds and there are plans to reduce pressure on cities using investment funds to build housing.

China's cash-starved cities will soon be able to sell off land to raise funds and there are plans to reduce pressure on cities using investment funds to build housing.

Two new economic development zones will be created in north-east China specifically aimed at attracting foreign investment and new technology. The island of Hainan will become a province in its own right where foreign capital will be able to lease land for industrial production and be free to resell the leasehold to other foreign investors.

The spearhead of the attack on the centrally planned economy will be a group of investment companies set up within China. Their function will be to advise on the establishment of factories and production units. They will have powers to organise bidding and tendering for their sale, together with a provision to fund such ventures.

Since the 'reform' programme was embarked on in 1978, 50 per cent of China's large-scale production units have been taken out of the centrally planned economy. The new leadership of Zhao Ziyang proposes to increase that figure to 70 per cent in the next three years.

The Congress was notable for the amount of press and media coverage it received within China. Behind the talk of 'openness' — *kaifang* — lies the need of Deng



Deng Xiaoping at the 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

Xiaoping and the leadership to screen off the privileges of the bureaucracy from the attention of the working class and peasantry. The new generation of leaders will be able to 'retire' and take up full-time employment in rural factories.

The semi-retirement of Deng Xiaoping and his generation bring in a new leadership of Deng's proteges who are all proven 'reformers'. The party's main committees have been reduced in size by the retiring general secretary. Army men have been removed



ZHAO ZIYANG

from posts on the politburo with the exception of one new member, Qin Jiwei, a close friend of Deng. Qin Jiwei joins Deng and Zhao on the four-man Military Commission which controls China's National Liberation Army.

The average age of the incoming leadership is 67 on the standing committee of the Politburo and 62 on the full Politburo. What links the 'younger' generation around Zhao Ziyang to the retiring Deng Xiaoping is their commitment to the introduction of capitalist financing and techniques at the expense of the working class and poorer peasantry.

Since 1979, the World Bank has maintained a

team of 100 experts in Peking who have advised Deng and Zhao on the development of China's economy. The World Bank team have been instrumental in securing loans at the rate of \$1.5 billion a year to assist with attacks on China's nationalised industry. More loans are promised in direct proportion to the Communist Party leadership's turn to the West.

The clearest example of Zhao Ziyang's commitment to developing relations with imperialism took place during the Congress. China's de facto ambassador in Hong Kong, Xu Jiatur, was visiting the stock exchange on Monday October 26 when shares began to crash. He was asked by Hong Kong's governor if the Chinese government would assist in bailing the stock exchange out of trouble. By Tuesday morning the answer came

back from Peking in the form of a substantial loan.

Little or no reference was made in the new general secretary's speech to future foreign policy. But it is known that China is strengthening economic links with the Zionist regime in Israel, already a major military supplier to China. One clear indication of closer relations between Peking and Moscow was the sending of a Chinese delegation to the 70th anniversary celebrations in the Soviet Union.

On November 24, Zhao Ziyang resigned as state premier and was replaced by new Politburo standing committee member Li Peng. The appointment of Li Peng, 58, a Soviet-educated engineer and the adopted son of former premier Zhou Enlai, will be confirmed at the next meeting of the National People's Congress in March.

## High yen sinks Japan's ships

**THE success of Japan's export-led economy, which has pushed the value of the yen to new heights against other currencies, is backfiring. Recent figures reveal that it has been toppled from its premier position as the world's leading shipbuilder. A massive 20 per cent cut in production capacity is under way, adding to the fast-growing unemployment figures.**

Having been at the top for over 20 years, Japan's place, according to the quarterly report published at the end of September by Lloyd's Register, was taken by South Korea, where workers' wages and conditions are inferior.

South Korea, however, cannot expect to hold on to its lead for long. It too has to confront a currency sharply rising against the dollar and the recent outbreak of strikes and sit-ins by shipyard

workers, protesting against the dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan, is expected to affect new orders.

The search for new reserves of cheap labour in the region by the powerful ship-

yard capitalists is hotting up. With dwindling options, Thailand, where labour costs are a tenth of those in Japan, is high on the list — but eyes are also turning greedily towards China.

## Rift in Iranian clergy

**GRAND Ayatollah Qomi, 75, one of Iran's five most senior clergymen, has condemned the regime of Ayatollah Khomeini as 'unislamic', and accused it of carrying out arbitrary executions, arrests and illegal seizure of property. It marks a deepening split among the Iranian clergy.**

Qomi, who has been under

house arrest for two years, said: 'I cannot remain silent in the face of the crimes and repression which are committed against this innocent Muslim nation,' and went on to attack Iran's role in the Gulf War as a 'stain on the face of Islam'.

Dozens of government officials and several mullahs have recently been arrested

fabricated 'plot' has failed to stem the tide of opposition and by mid-October sixteen of the detainees had been released.

Economic growth fell to 1.9 per cent in 1986. State-controlled corporatist unions have been used to enforce wage cuts. First Deputy Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong is a former director of the Singapore Labour Federation; Second Deputy Ong Teng Cheong also functions as general secretary of the National Trade Union Congress.

Until the late 1970s, Lee Kuan Yew's ruling party was a member of the 'Socialist' International, to which most European social-democratic parties, including the British Labour Party, are affiliated.

IN Malaysia a wave of detentions of opposition politicians began on October 27. The ruling coalition led by Dr Mahathir Mohamad claimed that the detainees were involved in a 'Marxist plot' to overthrow the government.

Thirty-three MPs were arrested including Lim Kit Siang, leader of the opposition United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) Party and several other opposition MPs. Parliamentary reporting was suspended, political rallies banned and four newspapers (two of them Chinese) were closed by government order. Prominent women's activist Cecilia Ng Choon Sim was among those rounded up.

Ninety-seven detentions were made under the Internal Security Act, framed to combat the outlawed Communist Party. Far from averting inter-communal violence, Mahathir's United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), the senior partner in the coalition, has been actively whipping up Malay chauvinism and anti-

Chinese racialism. At a rally addressed by leading UMNO politicians, calls were made to Malays to 'avenge their race' and protest against detained Chinese workers. The government has also threatened to cut Chinese blood.

One Western diplomatic source underlined that the government had faltered.

The collapse of tin prices, a result of the growing economic crisis in Malaysia, producer of 23 per cent of the world's tin, has been hit by the collapse of tin prices since 1985. It has been forced to cut tin production by a quarter. In addition, Mahathir faces a law suit taken out by Lim Kit Siang alleging corruption in an £800 million road project. The government recently angered the Chinese community by moves to break up the autonomy of Chinese-language schools.

In attempting to divide and rule, Mahathir takes his cue from the policies of both the Japanese occupation during the Second World War and the British colonial administration during the 'emergency' from 1948 to 1960.

Former Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman described the clampdown as 'leading to dictatorship' and stated 'Malaysia now looks like a police state'.

and three 'religious' foundations closed down on charges of extortion, loan-sharking and fraud. One of the 'religious' organisations, the Vali Asr Lending Account, was described as a 'centre of massive fraud and incalculable theft'. Officials have been charged with running a huge black market operation on ration coupons.

# EDITORIAL

## Gorbachev defends Stalinism

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV's three-hour report to the 70th anniversary 'festive meeting' of the CPSU Central Committee on November 2 was a litany of lies and a brazen justification of Stalin and Stalinism.

Stalin himself appears in only three brief passages of Gorbachev's speech. In two of them he receives a favourable mention. The most significant reference states: 'In short, the party's leading nucleus, headed by Joseph Stalin, had safeguarded Leninism in an ideological struggle.'

Gorbachev equates 'Leninism' with the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country' first advanced by Stalin after Lenin's death in November 1924. Naturally, Gorbachev directs his main fire against Trotsky and Trotskyism, the true continuators of Leninism, and bitterly denounces their revolutionary internationalism: 'Trotsky and the Trotskyites negated the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. In foreign policy they gave priority to the export of revolution, and in home policy to tightening the screws on the peasants, to the city's exploiting of the countryside, and to administrative and military decree in running society. Trotskyism was a political current whose ideologists took cover behind leftist pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric and in effect assumed a defeatist posture. It was essentially an attack on Leninism all down the line. The matter was of practical concern for the future of socialism in our country, the fate of the revolution.'

Gorbachev's 'defence' of the peasant against the Left Opposition is not accidental. In a further passage, he claims that by the late 1920s, 'the middle peasant — not the worker or the poor peasant — was the backbone of Soviet Russia. This is closely linked to his recent overtures to better-off collective farmers, and it is no surprise that Bukharin's disastrous policy of 'enriching' the middle and upper peasantry in the mid-1920s receives veiled praise.

Gorbachev is an artful and sly forger of history. He lies when he attributes to Stalin's 'leading nucleus' the programme of industrialisation and collectivisation fought for by the Left Opposition in the 1920s. Of Stalin's brutal policy towards the peasantry after 1928, he says that 'there was a deficit (!) of the Leninist attitude considerate to the interests of the working peasantry' — and metaphorically steps over the pile of corpses. He applauds Bukharin's role in supporting Stalin, and craftily balances this off by an unattributed quotation from Lenin's testament which criticises Bukharin's deficiencies. Needless to say, he does not quote its demand that the Central Committee remove Stalin.

Skirting delicately round the edge of the purges, Gorbachev attributes the 'crimes' of the 1930s to 'an abuse of power' stemming from Stalin's 'personality cult', which in turn reflected 'the absence of a proper level of democratisation in Soviet society'. Yet just before this, he remarks that 'the path to socialism' in the 1920s and '30s was 'marked by keen ideological struggle and political discussions'. Even Krushchev was more honest when he described Stalin's main method of 'ideological' struggle as 'beat, beat and beat again'.

This latest Kremlin quack doctor has a psychological alibi for Stalin located in his 'extremely contradictory personality'. Not least among the victims of Stalinism has been historical materialism. According to Gorbachev, mass repression rested on 'an abuse'! The civil war waged against Lenin's party balanced on the 'personality' of Stalin! The Stalinist bureaucracy is as incapable of explaining the social roots of the purges as it is of exposing its own privileges.

Gorbachev explicitly defends the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939, and attributes the victory of the Soviet Union over the Nazis, in part, to Stalin's 'tremendous political will, purposefulness and persistence' — a myth debunked by Gorbachev's political godfather, Krushchev, thirty-one years ago.

The Central Committee of the CPSU have appointed a sub-committee to examine the purges. Stalin's heirs are to investigate Stalin. The results of this bogus 'investigation' are predictable. A few judicious 'rehabilitations' of lesser figures here and there, the better to label the Trotskyists as beyond the pale.

Above all, Gorbachev is obliged to defend Stalin's policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism, on which the present Soviet bureaucracy rests. Indeed, he states that a safe world will have to be built jointly with capitalist countries.

Little wonder, then, that Thatcher, in her Guildhall speech on November 16, paid tribute to Gorbachev as 'a man of great courage', endorsing his reform programme with the words 'the prize is great and the attempt historic'.

# ROSA LUXEMBURG

## On the development of capitalism in South Africa

IN the Cape Colony and the Boer Republics, pure peasant economy prevailed until the sixties of the last century. For a long time the Boers had led the life of animal-tending nomads; they had killed off or driven out the Hottentots and Kaffirs with a will in order to deprive them of their most valuable pastures.

In the eighteenth century they were given invaluable assistance by the plague, imported by ships of the East India Company, which frequently did away with entire Hottentot tribes whose lands then fell to the Dutch immigrants. When the Boers spread further East, they came into conflict with the Bantu tribes and initiated the long period of the terrible Kaffir wars. These god-fearing Dutchmen regarded themselves as the Chosen People and took no small pride in their old-fashioned Puritan morals and their intimate knowledge of the Old Testament; yet, not content with robbing the natives of their land, they built their peasant economy like parasites on the backs of the Negroes, compelling them to do slave-labour for them and corrupting and enervating them deliberately and systematically. Liquor played such an important part in this process that the prohibition of spirits in the Cape Colony could not be carried through by the English government because of Puritan opposition. There were no railways until 1859, and Boer economy in general and on the whole remained patriarchal and based on natural economy until the sixties. But their patriarchal attitude did not deter the Boers from extreme brutality and harshness. It is well known that Livingstone complained much more about the Boers than about the Kaffirs. The Boers considered the Negroes an object, destined by God and Nature to slave for them, and as such an indispensable foundation of their peasant economy. So much so that their answer to the abolition of slavery in the English colonies in 1836 was the 'Great Trek', although there the owners had been compensated with £3,000,000. By way of the Orange River and Vaal, the Boers emigrated from the Cape Colony, and in the process they drove the Matabele to the North, across the Limpopo, setting them against the Makalaks. Just as the American

farmer had driven the Red Indian West before him under the impact of capitalist economy, so the Boer drove the Negro to the North. The 'Free Republics' between the Orange River and the Limpopo thus were created as a protest against the designs of the English bourgeoisie on the sacred right of slavery. The tiny peasant republics were in constant guerilla warfare against the Bantu Negroes. And it was on the backs of the Negroes that the battle between the Boers and the English government, which went on for decades, was fought. The Negro question, i.e. the emancipation of the Negroes, ostensibly aimed at by the English bourgeoisie, served as a pretext for the conflict between England and the republics. In fact, peasant economy and great capitalist colonial policy were here competing for the Hottentots and Kaffirs, that is to say for their land and their labour power. Both competitors had precisely the same aim: to subject, expel or destroy the coloured peoples, to appropriate their land and press them into service by the abolition of their social organisations. Only their methods of exploitation were fundamentally different. While the Boers stood for out-dated slavery on a petty scale, on which their patriarchal peasant economy was founded, the British bourgeoisie represented modern large-scale capitalist exploitation of the land and the natives. The Constitution of the Transvaal (South African) Republic declared with crude prejudice: 'The People shall not permit any equality of coloured persons with white inhabitants, neither in the Church nor in the State.'

In the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal no Negro was allowed to own land, to travel without papers or to walk abroad after sunset. Bryce tells us of a case where a farmer, an Englishman as it happened, in the Eastern Cape Colony had flogged his Kaffir slave to death. When he was acquitted in open court, his neighbours escorted him home to the strains of music. The white man frequently maltreated his free native labourers after they had done their work — to such an extent that they would take to flight, thus saving the master their wages.

The British government employed precisely the opposite tactics. For a long

This analysis of the establishment of capitalism in South Africa, taken from 'The Accumulation of Capital' by Rosa Luxemburg, provides a lucid outline of the roots of the apartheid state. In particular, it explains today's close relationship between British imperialism and the Botha regime. The usurping of the peasant farmer by large-scale capital described here is a universal process in the spread of capitalism. The reader should note that in 1913, when the book was written, terms such as 'Kaffir' and 'Hottentot' had not acquired the racist connotation which they have today.

time it appeared as protector of the natives; flattering the chieftains in particular, it supported their authority and tried to make them claim a right of disposal over their land. Wherever it was possible, it gave them ownership of tribal land, according to well-tried methods, although this flew in the face of tradition and of the actual social organisation of the Negroes. All tribes in fact held their land communally, and even the most cruel and despotic rulers such as the Matabele Chieftain Lobengula merely had the right as well as the duty to allot every family a piece of land which they could only retain so long as they cultivated it. The ultimate purpose of the British government was clear: long in advance it was preparing for land robbery on a grand scale, using the native chieftains themselves as tools. But in the beginning it was content with the 'pacification' of the Negroes by extensive military actions. Up to 1879 were fought nine bloody Kaffir wars to break the resistance of the Bantus.

British capital revealed its real intentions only after two important events had taken place: the discovery of the Kimberley diamond fields in 1869-70, and the discovery of the gold mines in the Transvaal in 1882-5, which initiated a new epoch in the history of South Africa. Then the British South Africa Company, that is to say Cecil Rhodes, went into action. Public opinion in England rapidly swung over, and the greed for the treasures of South Africa urged the British government on to drastic measures. South Africa was suddenly flooded with immigrants who had hitherto only appeared in small numbers — immigration having been deflected to the United States. But with the discovery of the diamond and gold fields, the numbers of white people in the South African colonies grew by leaps and bounds: between

1885 and 1895, 100,000 British had immigrated into Witwatersrand alone. The modest peasant economy was forthwith pushed into the background — the mines, and thus the mining capital, coming to the fore. The policy of the British government veered round



Gold mining, 1888

abruptly. Great Britain had recognised the Boer Republics by the Sand River Agreement and the Treaty of Bloemfontein in the fifties. Now her political might advanced upon the tiny republics from every side, occupying all neighbouring districts and cutting off all possibility of expansion. At the same time the Negroes, no longer protected favourites, were sacrificed. British capital was steadily forging ahead. In 1868, Britain took over the rule of Basutoland — only, of course, because the natives had 'repeatedly implored' her to do so. In 1871, the Witwatersrand diamond fields, or West Griqualand, were seized from the Orange Free State and turned into a Crown Colony. In 1879, Zululand was subjected, later to become part of the Natal Colony; in 1885 followed the subjection of Bechuanaland, to be joined to the Cape Colony. In 1885 Britain took over Matabele and Mashonaland, and in 1889 the British South

# of Africa

Africa Company was given a Charter for both these districts, again, of course, only to oblige the natives and at their request. Between 1884 and 1887, Britain annexed St. Lucia Bay and the entire East Coast as far as the Portuguese possessions. In 1894, she subjected Tongaland. With their last strength, the Matabele and Mashona fought one more desperate battle, but the Company, with Rhodes at the head, first liquidated the rising in blood and at once proceeded to the well-tryed measure for civilising and pacifying the natives: two large railways were built in the rebellious district.

The Boer Republics were feeling increasingly uncomfortable in this sudden stranglehold, and their in-

supplies and transport to provide for the colony of 100,000 immigrants that had suddenly sprung up, high protective tariffs which increased the cost of labour for the capitalists, and high freights for coal — all these factors combined towards the sudden and stunning bankruptcy of the peasant republics.

They tried, obstinately and unimaginatively, to defend themselves against the sudden eruption of capitalism which engulfed them, with an incredibly crude measure, such as only a stubborn and hide-bound peasant brain could have devised: they denied all civic rights to the *uitlanders* who outnumbered them by far and who stood for capital, power, and the trend of the time. In those critical times it was an ill-omened trick. The mismanagement of the peasant republics caused a considerable reduction of dividends, on no account to be put up with. Mining capital had come to the end of its tether. The British South Africa Company built railroads, put down the Kaffirs, organised revolts of the *uitlanders* and finally provoked the Boer War. The bell had tolled for peasant economy. In the United States, the economic revolution had begun with a war in South Africa was put the period to this chapter. Yet in both instances, the outcome was the same: capital triumphed over the small peasant economy which had in its

turn come into being in the ruins of natural economy, represented by the natives' primitive organisations. The domination of capital was a foregone conclusion, and it was just as hopeless for the Boer Republics to resist as it had been for the American farmer. Capital officially took over the reins in the new South African Union which replaced the small peasant republics by a great modern state, as envisaged by Cecil Rhodes' imperialist programme. The new conflict between capital and labour had superseded the old one between British and Dutch. One million white exploiters of both nations sealed their touching fraternal alliance, within the Union with the civil and political disfranchisement of five million coloured workers. Not only the Negroes of the Boer Republics came away empty-handed, but the natives of the Cape Colony, whom the British government had at one time granted political equality, were also deprived of some of their rights. And this noble work, culminating under the imperialist policy of the Conservatives in open oppression, was actually to be finished by the Liberal Party itself, amid frenzied applause from the 'liberal cretins of Europe' who with sentimental pride took as proof of the still continuing creative vigour and greatness of English liberalism the fact that Britain had granted complete self-government and freedom to a handful of whites in South Africa.

ternal affairs as well were becoming completely disorganised. The overwhelming influx of immigrants and the rising tides of the frenzied new capitalist economy now threatened to burst the barriers of the small peasant states. There was indeed a blatant conflict between agricultural and political peasant economy on the one hand, and the demands and requirements of the accumulation of capital on the other. In all respects, the republics were quite unable to cope with these new problems. The constant danger from the Kaffirs, no doubt regarded favourably by the British, the unwieldy, primitive administration, the gradual corruption of the *volksraad* in which the great capitalists got their way by bribery, lack of a police force to keep the undisciplined crowds of adventurers in some semblance of order, the absence of labour legislation for regulating and securing the exploitation of the Negroes in the mines, lack of water



Boer soldiers

## THE DIAMOND FOUR

# Jailed after being attacked by a group of racists

FOUR Chinese waiters from the Diamond Restaurant in Soho were released from jail on November 6 after serving four-and-a-half months of a nine-month sentence. Their 'crime' was that they defended themselves against an unprovoked racist attack.

The Diamond Four, Danny Tang, Kin Chy, Frankie Lam and Peter Lee, were originally sent down for two years charged with affray, wounding with intent and unlawful wounding following an incident in the restaurant involving five white customers. When asked to pay for their meals the five customers set upon the waiter, pushing him to the floor where he was kicked and punched. His three colleagues intervened and in the ensuing fight injuries were sustained on both sides.

When the police arrived, they sent the customers to hospital and arrested the waiters. No medical treatment was afforded to the waiters and no solicitor was made available to them. The customers were never interrogated or charged and became the chief prosecution witnesses.

Backed by a determined campaign, the waiters appealed against the vicious two-year sentences handed down to them by a judge who, according to their solicitor, had 'already formed a view'. The appeal judge, wary of the anger the case had generated amongst the Chinese community, reduced the sentences to nine months.

Jabez Lam of the Chinese Information and Advice Centre, which played the prominent role in the Diamond 4 campaign, told Workers News of the problems the campaign had faced.

'The media coverage of the trial was openly biased,' he said, pointing out some of the stories and headlines from the local newspapers: 'Mayhem as Chinese waiters

## INTERVIEW

By Daniel Evans

start attack', 'Diners clubbed like seals' and 'Beserk waiters jailed for assault' being just a small sample.

'The media has created an image of Chinese people as a community of rich criminals organised by the Triads and all experts in Kung Fu. The only motive suggested in the trial was that here were four Kung Fu experts who wanted to practice on someone.'

'The thinking behind the trial was: Kung Fu culture is not right for this country, we've got to teach them a lesson.'

Another habit of the media, said Jabez, was to portray all ethnic communities as completely homogeneous groupings. 'The so-called community leaders, drawn from business circles, were forced to do something by the campaign and unite behind it, but they did not do it willingly. They felt threatened



JABEZ LAM

by it and tried along with the police to stop it. When it came to the crunch they showed that they are actually against the interests of the working class.' Jabez recalled how, in the past, these same people had supported the Tories' racist immigration laws.

'The campaign showed that for too long the community has been dominated by business circles and that only the workers who have nothing to lose can really fight racism.'

The next move, according to Jabez, was to properly organise Chinese workers. 'We are in the process of discussions with the T&GWU to establish a Chinese branch of their hotel and catering section.' The need for a Chinese branch stemmed from the lack of interest and sometimes racism of trade union bureaucrats who refuse to make funds available for translating and printing union material and for training Chinese workers in union affairs.

'A lot of people are experienced trade unionists from Hong Kong. In fact, that is why a lot of them are here — they were victimised. But their skill cannot be put to use because of the institutionalised racism within the unions. One man, a member of the Fire Brigades Union in Hong Kong, and a leader in the 1967 uprisings, was unable to join the T&GWU for eight years after arriving here due to the language barrier.'

'Much recruitment is done for the sake of it — to generate funds — but we don't want to join as if we are buying insurance. We know we will have to combat the bureaucracy to get what we want.'

In the meantime, the Diamond 4, though out of prison, still have criminal records to contend with and the shame they feel for having been to prison. 'But,' says Jabez, 'they are saying they would do the same thing if it happened again. Ultimately we want to completely clear their names.'

# WIL public meeting on the October revolution

## Only Trotskyism can defend gains of 1917

**THE KEY to the successful seizure of power by the working class in Russia in October 1917 was the existence of a trained Marxist leadership, a meeting on November 8 to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution was told.**

The meeting, held in north London, was called by the Workers International League, a Trotskyist organisation formed by a minority of members of the Workers Revolutionary Party to carry forward the struggle for a Trotskyist programme and perspective against the betrayals of the WRP leadership.

The first speaker, **Lizzy Ali**, outlined recent developments in the world economic crisis. 'The events of the past three weeks on the world stock exchanges have seen shares lose up to 30 per cent of their paper value.

'For the previous two years every statement by Thatcher, Reagan and their allies poured out the same message — the world economy had turned the corner, the crisis was under control and prosperity was on its way.' Under the leadership of Blair and Giddens the Labour Party had developed the same outlook. But behind the appearance, the crisis had deepened. The United States had incorporated into its economy all the contradictions of world economy.

'Today the US stands at the heart of the world crisis. Its dominant position which for so long was its source of strength today becomes its source of weakness.'

At the beginning of the Reagan administration, a strong dollar, high interest rates and a rising share market combined to attract large-scale foreign investment in US government bonds. The money raised in this way was used to finance the growing internal budget deficit.

'But the strong dollar also served to undermine US exports. Foreign goods flooded into the country, causing cut-backs in domestic production and unemployment in the traditional industries.'

In a period of intensified competition between rival capitalist countries, this had inevitably led to a huge US trade deficit — currently running at \$150 billion a year. At the same time, the budget deficit grew as the US government handed out subsidies to farmers hit by the strong dollar, increased social security spending as industrial production stagnated and stepped up military expenditure.

The dollar had been allowed to fall to its lowest value since the Second World War in an attempt to boost exports and improve the trade figures. But this had reduced the attractiveness of US government bonds and

meant that Reagan had to look elsewhere to finance the budget deficit.

'The crash of the stock markets, therefore, is an unconscious attempt by capitalism to regulate its own affairs. But US imperialism is locked in the crisis like a vice. Whichever way it turns a further crisis threatens it.'

Now the world's largest debtor nation, the US was faced with either crashing its own economy or exporting the crisis to its competitors — or a combination of both. A barrage of attacks on the working class — including increased taxation and cuts in public spending — was being prepared. Meanwhile, calls for trade restrictions to protect US manufacturing industry were becoming increasingly strident.

'As Leon Trotsky stated in 1939: "The struggle for markets, for raw materials, for colonies makes military catastrophes unavoidable. All in all, they prepare revolutionary catastrophes."

'The so-called reforms being introduced in the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev do not have a "progressive" side to them,' said **Philip Marchant**, editor of the *Workers News*.

There were certain former leaders of the WRP, led by G. Healy, who hailed Gorbachev as the bearer of the political revolution, on a course to destroy bureaucratic privilege and re-establish the rule of the workers' soviets.

Another faction of the WRP, those in the 'News

foreign capital to invest, and encouraging the growth of small-scale private enterprise.

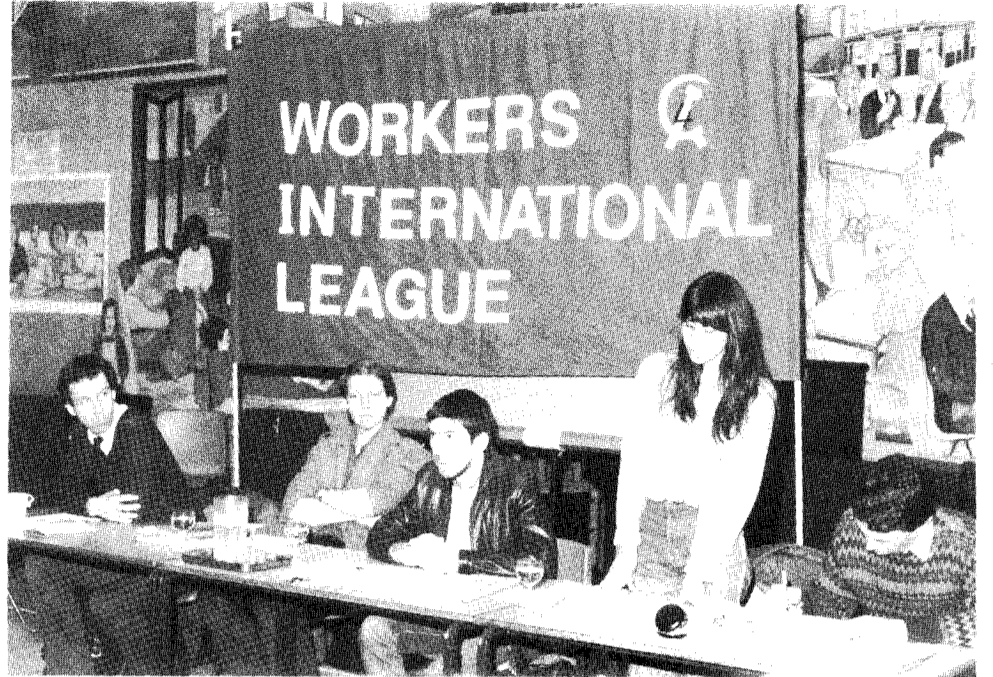
Crucial to the success of this operation was the strictly limited 'freedom of criticism' allowed under 'glasnost'.

'Its general purpose is to act as the sugar coating to cover the bitter pill of the savage economic policies — a carrot to accompany the stick of "perestroika".' But it was also calculated to rally a layer of the intelligentsia as publicists for Gorbachev's cause and to remove individual opponents amongst local management and administration.

The long-standing problems of the Soviet economy which flowed from backwardness, isolation and the policy of 'socialism in one country' were intensely aggravated today by the depth of the crisis of imperialism. They could only be resolved by the overthrow of capitalism on a world scale.

**Ian Harrison** emphasised the historic role played by the TUC and Labour leaders as agents of the British ruling class.

'When the bourgeoisie smashed feudal absolutism in the 16th century, in the 1640s a prolonged period of continuous development for the capitalist class in Britain opened up. Out of the super profits of British imperialism, conditions were created to corrupt the uppermost layers of the trade union movement and the Labour Party and postpone



The platform at the WIL public meeting on the 70th anniversary of the Russian revolution

leaders it is necessary to build a party of professional fighters who rally, unite and train the best elements of the working class and whose fate is entirely bound up with the future of the working class.

'The crisis on the world stock exchanges shows that there is no separate road for Britain. Its future is entirely bound up with the crisis of world capitalism.' The British ruling class would be tied to the struggle of the working class in South Africa and throughout the world.

'The greatest danger for the working class today consists in the growing together of the trade unions and the Labour Party with the state.' The Workers International

be in the right place at the right time.

'Vulgar thought imagines a revolution to be a mixture of accident, chance and luck, or a conspiracy — a departure from the normal steady flow of history.

'When, on October 25, 1917, the working class of Russia, led by the Bolsheviks, took power in the name of the soviets and overthrew Kerenski's provisional government, the mightiest blow was dealt to world imperialism. The chain of imperialism, as Lenin said, had broken at its weakest link.'

The first decrees of the Bolsheviks giving land to the peasants and signalling Russia's withdrawal from the imperialist war gave the

preparation from the founding of the first Marxist group by Plekhanov through periods of great revolutionary upheaval and deep reaction. Revolutionary parties are tempered not only in periods in which revolution drives forward but where they temporarily have to swim against the stream.'

In 1917, Trotsky, whose theory of permanent revolution had correctly analysed the development of class forces in the Russian revolution, joined Lenin's Bolshevik Party. 'History has found no substitute for such a party to lead the socialist revolution.' Stalinism had destroyed the Communist International and physically liquidated Lenin's party. The Fourth International was founded in 1938 as the living continuity of revolutionary Marxism.

The Workers International League upheld Trotsky's programme, including the political revolution in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, against all those leaders of the Workers Revolutionary Party who had abandoned it.

The defence of the USSR and the gains of the Russian revolution could only be accomplished through the political revolution and the extension of the world revolution. Characteristic of the 'News Line' and 'Workers Press' groups was their upholding of a species of political revolution in which the working class of the Soviet Union barely featured.

Gorbachev's latest attacks on Trotskyism showed the correctness of Trotsky's position. 'We remain supremely confident of the victory of the world revolution but our confidence is tempered by the urgency and necessity of building the revolutionary party today.'

There followed a lively discussion on the struggle for revolutionary leadership in southern Africa and a collection for the *Workers News* which raised £128. In the evening, Eisenstein's classic film 'Battleship Potemkin' was shown.

## GREETINGS FROM MALTA

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the glorious Bolshevik Revolution, wherein the working class for the second time in its world history managed to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus and construct its own dictatorship, we would like to convey our deepest regards to the comrades of the Workers International League, publishers of the Marxist monthly newspaper 'Workers News'.

This anniversary reminds us of the indispensable role played in the proletarian revolution by a Bolshevik-type party. It also serves to remind us of Lenin and Trotsky's

immense contribution to its success as well as of the perfidious role played by the Stalinist falsifiers who, to this day, deny or belittle Trotsky's heroic role in the events leading up to and including the revolution, as well as in leading the Red Army throughout the civil war.

Avangwardja Proletarja, the Maltese Trotskyist organisation, says: Long live Trotskyism! Forward to the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International!

Kevin Aquilina, President AP; October 28, 1987

'Line' group, were now trying to recover some credibility as 'Trotskyists'. They had come late to an understanding of Healy's capitulation to Stalinism and were consequently trying to cover their tracks by publishing lengthy sermons denouncing him.

Unfortunately, all the finger-wagging in the world couldn't disguise the fact that they too had discovered that 'glasnost' had its good side and that the 'political revolution had begun'.

The aim of 'perestroika' was to coerce the Soviet working class into producing more and better quality goods by using the familiar capitalist methods of compulsion — unemployment, direction of labour and 'payment-by-results'. This was to be achieved by removing the safety-net of state subsidy and extended credit, allowing greater freedom for

decisive class battles.'

Lenin had characterised the Labour Party as a bourgeois party based on the working class. The Labour leaders had supported British imperialism in the First World War, betrayed the 1926 General Strike and a whole section had gone over to the Tories in 1931. The young Communist Party had also betrayed the General Strike and given the Labour leaders a new lease of life.

In 1974, the Wilson government was forced into office against its will. Under Callaghan, the Labour Party was kept in power by the Liberals and the Ulster Unionists.

The Labour leaders were thoroughly imbued with the outlook of the ruling class and held in contempt the Marxist scientific outlook.

'To defeat the Labour

League demanded that the TUC and Labour leaders broke with the state, not out of confidence that they would, but in order to expose them in front of the working class.

'Workers' defensive struggles to defend jobs must be transformed into offensive struggles to defeat the capitalist state. The WIL calls for the formation of Councils of Action to unite every struggle of the working class. At the heart of this fight was the need to join and build the Workers International League.

The final speaker, **Richard Price**, referred to the unprecedented coverage in the capitalist press of the 70th anniversary of the Russian revolution. 'It has a common theme — that the Russian revolution was in fact a coup led by the Bolsheviks who happened to

lie to all those who maintained this was a mere 'coup'.

'Lenin, Trotsky and the leaders of the Bolsheviks proceeded not from narrow national considerations but as internationalists. They considered the Russian revolution to be the first step of the world revolution. In the month before October, Lenin had to fight almost single-handed to demand that the Bolshevik leadership organise the insurrection. Throughout his writings runs the thread: "We will fail the international working class if we do not take power!"'

No Bolshevik leader had thought it even conceivable before Stalin in 1924 that socialism could be built within the boundaries of a single national state.

'The revolutionary Marxist movement in Russia went through 35 years of



# BANDA — STALIN'S ATTORNEY

OF all the groups that emerged from the wreckage of the Workers Revolutionary Party after the 1985 split, none has travelled further than that led by M. Banda, the ex-general secretary.

Communist Forum, the group he established after spending a short time with what became the 'Workers Press' group, has now broken up. One part, led by D. Good, has reportedly joined the Communist Party while Banda himself has regrouped into the grandly named Marxist Philosophy Forum.

On October 22, the Institute of Education in London was the location of his most recent political exposition, to an audience of eleven. The core of his current position is unabashed admiration for Stalin. This is so excessive that it would probably embarrass most of Gorbachev's followers, at least in public. Indeed, the Stalinist grouplet around 'The Leninist' (sic), which in November 1986 provided him with a platform for his new views, has more recently disowned him for his slav-

By David Lewis

ish support of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalin is presented as the representative simultaneously of the post-revolution working class and of the bureaucracy. Unlike Lenin and Trotsky, Banda sees this bureaucracy as beneficial. This 'new' working class, being derived from the peasantry, naturally is uncouth, given to such peasant practices as wife-beating. Together with the absolutist tradition of Russia and the requirement for centralised control, we thus have Stalin: Byzantine but necessary.

However, for Banda this is only the beginning of the story. He is not prepared to be accused of damning Stalin with faint praise. So Stalin's masterly turn against the peasantry in 1928 was not the first step towards the state of our greatest achievement, the Second World War.

Totally ignoring the historical role played by Stalin in politically disarming the German working class in the face of Hitler's rising war and his domina-

tion of the leadership of the Red Army on the eve of the war, Banda speaks glibly of Stalin's 'fantastic' ability, which enabled the Soviet Union to defeat fascism.

Apparently, the war changed him and, afterwards, he even admitted that he had made a few mistakes! Twenty million Soviet workers, six million Jews and the vanguard of the German working class might have put it more strongly. Following Krushchev's revelations at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, more honest Soviet historians have exposed Stalin as the perpetrator of military errors on a massive scale.

Banda makes the extraordinary claim that, while Stalin was the gravedigger of revolution outside the Soviet Union, he was at the same time its saviour inside. This is a gross distortion. Banda insists that the Soviet Union is a fully formed socialist country and has been since 1917. The scientific elucidation of the nature of the Soviet state clearly formulated by both



Banda on a recent demonstration

Lenin and Trotsky is thus abandoned.

In a reply to Trotsky at the English Congress of Socialist Unity, Banda described the USSR as a workers state with a bureaucratic twist to it. For a communist, as opposed to a dyed-in-the-wool Stalinist, socialism must be a society which from the very beginning stands higher in its economic development than the most advanced capitalism' (Trotsky, 'The Revolution Betrayed'). Surely this concept of superiority over capitalism applies even more so in the political sphere. Banda refers to Trotskyists as lunatics (shades of Vyshinsky's mad dogs) because they insist that the Soviet Union should be characterised as a bureaucratically deformed workers' state.

Banda's younger self contradicts him, as though to remind us of the degree to which he has abandoned principles. In 1957, he wrote: 'To speak of "Socialism" in the USSR today is to confuse a theoretical norm with an ugly and imperfect reality. Only the triumph of the Socialist revolution in the West, by strengthening the productive base of the USSR immensely, can — and will — harmonize the abstract norm with concrete reality. Until then the USSR will continue to be what it is now: a transitional society midway between capitalism and socialism.' He went on to say that: 'The attempt of Mao and his colleagues to rehabilitate Stalin is naive and somewhat ridiculous.'

Naturally, Banda is now an adherent of Stalin's theory of 'Socialism in One Country' and, equally naturally, he peddles the Stalinist lie that Lenin himself adhered to it. But the lying does not stop there. He lies when he says that Trotsky advocated entry into the

Labour Party and other social democratic parties as some sort of super tactic, good for all time and that Trotsky was the chief proponent of social democracy. He lies when he says that Trotsky never attacked US imperialism while he was in Mexico.

He even seems to think that Trotsky should have attacked Cardenas, the president of Mexico, who was the only head of state in the world prepared to give him asylum in 1937. Presumably Banda would have regretted along with Stalin that Trotsky had ever been expelled from the Soviet Union and thus was able to avoid death at Stalin's hands for a little longer than his followers inside the country.

He ludicrously claims that the 'rehabilitations' being carried out by Gorbachev exclude Trotsky because he was not formally accused at the Moscow Trials. Every socialist (and every honest person) knows that Trotsky was the chief defendant *in absentia*. Thus we have the spectacle of Banda who, according to G. Healy, once defended the Trotskyist

press by pulling a knife on the pro-Stalinist liquidator John Lawrence, now drawing a knife on Trotsky and the movement that Trotsky founded. And for what? To vie with his fellow born-again Stalinist G. Healy in giving advice to Gorbachev.

In the most recent issue, Banda declares that he will not degenerate that he even writes off the mass organisations of the working class itself. He says that the trades unions are useless and irrelevant, that they are organs of the bourgeoisie and that they have been incorporated into the state. Pathetically, he says that, in forty years membership, they never did anything for him. Thus, everything is stood on its head. Banda has not abandoned the working class, the working class has abandoned Banda!

In the 1930s, the middle class flocked to Stalinism in droves to shelter from fascism. Today, they rush to Stalinism as a shelter from a very different kind of storm; the storm of revolution.

## Defending the Winter Palace

HOW about this for 'glasnost'? 'Soviet Weekly', in its edition of October 10, managed to 'celebrate' the 70th anniversary of the Russian revolution by publishing an extract from the memoirs of one of the defenders of the Winter Palace — P. Malyantovich, Minister of Justice in Kerensky's government. 'Soviet Weekly' tells us that Malyantovich was one of those 'who took

part in and watched the October Revolution'. This is stretching a point somewhat! In fact, he was responsible for spreading the lie that the Bolsheviks were in the pay of the Imperial German General Staff, and ordering the arrest of Lenin and the arrest of Trotsky and other leading Bolsheviks imprisoned after the 'July Days'.

Stalinism finds it easier

to print the memoirs of a defender of the Winter Palace than those of any of the leading Bolsheviks who took part in the insurrection. Antonov-Ovseenko, who led the storming of the Winter Palace, was shot by Stalin in 1937. Trotsky, leader of the Military Revolutionary Committee and chief organiser of the insurrection, was murdered in 1940.

## Healy's theatre of the absurd

WHILE Mike Banda is still working his passage to Moscow, Vanessa Redgrave has been flying there regularly in suitably grander style as the cultural attaché of the group of thespians led by disgraced former WRP leader Gerry Healy, known extravagantly as the Marxist Party.

On November 15, at that well known proletarian haunt, the Riverside Studios, Hammersmith, Healy's Marxist Party, 'by arrangement with Vanessa Redgrave Enterprises', took to the boards to present its latest offering — a play entitled 'October 1917 — the world socialist revolution — then and now'. 'Then' it was led by Lenin and Trotsky. 'Now' it is led by a 'united front' of Stalin's heir, Gorbachev, and Healy's Marxist Party. And

hark! Who brings the good tidings from Moscow? None other than 'V' herself, reporting back from the 70th anniversary 'celebrations'.

Although she didn't quite make the reviewing stand at the traditional parade, by all accounts Redgrave was suitably fêted in Moscow, as one would expect an ex-Trotskyist renegade would be.

There are those among us who remember that she used to vow that she would never attend the Moscow Film Festival until Trotsky and other Old Bolsheviks were rehabilitated. How times have changed!

Friday October 23 found Redgrave — grotesquely — sharing a sofa on the Wogan

show with an aged White Russian emigré. Although the Tsarist crone lamented the loss of her pony to the revolution, she joined hands with Redgrave in applauding Gorbachev.

While the emigré was worried that the Soviet people might prove too 'cynical' to support him, Redgrave assured her and Wogan that the 'majority of Soviet people' are behind Gorbachev and that, if 'we' want him to succeed, 'we must actively support him'.

May we suggest that in future the Marxist Party stages a production of *King Lear* — the story of a demented old man cast out of his kingdom by his once sycophantic admirers and deserted by all except a blind man, a fool and the ever-faithful Cordelia.

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# In defence of the theory of permanent revolution



Parvus, Trotsky and Leon Deutsch in the St. Peter and Paul Fortress, 1906

**THE First Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party met illegally in Minsk in 1898. The handful of delegates who attended were quickly rounded up and the Congress left behind little trace of itself, except for its Manifesto drafted by Peter Struve.**

It contained a prophetic passage, not least for Struve himself, who shortly afterwards deserted Marxism, passed through liberalism and finally became a White Guardist. 'The further to the east of Europe,' it states, 'the weaker, more cowardly and baser in its political attitude is the bourgeoisie, and the greater the cultural and political tasks that fall to the proletariat.'

The task of the party is to create the nucleus of a disciplined professional party of revolutionaries out of the numerous local and regional groups was taken up by Lenin's 'Iskra'. Chief among the targets of 'Iskra' was the emerging opportunist trend within the Russian Marxist movement of Economism. Emphasising and glorifying the spontaneous trade union struggles of the working class and the fight for immediate demands rather than the political struggle to smash the autocracy, which required a proletarian class consciousness, Economism was opportunism in a transitional phase, leading on to open class collaboration.

Lenin's struggle against Economism was a decisive preparation for combating and defeating the repeated attempts between 1903 and 1917 to reconcile revolutionary Marxism with bourgeois liberalism — the outlook of the 'cowardly and base' Russian capitalist class, unable to complete its 'own' bourgeois revolution.

## PART THREE

By Richard Price

However, within the 'Iskra' organisation itself, on the eve of the Second Congress of the RSDLP in 1903, sharp differences were emerging. The antagonism between the younger group of editors — Lenin, Martov and Potresov — and the older generation represented by Plekhanov, Zasluch and Axelrod, was obscured by 'personal' quarrels, exacerbated by Plekhanov's haughty aloofness. But its content was essentially 'What kind of party?' Zasluch was

a 'hard' revolutionary Bolshevism. The central struggles of the Congress (the federalism of the Jewish Bund, Economism, the role of the party press, party rules and organisation), however, did not result in the banner of opportunism being fully unfurled as yet. The party programme passed by the Second Congress takes its stand on the perspective of organising the working class 'into an independent political party, opposed to all the bourgeois parties' and exposing 'the irreconcilable contradiction of interests between exploiters and exploited'. The struggle of the working class for political freedom through the overthrow of the autocracy would prepare its

Future differences as to

ended it in the camp of the 'soft' minority. 'How did I come to be with the "softs" at the Congress?' Trotsky wrote in 'My Life'. 'Revolutionary centralism is a harsh, imperative and exacting principle. It often takes the guise of absolute ruthlessness in its relation to individual members, to whole groups of former associates. It is not without significance that the words "irreconcilable" and "relentless" are among Lenin's favourites ... His behaviour seemed unpardonable to me, both horrible and outrageous.'

Menshevism did not emerge from the split of 1903 fully formed, and Trotsky's stay in the minority camp was brief and stormy. The political developments during the Russo-Japanese War, which broke

war, for the Constituent Assembly, and for the overthrow of the autocracy. Although 'Our Political Tasks' was dedicated to Axelrod, its conclusions were in opposition to the reformist drift of Menshevism towards liberalism.

In September, in an 'Open Letter to Comrades', Trotsky broke with Menshevism, taking up the role of 'conciliator' between the two party factions. Simultaneously he began a brief but close association with A.L. Helphand, better known by his pseudonym, Parvus' reputation was subsequently destroyed by his unsavoury arms business dealings, including trading with the German imperialists during the First World War. Since that time Trotsky's detractors have exaggerated Parvus' influence over him, certain of his 'friends' have eliminated Parvus altogether! Trotsky himself never denied his role, writing that 'Parvus was unquestionably one of the most important of the Marxists at the turn of the century' ('My Life', Penguin, p.172).

Russian by birth, Parvus was active in the German Social Democratic Party. He was a fierce opponent of the right wing of the party — to such an extent that he was even barred from writing in Kautsky's 'Neue Zeit', which was generally indulgent towards the left wing led by Rosa Luxemburg.

Parvus was a bold theoretician, with cosmopolitan interests. In 1900 he first raised the slogan of the United States of Europe, long before it became a major controversy in the Russian movement. Contemptuous of the parochialism which dominated the main parties of the Second International, he grasped early the importance of the world market, and its role in the European and Russian revolutions.

His series of articles 'War and Revolution', published shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, predicted that 'The Russo-Japanese war is the blood-red dawn of coming great events' (Zeman and Scharlau: 'The Merchant of Revolution', Oxford, p.62).

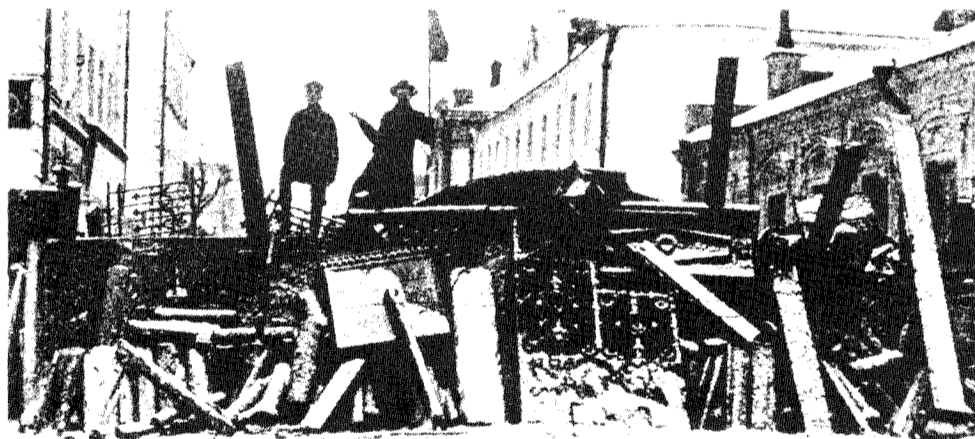
Developing his analysis of imperialist rivalries, Parvus

argued that the peculiarities of Russia's development would unleash revolution. 'The Russian revolution will shake the political foundations of the capitalist world, and the Russian proletariat will take over the role of the *avant-garde* of the social revolution' (Zeman and Scharlau, p.64).

During November and December, Trotsky drafted a pamphlet in which the theory of permanent revolution begins to take shape. Having already arrived at the conclusion that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of carrying through the bourgeois revolution that both the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks anticipated, Trotsky attacked proposals for joint social democratic-liberal action. The leading role of the working class, supporting itself upon the 'major reservoir of potential revolutionary energy' represented by the peasantry, would be established through a General Strike: 'A political strike, however, not a local, but a general political strike all over Russia — ought to have a general political slogan. The slogan is: *to stop the war and to call a National Constituent Assembly*' ('Our Revolution').

Shortly after Trotsky completed the pamphlet, revolution broke out on 'Bloody Sunday', January 9, 1905. Parvus wrote a brief introduction containing a key section, which created uproar in Russian revolutionary circles: 'Only the workers can complete the revolutionary change in Russia. The revolutionary provisional government in Russia would be a government of workers' democracy. If Social Democracy stands at the head of the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat, then this government will be Social-Democratic' (Zeman and Scharlau, p.77).

As yet neither Trotsky nor Parvus suggested that this provisional government would establish a proletarian dictatorship — it would adopt the eight-hour day and other progressive measures — but they had established that only the working class could complete the bourgeois revolution.



Barricades in Moscow, December 1905

ly, that 'Iskra' attacked the liberals 'too much' (Trotsky: 'On Lenin', Harrap pp.56-7). The disagreements over party programme which preceded the Second Congress also foreshadowed the development of fundamentally opposed tendencies on the relationship between classes in the impending revolution.

The Second Congress decisively split the RSDLP into two wings — a 'soft', opportunist Menshevism, and

the relations between the working class and the liberal bourgeoisie in the forthcoming bourgeois revolution are only, as it were, glimpsed in embryo at the Second Congress. Neither faction anticipated that the working class supporting itself upon the peasantry would be able to take power. Opportunism foresaw a revolution which would sweep the bourgeoisie to power, and in which the working class would play second fiddle to liberalism. Only after decades of capitalist development during which time the working class would act as a loyal opposition, would it be able to challenge the bourgeoisie for state power.

Underlying Lenin's insistence on centralism was not only the harsh conditions of illegality under Tsarism, but his intransigence against any conciliation with liberalism, especially its stunted Russian offshoot.

Trotsky, who through his role in the Congress's opening sessions earned the nickname 'Lenin's cudgel',

out in February 1904, accelerated its reactionary tendencies.

Plekhanov had Trotsky removed from the now Menshevik-controlled 'Iskra' in mid-1904. In July, semi-liberals entered the Tsarist ministry with vague promises of reform. Menshevik leaders Dan and Zasluch began to agitate for co-operation and joint struggle with the liberals. Trotsky, seeing the bankruptcy of liberalism confirmed, drove home the attack against it.

In August, Trotsky's book 'Our Political Tasks' appeared. Much of it is devoted to a swirling and overblown attack on Lenin's supposed 'Jacobinism' and, implicitly, an attempt to rationalise his own evolution over the past two years. There are, however, glimpses of the strides forward Trotsky's analysis of the character of the revolution would make in the coming months. The working class concentrating its forces 'at one point' would have to place itself at the head of all the oppressed classes, and lead the struggle against the

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**TO BE CONTINUED**

# Art and revolution

Diego Rivera Exhibition; Hayward Gallery, London; Until January 10, 1988

By Wendy Upson

IN 1921 the most prolific mural painter in history, Diego Rivera, joined the Mexican Communist Party and formed the Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors.

Guided by the words in their manifesto — 'we glorify the expression of monumental art because

it is in the public possession' — Rivera and his colleagues set about spreading their message, artistic, political and ideological, across the walls of the most prestigious buildings in Mexico.

But Rivera's best work coincides with his period of collaboration with Leon Trotsky from 1929-39. On a visit to the Soviet Union in 1927, Rivera had been openly critical of the officially-sponsored school of 'socialist realism' in art, and had the temerity to argue with Stalin during a personal in-

## EXHIBITION

terview. In 1929 he left the Mexican CP and the following year set up the first Mexican Trotskyist group.

During these years, Rivera, at the height of his artistic powers, brilliantly fulfilled his mission to 'put his art at the service of revolutionary ideals'. Under fire from the capitalist press as a communist, and slandered in the Stalinist press as a hack in the pay of US industrialists, he nevertheless created his clearest and most enduring artistic and political statements.

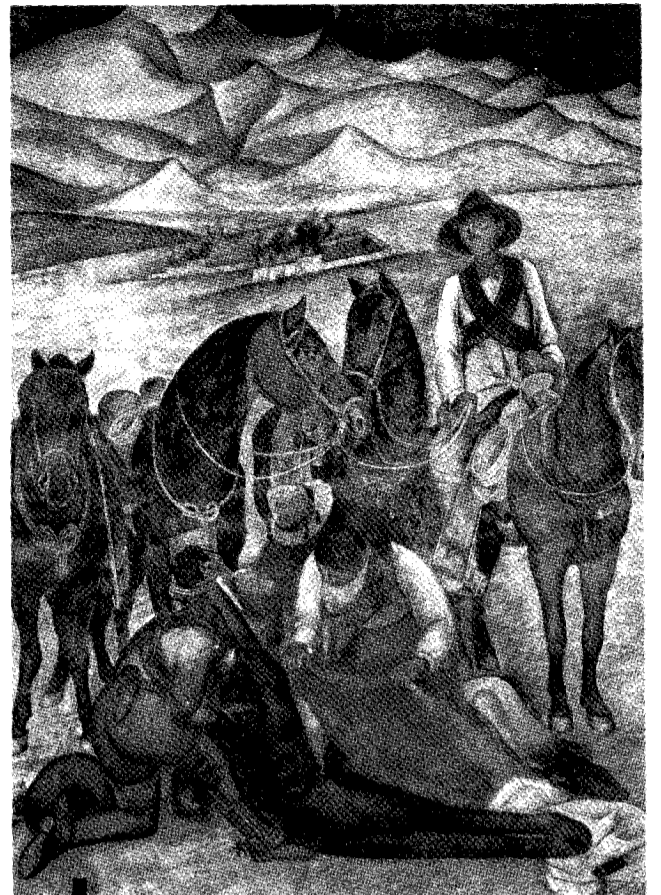
Such was the outrage when he painted Lenin and Trotsky into a mural commissioned by Rockefeller to decorate his new RCA building, that workmen were later hired to hack it off the walls. Rivera re-created the mural elsewhere, embellishing it with the figure of Rockefeller about to be engulfed by syphilis germs!

It was through Rivera's petitioning of the Mexican President Cardenas that Trotsky obtained a visa to move to Mexico in January 1937. However, Rivera's

great political weakness — his disregard for Marxist theory and reliance on 'instinct' — made him an unpredictable ally. Trotsky was forced to break off relations with Rivera when he mounted a wild attack on Cardenas as 'an accomplice of the Stalinists'. Rivera subsequently returned to Stalinism. In 1952, his Korean War mural contained huge, idealised portraits of Stalin and Mao (in the 'socialist realist' style he had condemned so vigorously in 1927).

It is a pity that the exhibition at the Hayward Gallery is largely a collection of portraits, landscapes and still lives, devoid of political statement. Since most of his work is gracing the walls of buildings in Mexico and the United States it would obviously be impossible to give a truly accurate representation of his life's work.

However, the exhibition is titled 'A Retrospective' which clearly it is not. Despite this fact, it does give us a rare chance to view some of the work of an artist whose style and artistic talent is enriching. The scale of his work, his approach to his subject and the choice of

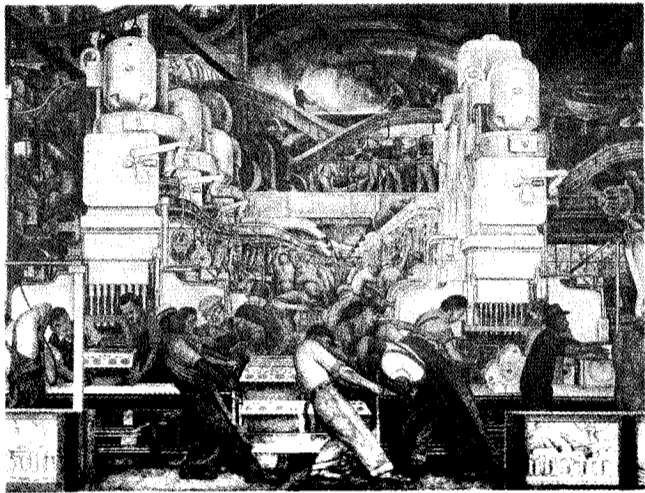


The Liberation of the Peon, 1923

his colours — from rich warm russets to steel grey/blue — speak of an implacable desire to make pictorial statements about people and society for all to read. His imagery is strong and unequivocal and shows a mastery over his medium.

To this day, Rivera remains persona non grata to

the US establishment because of his politics. When this exhibition opened in Philadelphia, the 'New York Times' informed the gallery that whilst they would report the fact that the exhibition was on, they would not review it. 'Rivera,' they said, 'is not an artist of consequence.'



Devot Industry, 1932-33

## BOOKS

Guatemala: False Hope. False Freedom: James Painter; Latin America Bureau £4.95

By Paul Stickley

WHEN the Christian Democrat government of Vinicio Cerezo took office in January 1986 after a convincing victory at the polls, it was widely greeted as a 'return to democracy' for Guatemala after 32 years of military rule.

James Painter's useful handbook succeeds in dispelling this myth. He correctly observes that 'the outlook for the majority of Guatemalans under the Christian Democrat government remains bleak'.

Guatemala's recent history has seen the peasantry and urban working class become poorer and poorer. Any attempt at organisation or resistance has been met with ruthless repression and assassinations at the hands of the death squads.

Since the 1960s, when individual high-ranking army officers started to use their government positions to 'plunder the state's re-

sources and thereby join Guatemala's wealthy elite, the army as an institution has acquired a major stake in economic interests. They control the national airline, telecommunications, electricity supply, a television station and the ports. 'Every military man who has occupied the Presidency since 1970 has ended his term a millionaire several times over.'

The richest industrialists, the Castillos, have assets equivalent to a third of the national budget, while foreign-based multinationals have taken increas-

ing control, especially since the CIA coup in 1954 which put an end to the limited attempts at land reform. Under the succeeding military regime, Guatemala was to become 'a showcase for development'. The rapid influx of aid, of course, was to benefit only the military, the native bourgeoisie and the multinationals, turning the entire country 'into a limited company'.

As the book points out, the Christian Democratic parties were set up as pro-capitalist, anti-communist organisations based on the social doctrine of the

Catholic Church in much the same way as in Europe after 1945. The Cerezo regime has proved incapable of fulfilling the needs of the masses. Buffeted by the world crisis, the political representatives of the native bourgeoisie have leant more and more on the military. For Cerezo the 'key factor in the creation of a new order lies in the taking of power by the army and Christian Democrats'. All talk of land and tax reform or state nationalisation has been dropped.

In answer to growing impoverishment, peasants and

workers have turned to the armed opposition groups, known as 'resistance' — given the capacity of the oppressed to fight back.

As one might expect, the book is limited by its 'liberal' view of the world, summed up in the last chapter 'Peace through the Third Way?'. Having previously shown, however unintentionally, the inability of the national bourgeoisie to carry out any of the tasks of the 'democratic' revolution, its answer is still faith in some unknown way between the military and revolution.

# A democracy fit for generals

## The limits of individualism

The Bonnot Gang; Richard Parry; Rebel Press £4.95

By Richard Price

RICHARD PARRY's well-researched book retraces the short career and violent end of the famous group of anarchist bandits who terrorised Paris in 1911-12. Its interest lies not least in that it gives the clearest account yet of the involvement of the youthful Victor Serge with the anarchist-individualist milieu which spawned the Bonnot gang.

Taking its inspiration from the subjective idealist 'egoism' of Max Stirner and Nietzsche, anarchist-individualism took hold in France at the turn of the century among ruined artisans, declassed elements and youth repelled by the reformism of the Socialist Party.

Proceeding from the injunction to 'be oneself' and 'live one's own life', the individualists progressed through vegetarianism, free love and communes to the point where they rejected even the militant trade unionism of the syndicalists. The task, they claimed, was to be 'neither exploiter, nor exploited'.

Under the impact of a series of working class defeats, notably the breaking of the railwaymen's strike in 1910, a section of the individualists around the paper 'L'anarchie' turned to 'illegalism' — bank hold-ups, burglary and gun-battles with the police. This 'propaganda of the deed' would somehow galvanise the working class into action.

'Illegalism' hastened what Serge would refer to in his 'Memoirs' as 'the collapse of anarchism in the bourgeois jungle'. Blurring the distinc-

tion between political action and criminality, it led the youthful bandits onto the terrain in which the police excelled, riddling the anarchist groups with provocateurs and informants.



VICTOR SERGE

After a brief but spectacular career in which they pioneered the motorised getaway, all the leading participants of the Bonnot Gang were gunned down, guillotined or sentenced to long periods of hard labour. Most were barely in their early twenties.

Victor Serge comes out of

this narrative less than heroically. As editor of 'L'anarchie', he had ardently defended 'illegalism'. At the trial of twenty-one surviving associates of Bonnot in 1913, however, Serge strenuously distanced himself from the results of the bandits' activities. Serge served five years imprisonment (which forms the basis of his best novel, 'Men in Prison').

Bonnot's co-leader, Garnier, noted down the following: 'Capital is nothing other than the proof of the stupidity and resignation of workers. If only they would reflect on it. The workers are the sheep. The cops are the sheepdogs. The bourgeoisie are the shepherds.' Without any political perspectives, the 'heroism' of the Bonnot Gang was essentially an act of despair — the logical dead-end of individualism which renounces the revolutionary role of the working class.

## THEATRE

# Clear vision

By Daniel Evans

TAKING as its starting point the life of Simeon Solomon, artist, poet, Jew, alcoholic and homosexual, who was born in London in 1840 of rich parents and died 65 years later a penniless outcast, **A Vision of Love Revealed in Sleep** is a rigorous indictment of 'Victorian values'.

Devised by Neil Bartlett and Robin Whitmore and heroically performed by Bartlett, the play journeys back and forth through time as it demonstrates and comments on the repressive system which singles out the Solomons of this world for especially vindictive treatment.

Solomon's career was destroyed after he was arrested for soliciting. But he remained defiant, continuing to create pictures as a pavement artist until his death.

His prose poem on which the play is based charts a harrowing but rewarding journey through 'the agonies of Love Oppressed to the bliss of Love Revealed'.

The performance illustrates the persecution and ignorance which Solomon had to face, but also shows how this backwardness still plagues society today and has discovered — with the help of the Tory government — another lease of life with the arrival of AIDS.

'Vision' is an emotionally charged work which ends on the same optimistic note as Solomon's poem.

## FUNDS

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BAKER

## Baker plots death of ILEA

By Lizzy Ali

TORY plans to break up the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) are aimed at creating a two-tier education system — one for the rich and one for the poor.

Tory Education Secretary Kenneth Baker recently outlined proposals to allow London boroughs to opt out of Labour-controlled ILEA. The Tory boroughs of Wandsworth, Westminster and Kensington are set to leave ILEA, while Liberal-controlled Tower Hamlets is also considering the break.

As a result, ILEA would be left administering the most deprived inner-city boroughs with a massive cut in its budget. The bulk of the ILEA funding raised from the three Tory boroughs goes to provide services in less well-off areas of London.

Baker has fixed the date for opting out one month before the next London council elections. This move, described by even 'The Observer' as 'transparently political', gives the Tory boroughs the chance to leave ILEA before they suffer any losses in the election. Were Labour to take control of any of these councils they would not be allowed to opt back in.

The publication of Baker's Education Reform Bill on November 20 revealed for the first time a clause which enables the government to close down ILEA completely. If eight or more of the 13 councils decide to opt out, Baker will be empowered to force the remaining councils to do the same.

But while the Tories are moving to smash up ILEA, its leader, Neil Fletcher, has forced a confrontation with inner-London teachers' unions by instituting compulsory redeployment of teachers between schools and deducting pay from teachers who refuse to cover for absent staff.

# Chilean students score victory against junta

**STRIKING students and academics in Chile have forced General Pinochet's military dictatorship to back down over cuts in university education.**

Following two weeks of united action by professors, deans and students at the University of Chile in Santiago, Pinochet removed rec-

**By Karl Lewis**  
tor Jose Luis Federici. Federici sneaked out through the back door while delighted students sang and danced on the campus. The rector had been hand-picked by the junta to carry out a policy of swingeing financial cuts and to clamp

down on growing opposition to the regime within the university.

Since the explosion of protests which have erupted in the country from 1983 onwards, many respected opposition leaders have come from the university.

Federici seemingly had the perfect pedigree for the

job, having already overseen cuts in the country's railway and coal industries. One spokesman for the university council had described him as 'not an academic' but 'a dismantler of companies', neither 'academically nor morally fit to be a rector'.

Since his appointment in mid-August, he had already

sacked 150 academic staff and ordered a 41 per cent cut in the budget of the teaching hospital. He had also planned to privatise artistic groups, research institutes and the hospital.

However, immediately after he took over, the university was brought to a standstill by the strikes.

Even pro-government professors joined ranks with radical students to protest. Five hundred students were arrested in demonstrations or sit-ins and one was shot in the head by the police. The university professors held an emergency assembly for the first time in 23 years, where they voted to continue the strike, and twelve students spent several weeks on hunger strike.

The new rector is Professor Juan de Dios Vial Larrain, a philosophy teacher. However, it is unclear whether the government will try and make him carry on the policies of his predecessor.



London students demonstrate against Tory cuts in arts courses

THIS term, colleges are operating a 'code of practice' guaranteeing 'free speech' on the campus. This late addition to the 1986 Education Act is a response to demonstrations against ministerial visits and is designed to control student anger at Tory policies. The only thing it guarantees

is the presence of the most right-wing, racist and fascist ideologues at meetings organised by Tory supporters. At some institutions, students are being compelled to sign an undertaking to abide by the code, at the risk of losing their grants.

# Army brutality built into the system

AS a mountain of evidence of systematic brutality used on army recruits emerges, a quarter of all young soldiers are leaving the service within their first six months.

Recent cases which have come to court martial include:

- The jailing of two privates from the King's Own Scottish Borderers on 15 charges of assault and causing actual bodily harm;

- Four more soldiers from the same regiment stationed at Verden, West Germany, found guilty of assault (one of whom was also convicted of actual bodily harm and indecent assault);

- A drill instructor of the Prince of Wales Division, Lichfield Depot, Staffs, facing six charges including beating recruits with a baseball bat;

- Five outstanding cases against NCO instructors at

Shorncliffe Camp, Kent, where 17-year-old Jefferey Singh was found hanged last year;

- The confining to barracks of the 2nd Battalion Coldstream Guards in November, after a recruit had been beaten up;

- The detention of a lance-sergeant in the Irish Guards who kicked and punched 12 recruits.

Each of these cases has one thing in common — none

of them has led to an officer being even mildly reprimanded, let alone sent to jail or dismissed from the service. But they are the real villains, who sanction initiation rites and encourage brutal punishment details as part of Army 'training'.

Some Labour MPs have bleated about the need for a 'soldiers' ombudsman' to be appointed. These are the same people who go out of their way to stress the need to increase 'our conventional forces'.

The Labourites are desperate to distinguish between the 'good' and 'bad' sides of the state forces. In fact, barrack-discipline serves a real need for the state — to beat any independence out of the raw recruit to prepare him to shoot on sight in Ireland and to be prepared to do so in Britain.

## Tories look into 'work for welfare'

AN established US scheme called 'Workfare', where anybody on welfare has to work for their benefits, is now being considered by the Thatcher government.

Many American states have Workfare systems of one sort or another. These can, for instance, force single people on benefit to do two days unpaid work per week such as hospital cleaning, working as toilet attendants or even local government clerical work.

Failure to accept such work or take part in a private 'training' scheme results in welfare benefits being suspended. The two days work is theoretically paid at the minimum wage rate of \$3.35 an hour, but this is paid to the welfare authorities. Agents who provide private employers with this supply of unpaid labour earn \$5 per 'client'.

The Tories have already incorporated the basic idea underlying Workfare into their new Social Security Bill. From next April, school leavers under 18 who refuse a place on the revamped Youth Training Scheme will be refused benefits. An estimated 92,000 16- and 17-year-olds will immediately be affected by this law, which makes attendance on cheap-labour YTS schemes as good as compulsory.

A recent report, commissioned by the Tories, comes out in favour of extending the US system to the over-18s as well.

## 'Pay as you learn' for state schools

STATE education will no longer be free — and that's official! A new Tory document proposes that the cost of administration, teaching, books, equipment and transport will be listed as free by law. But schools will be

allowed to charge for a second list of items such as music lessons, theatre and swimming trips and courses in the country.

A survey carried out this year by the National Association of Head Teachers found

that about half of all schools were already dependent on parents raising funds to buy essential equipment. In some schools, voluntary fundraising is being used to buy such basic items as maths and English text books and

amounted to as much as 30 per cent of the school's budget.

The net effect on schools in areas of high unemployment, where parents cannot donate money, is to make them even more deprived.