



## Labour fakers bow to Tory union-bashers

# Class struggle can bring down Thatcher!



For more than four years Margaret Thatcher has with malicious glee ground her heel in the face of the British working class. Then in December it looked like the Iron Lady had gone too far and was about to get her comeuppance. When the printers of the National Graphical Association (NGA), one of the strongest and most militant unions in the country, stood up to the union-bashing Tebbit Act, every class-conscious worker in Britain knew here was an opportunity to break the hated Tory government just as the miners had brought down Heath in 1974. At one point 4000 printers and their supporters battled police in Warrington. But the TUC bureaucracy -- including the so-called 'lefts' -- stabbed the embattled printers in the back in one of the most flagrant acts of class treason within living memory. Lenin's definition of the reformist bu-



TUC head Len Murray implemented Thatcher's anti-union laws by stabbing NGA in the back; TUC 'lefts' sat on their hands. Dump the traitors — class struggle can stop the union bashers!

reaucacy as the agents of the capitalist class within the workers movement can hardly be clearer than in Britain today.

What began as a localised closed-shop dispute between the NGA and Eddie Shah's Messenger Group, a small-time, scab free-sheet publisher, escalated into a major showdown between the Tories and the trade-union movement. Having already imposed close to £1 million in fines and court costs and sequestered the union's entire assets under the Tebbit Act's provisions against mass picketing and secondary action, the courts then outlawed the 24-hour strike called by the NGA for December 14. This provocation should have been answered with an immediate general strike call by the TUC to defend the printers and smash the anti-union laws. The NGA tops may

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## Ford workers: Strike now!

In mid-January Ford workers voted for national strike action against company threats to shut down the foundry at the six-plant industrial complex at Dagenham, axing almost 2000 jobs. In the past five years Ford management has slashed 8000 jobs at Dagenham, and behind the current closure threat loom even deeper cuts. With the strike date originally set for 13 February, union bureaucrats have been backpedalling, postponing the strike call until 22 February. Dagenham workers must beware of any attempt to sell their jobs at the negotiating table. The only way to answer Ford's closure threat is through occupation coupled with an immediate national strike. There's no reason to wait -- all out at Ford now!

What happens at Ford is not of concern to Ford workers alone. Dagenham is the largest

single car-manufacturing complex in the country. And unlike, for example, British Leyland, Ford is riding high on profits. Ford workers have plenty of industrial muscle. A strike at Ford could be just the thing to spark the much-needed classwide response to the Tory union-bashing offensive. In 1978 Ford workers led the way in busting through the Callaghan Labour government's Phase Four wage controls.

But it won't happen if TGWU leaders like Ron Todd and the Communist Party supporters who exercise significant influence at Dagenham have their way. Their line against the jobs threat is to join hands with the bosses in pushing for reactionary import controls. Import controls will not save jobs. With Britain's economy already savaged by long-term decline and the government's Cold War austerity attacks, the only way to secure full

employment is through overthrowing this decrepit capitalist system and integrating Britain into a united socialist states of Europe. Instead the Labourite/CP bureaucrats put forward a recipe for trade war, the first step to shooting war, lining the workers up with their 'own' bosses in the midst of preparations for anti-Soviet war.

And import controls fuel racism! Ford Dagenham is one of the largest racially integrated industrial complexes in the country. A strike at Ford could be a beacon for transcending the insidious racial and national divisions fostered by the ruling class through unity forged in class struggle. Ford workers: Say no to the protectionist poison! Meet closure threats with occupations! For an immediate strike throughout Ford! Jobs for all through worksharing on full pay!

# Benn and Chesterfield

On 15 January Chesterfield Labour Party chose Tony Benn as their candidate for the by-election on 1 March to replace retiring Member of Parliament, Eric Varley. Fleet Street, the Tories and the NATO-lovers of the Social Democratic Party will be out to get their number one bogeyman.

Under the impact of the renewed anti-Soviet Cold War a distorted and uneven class line has been created inside the Labour Party between NATO loyalists and 'little England' 'socialists'. Benn is the most prominent representative of this second trend which is out of step with the ruling class's drive to anti-Soviet war. In the 1981 deputy leadership contest we extended critical support to Benn against Denis Healey in order to deepen and exacerbate that split, to help drive the Cold Warriors out, and put Benn and his cohorts in a position where they could be better exposed before Labour's working-class base, especially the thousands of militants who would have been propelled leftwards in such circumstances (see *Spartacist Britain* no 41, April 1982).

The new 'dream ticket' leadership of Kinnock/Hattersley has been busily trimming the Labour Party's colours to fit the requirements of the anti-Soviet war drive and the ruling class. Neil Kinnock's identification with the 'upwardly mobile' is his way of saying that he would rather pander to SDP types than look to the impoverished and oppressed. Hattersley's talk of a 'coalition of ideas' and loosening trade union ties to the Labour Party is his version of the ruling class's drive to destroy the power and influence of the trade unions. Meanwhile the witchhunt against Militant supporters and other leftists in the Labour Party continues. No wonder that arch-CIA-lover Denis Healey is talking

about being the 'Gromyko' of the Labour Party for the next thirty years! These developments are not encouraging.

Clearly Kinnock doesn't relish the prospect of Benn returning to Parliament, but right now he and the rest of the 'centre/right' central leadership of the Labour Party have, as the *Economist* (21 January) put it, 'no choice but to grin and bear it' and are making a show of unity behind the candidate. In this first by-election since Kinnock's accession to the leadership, they know that no matter how much they might try to blame Benn in the event of a defeat, they too will suffer. But the message to Benn is also clear: toe the line or else -- Kinnock/Hattersley will find more pressing duties than the promised speaking engagements and if necessary somebody will be given the nod to denounce the campaign, like ex-premier Jim Callaghan did last June.

In the past Tony Benn has repeatedly urged the 'far left' to join the Labour Party. A good chunk have ... on his terms. Contrary to the 'democratic socialists' of *Socialist Action* we do not think that on the outcome of this by-election 'depends quite literally the future of democracy, peace and social justice in Britain' (*Socialist Action*, 20 January). Against the utopian sham of unilateral nuclear disarmament we demand smash NATO, defend the Soviet Union. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army from Northern Ireland and oppose Benn's call for United Nations troops. Against the chauvinist poison of import controls and the Alternative Economic Strategy we fight for jobs for all, worksharing on full pay and the expropriation of the capitalist class and the creation of a soviet Britain, part of a socialist united states of Europe.

Benn wants to rally the troops and thinks 'despair' is a main enemy -- and certainly the Labour/TUC tops' 'new realism' is a programme of despair. He still talks about 'capitalism and oppression' being the problem and speaks against joining 'with bitterly anti-socialist people, the SDP, in the guise of an anti-Thatcher alliance' (*Socialist Action*, 27 January). On the other hand lately he has shown little sign of making any challenge to Kinnock's 'unity'. Where the Bennites once talked of Kinnock/Hattersley as the 'nightmare ticket' Benn now calls it a 'balanced leadership'.

Echoing the bourgeois demand that Labour 'discard the rag-bag of leftist, Militant and Trotskyite attitudes to which Mr Benn ... has been willing to give shelter and protection' (*Times*, 16 January), Peter Kellner's column in the *New Statesman* (20 January) worries: 'His by-election campaign will provide a wonderful chance for every loony lefty to come out of the woodwork'. More likely Benn is going to have so many 'centre/right' MPs and national officials minding him that this professed desire for a 'united party' campaign with support from across the political spectrum will be stillborn.

Is Tony Benn a reformed and chastened figure, eager to show that he is 'fit to govern' and a suitable candidate to crawl before the queen some day? Whether he likes it or not Benn will have to make a choice in this election. If Tony Benn does not simply stand as the dupe of the Hattersleys and Healeys, then we would welcome the opportunity to extend him critical support, in order to help drive out the SDP fifth column, to disrupt the drive for Cold War consensus and give Benn his opportunity to show his true colours. In that situation a Benn victory could help unlock the treacherous grip of the Labour/TUC tops and help towards splitting the Labour Party's mass base away from their misleaders, right and 'left', to a revolutionary party which can lead the struggle for workers rule. ■

## RCP: 'Norman Tebbit socialists'?

During the critical NGA dispute, much of the fake-revolutionary left again demonstrated that their perspective amounts to nothing more than tailing the do-nothing Labour/TUC 'lefts'. But the bizarrely anti-Soviet petty-bourgeois cult which calls itself the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) distinguished itself as true-blue 'Norman Tebbit socialists'. This outfit believes that 'The Soviet Union is the enemy of the working class.' Indeed from the revolutionary conquest of the planned economy down to the closed shop, the RCP does not have the slightest conception of the class line.

Echoing the lies of Thatcher, Tebbit et al, the RCP's *Economist*-style 'obituary' on the NGA dispute ('The unions and the law', *the next step*, January 1984) claimed that 'The NGA itself was not fighting to defend working class rights as a matter of principle. It was preoccupied with safeguarding the interests of the union bureaucracy.' One of their Birmingham members drew the logical corollary with the comment, 'The NGA is a reactionary union and we don't defend it!' The RCP claim their supporters

joined the picket lines at Warrington from the start. We believe them, we saw them there. But what were they there for? To argue that workers should oppose the closed shop, since 'Insofar as it strengthens the unions, such an arrangement strengthens only the bureaucracy' (*the next step*, June 1983)? With a line like this it is not in the least surprising that when an RCP speaker intervened against CP trade union leader Ken Gill at the height of the NGA crisis, he did not mention the NGA once! And when our comrades challenged them after the meeting on their opposition to the closed shop, they literally packed up their papers and ran.

Indeed the only 'advice' the RCP offered NGA and other workers in their article is that, 'To break our chains, we have to be prepared to break their laws.' Divine revelation! But which laws? The Tebbit provisions on the closed shop? The RCP agrees with its central thrust, viz that the closed shop is 'undemocratic', and protests that sanctions against scabs should 'not mean encouraging or allowing management to sack them'. We say it is an act of elementary class soli-

arity to get rid of management quislings who refuse to join the union. Or perhaps they call on unions to break the new law mooted by Employment Secretary King, which seeks to destroy the political levy to the Labour Party. Not so. The RCP demands that 'The automatic deduction from wages of political levies to the Labour Party must be stopped' (*the next step*, June 1983). We defend the political levy against Tory attack as an expression of the proletariat's right to organise politically, with its own political parties. Of course we recognise that today those funds go to social-democratic class traitors.

It is also a fact that the trade union bureaucrats use institutions like the closed shop, and all working class gains, to enhance their own privileged position. But it should be obvious to anyone that the Tory attacks on the closed shop and the political levy are aimed at weakening the working class and its organisations, and thus must be opposed down the line. Whether on the Soviet Union or the trade unions the RCP equates the bureaucratic misleaders with the workers institutions in order to justify their refusal to defend the latter, demonstrating only their petty-bourgeois hostility to the workers movement. ■

## Let Kwame Toure into Britain!

On Sunday morning, 22 January, Kwame Toure (formerly Stokely Carmichael) was banned by the Home Office from entering Britain. The present leader of the US-based All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) was held incommunicado by immigration officials at Heathrow for four hours before being put on a plane out of the country. All workers, national and racial minorities must protest this ban for what it is:

a calculated act of racism and an attack on basic democratic rights.

This racist government's ban on Carmichael takes place in the context of the ruling class's attempt to salvage the rotting corpse of British capitalism by joining with US imperialism's 'holy' war drive to 'get' the Soviet Union which means targetting the working class and the oppressed at home. In the past few weeks alone, we've seen an escalation in the Tories' union-bashing offensive, 'left' Labourite David Blunkett's anti-Irish ban and Enoch Powell's racist filth hit the headlines yet again. Immigration officials have been particularly active. They have just barred a Jamaican Pentecostal pastor from joining his wife here because his letters to her were not 'sufficiently affectionate'. And now they are trying to deport Charles Williams, a Nigerian passport holder who has a permanent residence stamp and who has lived here half his life, because he has been out of the country for more than two years.

This is not the first time Carmichael himself has faced a re-entry ban. His 1967 speech in London in which he defined 'Black Power' as 'the coming together of black people to fight for their liberation -- by any means necessary' generated hysteria from both the British media and

the then Labour government. In fact, at the time Carmichael was on the anti-communist right wing of the American black nationalist current. When the Black Panthers broke openly from him a year later, Huey Newton attacked cultural nationalism as reactionary, declaring that 'to be a revolutionary nationalist you would by necessity be a socialist'.

Today Carmichael peddles utopian Pan Africanism. On his August 1983 speaking tour in Britain his perspective boiled down to saying that the cops who quelled the '81 'riots' would not be so unprepared in 1983 and to pointing to the centuries of Irish oppression by British imperialism. Whites were excluded from his meetings and he labelled any black who didn't go along with his 'back to Africa' line as 'traitorous'. At a meeting in Birmingham when he asked all 'traitors' to stand up, two Spartacist supporters defiantly challenged his pan-African demagogy by standing.

In the speech he was to give this time, reprinted in the *New Statesman* (27 January 1984), he talks mainly about Africa's contribution to the world's large religions. His overall message is that blacks have to organise to get socialism in Africa. But organise for what? His idea of revolutionary leadership is nationalist demagogues like Kwame Nkrumah who broke the 1961 Ghanaian general strike and Robert Mugabe who has recently jailed thousands of women for

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### CONTACT THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE:

BIRMINGHAM.....(021) 554 7141  
LONDON.....(01) 278 2232  
SHEFFIELD.....(0742) 737067

## SPARTACIST BRITAIN

Monthly newspaper of the Spartacist League, British section of the international Spartacist tendency.  
EDITORIAL BOARD: David Strachan (editor), Caroline Carne (production manager), Alec Gilchrist, Faye Koch, John Masters, Eibhlin McDonald, Len Michelson, Ellen Rawlings  
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jeff Pascoe  
Published monthly, except in January and August, by Spartacist Publications, PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE.  
Subscriptions: 10 issues for £2.00, overseas airmail £5.00.  
Printed by Morning Litho Printers Ltd (TU).  
Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

# In Mitterrand's France, North African workers take the lead

## The battle of Talbot

PARIS -- The bitter strike of the courageous immigrant workers at Talbot-Poissy -- isolated and abandoned by their sellout union leaders -- has ended in defeat. But after 23 days of occupying the large car factory in the Paris suburbs, after having retaken the buildings following their expulsion by the CRS (riot police) shock brigades, after the bloody battle of Department B3, where they defended themselves against an assault by a thousand scabs and by professional thugs, the Talbot strikers have given an example to worker-militants throughout France.

The Talbot-Poissy factory has the highest percentage in France of immigrant workers, with 53 per cent of its labour force composed of foreign-born workers, predominantly North African Arabs, more than 80 per cent of whom can neither read nor write. When the hammer came down on them these immigrant workers fought -- and how they fought!

The showdown came with the battle of January 5. The company brought in hundreds of foremen and other supervisory personnel from all over the Peugeot empire. (The PSN fascists bragged about dispatching their thugs to Poissy as well.) A dozen plainclothes goons armed with slingshots, fire extinguishers and (some of them at least) revolvers headed the charge of the 'blue shirts'. Against this violent assault, the workers occupying Department B3 counter-attacked with anything they could lay their hands on. There was a rain of bolts; entire parts of chassis were hurled from the overhead passageways. After an hour the assailants were withdrawn by management and the hundreds of strikers remained in their besieged fort. Outside, the frustrated racist scabs shouted, 'To the gas ovens!'

It was then the CFTD (union federation led by Mitterrand's Socialist Party) abandoned the struggle. 'Now I am afraid' said Talbot CFTD leader Jean-Pierre Noual. Instead of calling for emergency reinforcements from nearby car factories (Renault-Flins, Citroen-Aulnay) the CFTD called ... the police. Then hours later the strikers were evacuated from the buildings between two lines of CRS riot cops. Immediately afterwards management declared a lockout for several days and the CFTD called off the strike.

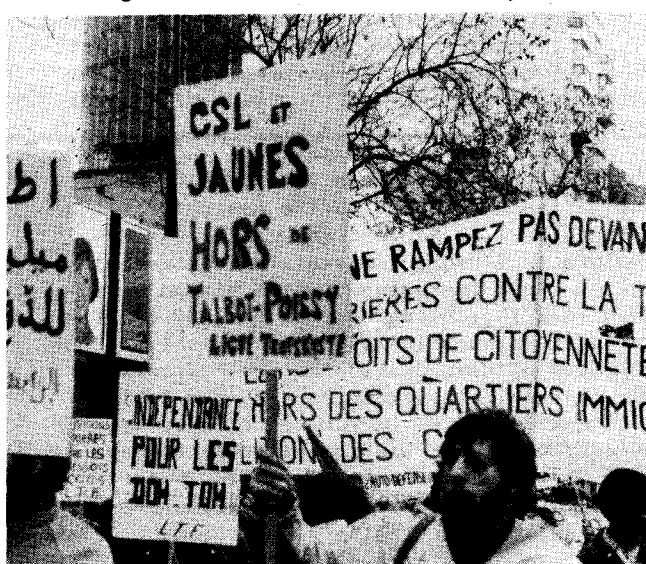
At a time when the regime of 'austerity Socialist' president Francois Mitterrand is shaken by an apparently interminable economic crisis and driven into a corner by the increasingly aggressive forces of reaction, the Talbot workers' struggle could have touched off a strike wave to beat back the joint offensives of the employers and government, thereby opening the perspective of revolutionary struggles. At this turning point the fate of France depends on the construction of a truly Bolshevik party which can fight class collaboration and racial oppression, forging a powerful working-class mobilisation inspired by the current vanguard of immigrant workers. That is the goal of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France.

When Francois Mitterrand was elected the first Socialist president of the Fifth French Republic in May 1981, the reformist left throughout the world hailed this as a great victory. Amid a capitalist world committed to economic austerity and monetarism, the new French popular front advocated what the snide London *Economist* dubbed 'Keynesianism in one country'. The Mitterrand regime promised to pull France out of the world economic crisis -- the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s -- through a purely national policy of fiscal and monetary expansion.

The pseudo-Trotskyists such as the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) followers of Ernest Mandel/Alain Krivine, Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) and Arlette Laguiller's Lutte Ouvriere (LO) enthusiastically supported Mitterrand. The PCI proclaimed Mitterrand's 10 May 1981 election success a 'workers victory' against the bourgeoisie. Uniquely, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, insisted that Mitterrand was in fact tied to a section of the French bourgeoisie, and not just marginal elements like the Left Radicals but centrally the Gaullists. On the eve of the second round the LTF wrote:



Racist thugs attack Talbot striker.



Talbot workers demonstration, 14 January.

'What has Mitterrand promised which creates such enthusiasm in our leftists of yesterday? To form a popular-frontist alliance with representatives of the bourgeoisie (Left Radicals, Gaullists, etc). To reinforce the links of imperialist France with the Atlantic Alliance aimed at the USSR. To make the workers pay for the crisis of capitalism. It will be the popular front under the colors of Gaullism!' ('Giscard Never, Mitterrand No!' *Workers Vanguard* no 280, 8 May 1981)

The proletariat's 'honeymoon' with the Mitterrand regime broke down after only six months. In October 1981 atrocious working conditions in the 'model [nationalised] enterprise', Renault, pitted the car workers against the 'employer-state'. While the Confederation Generale du Travail (Communist-led union federation) and Confederation Francaise Democratique du Travail (Socialist-led union federation) bureaucrats smothered the strikers, confining them to individual departments or plants, the pseudo-

Trotskyists (LCR, LO, PCI) refused to call even for a strike of the entire Renault chain. Echoing the Socialists' slogan for 'changement' (change), they were on their knees before Mitterrand demanding new bosses for this nationalised firm!

In the winter of 1982-83 strikes broke out again in the car industry -- this time at Citroen, Renault-Flins, Chausson and others -- posing point-blank the necessity of an industry-wide strike. The Mitterrand regime stood exposed as viciously anti-working-class by Prime Minister Mauroy's revolting attack on the largely immigrant strikers as 'Islamic fundamentalists' manipulated by ayatollahs. The workers shot back: 'Us, fundamentalists? Bring us a bottle of whiskey and we'll see!' (*Liberation*, 29-30 January 1983). Once again the trade union bureaucrats refused to organise a genuine counter-attack to management lockouts, the Stalinist social-chauvinists refusing to block production of 'red, white and blue' cars. The response of Mitterrand's 'Trotskyist' tails: petitions and postcards designed to pressure the social democrats. Today the bitterly fought strike at Talbot sharply poses the possibility of a working-class fightback against the government's intertwined austerity/anti-immigrants campaign.

In the service of the popular front the mass reformist parties, the trade union bureaucrats and their 'far-left' accomplices have banded together to smother working-class struggle against the anti-working-class Mitterrand regime. A key component has been social-chauvinist protectionism. And it is precisely the immigrant workers, the least susceptible to these social-patriotic appeals, who are playing the lead role in strike struggles. But as the experience of the Mitterrand popular front shows, working-class mobilisation against racist terror and a counteroffensive against austerity, if it is to be successful, must lead to sweeping away not just 'the right' but the capitalist system as such. This requires the construction of a conscious revolutionary leadership to combat popular frontism -- a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

### Reformists against the Talbot workers

The Talbot strike was a flash of lightning starkly outlining the political landscape of France under the popular front of the 1980s. Foreign-born industrial workers, fighting to save their jobs, were confronted by an offensive of the entire ruling class, from the little kings of Peugeot who believe in the 'divine right' of private property, to the most 'enlightened' managers, educated in the elite universities, who run the nationalised companies in the interests of French capital. On the side of the Peugeot bosses were the 'left' government, the Socialist and Communist (PCF) parties, and the sellout leaders of the unions who fulfilled their role as firemen putting out the flames of the feared 'workers' revolt'.

Last summer the management of the PSA group (Peugeot), owner of Talbot for the last two

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## London meeting features Talbot report

Over fifty people turned out to a Spartacist League public meeting in London on 20 January entitled 'Cold War means war on workers, minorities!' A Spartacist League spokesman outlined the class-struggle strategy needed to smash the Tory union-bashing offensive. We are particularly proud to have had a special guest speaker from the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, the French section of the international Spartacist tendency, who presented a vivid eyewitness account of both the struggle of immigrant workers at Talbot and the intervention of our French comrades. The Talbot-Poissy dispute was a direct reflection of Mitterrand's popular-front government of 'Socialists' and 'Communists' vicious austerity attacks against workers and minorities in the drive to war against the Soviet Union. In an enthusiastic response, people purchased nearly £30 of SL literature and contributed almost £50 towards the cost of the SL/US's successful lawsuit against the Moonies' deadly libel (see page 4).



Spartacist public meeting with speakers on the NGA and Talbot strikes, 20 January 1984



# Stop deportations of Tamils!

The lives of Tamil refugees who have fled from last summer's government-inspired pogrom in Sri Lanka are in serious jeopardy. In Britain, out of 220 Tamils who applied for political asylum, only ten have been accepted thus far, twenty refused and at least two already deported. For Tamils deportation to Sri Lanka could mean death. They know the fate of Govindan Poobalarantam. On returning to his job in a textile factory after having fled from Colombo to a refugee camp last summer, he was tortured and killed by Sinhala chauvinists in his own workplace.

In a West Berlin deportation jail on New Year's Eve, three young Tamils as well as a Tunisian and two Palestinians died from cyanide fumes given off from burning mattresses. One survivor testified that he saw a cop throwing fireworks into the cell. An investigation was immediately launched against the survivors for arson and prison mutiny. Seven of the survivors have already been deported in secret in a blatant attempt to cover up the hideous massacre. At a demonstration of some 650 people on 2 January, Tamils expressed just outrage with chants of 'At home they burn our houses, here they burn our bodies!' and took up the chants of our comrades of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands: 'Free all deportation prisoners now! No deportations -- deportation is murder! Political asylum for Tamils! German imperialism, paymasters for JR's genocide!'

The imperialist rulers condone the murder

of Tamils because they back JR's regime to the hilt. They want the port of Trincomalee as part of their war preparations against the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly, Thatcher has been keeping extremely quiet about the 600 Sinhala soldiers being trained here. Challenged by a Plaid Cymru MP on the deportation of Tamils, Tory Immigration Minister David Waddington denied 'that the situation in Sri Lanka is such as to justify a general policy of not returning Tamils there'.

Rubbish! Months after the terrifying massacres of over two thousand defenceless Tamils, the rigid press censorship in Sri Lanka cannot hide the continuing brutal occupation of the Tamil areas. In the Eastern Province which includes Trincomalee, Sinhala chauvinists led by Buddhist monks have been given the green light to drive Tamil farmers off their land. On 11 January, negotiations began in Colombo between the government and Sinhala and Tamil organisations. JR is insisting that the Tamils give up the demand for an independent Tamil Eelam and, significantly, that the central government should have control of the port of Trincomalee. The collapse of the negotiations could easily be the signal for another round of Tamil massacres. But whatever the outcome, there can be no capitalist solution for the plight of the oppressed Tamils. The Spartacist League/Lanka has fought consistently in defence of Tamil rights on the basis of a revol-



London, July 1983: Spartacist tendency mobilised internationally against anti-Tamil terror.

utionary proletarian perspective uniting the Tamil and Sinhalese toiling masses against the Sinhala-chauvinist capitalist oppressors. What is desperately needed is the construction of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka. For the right of Tamil Eelam! No deportations to Jayewardene's death-trap! Free all deportation prisoners now! Troops out of Tamil areas! No US base at Trincomalee! Forward to a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka! For a socialist federation of South Asia!

## Kwame Toure...

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prostitution because they couldn't produce a marriage certificate! As communists we see the increasingly militant, conscious and well-organised black proletariat in the industrial powerhouse of South Africa as key to the fight to rip Africa out of the hands of the neo-colonialists and to the establishment of workers and peasants governments throughout the continent.

And what is his programme in action? When it came down to an acid test, when the SL/US mobilised 5000 trade unionists/blacks who stopped the fascist KKK from marching in Washington DC in November 1982, Carmichael's outfit was nowhere to be seen. His answer to race terror: 'When you see an individual act of racism ... when on this campus, for example, a white student stabs an African sister, don't use your energy to stop it, use your energy to organise people!' Unlike Carmichael, revolutionaries seek to mobilise the social power of the working class -- which in Britain includes many West Indians and people from the Indian subcontinent -- to overthrow capitalism. The power of prayer won't stop the fascists from marching, but mass trade union/minority mobilisations can.

Stokely Carmichael has nothing to offer oppressed minorities in Britain but reactionary do-nothing utopian nonsense. But the government seeks to ban him simply because he is black and has the temerity to speak out against racial oppression. We say:

- Down with the racist immigration laws!
- Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Halt the deportations!
- Down with the government's reactionary and racist ban on Stokely Carmichael! Let him speak in Britain!

## Battle of Talbot...

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years, announced its intention to slash more than 4000 jobs at the Poissy plant. Following walkouts by Talbot workers, the government decided to postpone the decision. In October the PCF minister of employment, Jack Ralite, accepted 1000-plus job cuts accomplished through 'early retirement'. On December 7, as rumours spread that the projected 2900 layoffs would be approved, several hundred immigrant workers occupied the plant. Ten days later the government announced with much fanfare a deal negotiated by Ralite, the company and the CGT (Communist-led union federation) which set the total layoffs at 1900, with phony training programmes for the fired workers. Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy spoke of 'industrial reconstruction with a human face', but the Talbot workers affected by this plan rejected it almost unanimously. The explosive situation threw the

Stalinists and Socialists into a total mess, both in the unions and in the cabinet.

The hard-line Peugeot management was determined to flush out one of the centres of working-class resistance, which played a vanguard role in the car strikes of 1982-83. They wanted to reestablish the paternalistic labour relations of days past, when the bosses seemed like colonial plantation owners. The labour force was recruited in remote villages of Morocco, where the latter-day slave traders of Simca (later Chrysler-France, then Talbot, now a subsidiary of Peugeot) selected illiterate peasants almost exclusively. Once in the plant they were controlled by the scab 'union' which includes a large number of poor white colonialists from Algeria and ex-legionnaire types. It was a reproduction of colonial society at the very heart of French industry. And when they went into revolt against Mitterrand's layoffs, these North African wage-slaves stood at the centre of class struggle in France.

The Talbot strike ended in defeat. But it is a defeat that could anger the working class rather than demoralise it. Government plans call for 'trimming' up to 40,000 jobs in the car industry, 20,000 in steel, thousands in shipbuilding, closing down whole regions of coal mining. This must be answered by joint strike action, leading toward a general strike. If the workers do not fight back, the reactionaries are waiting in the wings. The ultrarightist cop demonstration last June was an indication of the real bonapartist threat to replace one more of France's unstable bourgeois-democratic governments with a new 'strong state', unless the proletariat takes its fate in its own hands.

Earlier popular fronts in France similarly dug their own graves. When in March 1937 riot police shot down anti-fascist demonstrators at Clichy, Socialist prime minister Leon Blum found the situation too hot to handle and passed the governmental reins to his bourgeois bloc partners, the Radicals. Succeeding Radical governments of the Popular Front launched a full-scale assault on the gains wrested from the bourgeoisie in June 1936, eliminating the 40-hour week, culminating in the crushing of the November 1938 general strike. The slow disintegration of the Popular Front came to a close when the same parliament which had given the Popular Front its majority approved Petain's dictatorship (including a number of social-democratic deputies).

### Forging a Trotskyist party

What is needed is a revolutionary party that told the truth about the Mitterrand regime from the beginning, and thus was prepared to organise a throughgoing class struggle against it. What is needed is a genuinely communist party that acts as a 'tribune of the people', championing the immigrants' cause. From the beginning of the Talbot strike, the Ligue Trotskyste (LTF) sought concrete means to extend the strike and win it.

An LTF comrade at the Renault-Cleon car plant in Rouen led a delegation of CGT members

and other car workers which visited the Talbot-Poissy plant on December 29 to show their solidarity with the striking immigrant workers. An open letter by the LTF comrade reporting to Cleon workers on the delegation (subsequently reproduced and distributed by the LTF in French and Arabic) called for the election of strike committees to lead a general strike of the car industry. Other demands included extension of the strike to supplier and dependent industries like steel and transport; immediate 24-hour strike at Renault-Cleon to lay the basis for a national strike; occupation of the plant protected by mass pickets; full citizenship rights for foreign workers.

The Ligue Trotskyste was virtually unique in linking the government/employer offensive against the Talbot workers with the racist campaign of cop and fascist terror against immigrant neighbourhoods in France during the past year. At a January 14 march we chanted: 'Cops out of the immigrant districts!' and 'Against the fascists, against the racists -- workers militias!' The LTF banner directly addressed the defeatist sentiments sown by the failure of the French workers movement to back up the strike; the banner declared: 'Don't pack your bags -- Not one layoff or deportation -- For a general carworkers strike!' Another banner proclaimed: 'French and immigrant workers -- Break with Mitterrand and his left tails, liquidators of the Talbot strike.'

While the pseudo-Trotskyists kow-tow to the chauvinist union tops, the Ligue Trotskyste has the right to oppose the defeatism among North African and black African workers in France because of our consistent opposition to all forms of chauvinism. In the 1981 elections the LTF had raised the possibility of critical support to the PCF's Georges Marchais, until the PCF's bulldozer attack against the immigrant community in the Paris suburb of Vitry. We pointed out that the Communist Party's disgusting racism (shown also in the protectionist 'Produce French' campaign) is support to one's 'own' bourgeoisie.

Reformism is necessarily nationalist; revolutionary socialism is internationalist. Thus in crawling after Mitterrand, the 'far left' has joined in the anti-Soviet war drive, whose architects are not only in the White House but also in the Elysee. Denouncing Mitterrand's anti-Sovietism, the LTF comrade's open letter to the Renault-Cleon workers pointed out: 'By the way, comrades of the PCF, if the "comrade ministers" were currently in a real workers government, the NATO generals would be counting the French missiles on the Soviet side instead of the reverse.' With the arms buildup for an imperialist war against the Soviet Union already well advanced, with Reagan embarked on a wave of provocations from Central America to Lebanon, the question of 'after Mitterrand, what?' takes on world importance. The French working class has the power and duty to answer: for a workers Commune! ■

# Spartacist League/US vindicated Moonies forced to retract deadly libel

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/US  
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
Monday, 26 December 1983

Sun Myung Moon's Washington, DC daily newspaper, the *Washington Times*, was forced today to retract its libelous attack on two Marxist organizations, the Spartacist League (SL) and its youth affiliate, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

Attorneys for the SL/SYL had brought a libel suit on June 14, 1983 against Moon's Times-Tribune Corp, owner of the *Washington Times*. The suit filed by attorneys Jonathan W Lubell of Cohn, Glickstein, Lurie, Ostrin, Lubell & Lubell and Rachel H Wolkenstein, General Counsel for the SL, charged that the *Washington Times*' November 30, 1982 article 'Left wing group linked to D.C. riot' had maliciously and falsely libeled the SL/SYL as criminal provocateurs, as 'provoking violence' against the police during the November 27, 1982 anti-Klan protests in Washington, DC.

Today, December 26, the *Washington Times*, in a settlement won by the SL/SYL, published a letter by the SL/SYL detailing the activities of the SL-initiated 'Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, DC November 27', along with its own introduction, including the key statement: 'We no longer charge that the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League pro-

voked violence on that day.'

Spartacist League spokesman Walt Senterfitt commented on the settlement: 'This victory has helped spike the sinister, ultraright Moonies' bid for respectability and influence in America. The *Washington Times* is the Moonie Unification Church's attempt to give a respectable, conservative cover to Moon's plans for theocratic dictatorship -- in the name of fighting "the Great Satan" of Marxism, of course. But the Moonie "Lord of the Second Advent" had to apologize to his most hated "Satan", revolutionary Marxism'.

'Our successful fight against the Moonies' libel is an important victory for all those who hailed the Labor/Black Mobilization's stopping the terrorist Klan march on November 27', said SL counsel Wolkenstein. 'This was a libel that kills. In falsely targeting the SL/SYL as would-be cop-killers, the Moonies were trying to set up the organization's members and supporters to be shot first and questioned later. We took up the suit in self-defense, to protect not only our good name, but the right of anyone to organize against Klan/Nazi terror without being subject to vicious frame-ups.'

Jonathan Lubell stated, 'This settlement is extremely significant in light of the fact that the media will not generally settle cases of this nature. The *Washington Times*' libels

against the SL/SYL were dangerous as well as false. This settlement is recognition of the essential fact that the SL/SYL were not involved in provoking violence.' Lubell is a nationally known libel lawyer who successfully took the case of *Herbert v Lando* to the Supreme Court.

The SL/SYL has overwhelming evidence exposing the Moonies' libel, including a statement submitted by FBI director William Webster to the 1983 FBI Oversight Hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. Webster's March 10 submission included the statement that though 'a group known as the Spartacist League (SPL) was alleged to have been involved in the violent portion of the anti-Klan demonstration', in fact, 'investigation by the Washington Metropolitan Police Department and the United States Capitol Police has not uncovered any indication that the aforementioned group did more than urge participation in the anti-Klan demonstration by residents of the District of Columbia, who were and are unsupportive of the Klan's goals.'

Wolkenstein noted that the letter printed today by the *Washington Times* was a resubmission by the SL/SYL. The original letter included the SL's fundamental Marxist position that: 'We believe, and we believe that history shows, that the liberation of the mass of the working people and other oppressed comes only through the conscious mass education and organization of the workers. Therefore, any attempts at substituting 'heroes' or any 'desperate deeds' of such heroes (actually despairing individuals in most cases) derails the valid and necessary path of social liberation. Naturally enemies of such liberation are wont to falsely project Marxists as violent crazies, bomb throwers and surrogates for sinister alien forces.'

SL spokesman Walt Senterfitt additionally stated: 'It's no accident that it is we Marxists who have ended up defending the liberties we all cherish against the Moonies' attempts to subvert them. We've defended those liberties in a small way via this lawsuit, but in a larger way through our consistent defense of the right of the working class to organize, and to fight against race-terror.'

Being god is supposed to mean never having to say you're sorry. So it is rare indeed when a self-appointed messiah like 'Lord of the Second Advent' Sun Myung Moon makes a public apology to the very forces he has identified as 'Satan'. The *Washington Times* retraction is not only a victory for the Spartacist League/US, but for all the participants of the powerful mass mobilisation of 5000 which put a stop to the Klan's plans to march in Washington DC.

The Moonie libel fits the pattern of falsely branding socialists and other political opponents of government policy as violent terrorists. The Reaganites recognise only two categories of opposition: wimpy university professors who write an occasional letter to the *New York Times*, or ... terrorists. Our victory cuts across this *modus operandi* of the witch-hunters of Cold War II. In the forefront of this fight against the new McCarthyism with a drawn gun, the SL has also initiated a suit against the FBI's ominous new Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines.

In reaching a settlement agreement, our bottom line in the negotiations between the lawyers was that the *Washington Times* publicly retract its charge that the SL/SYL provoked violence on November 27. They rejected our initial letter for publication which sets out the political context: key statements on Marxism vs terrorism and on the cop riot on November 27 near the reformist diversion rally.

We secured this important victory against a group widely known and feared for its vindictive use of lawsuits against its opponents. With Moon's seemingly bottomless reservoir of money, multinational corporate interests, batteries of lawyers and connections in high places, the Moonies have become infamous, and regarded as making the courts a battlefield of harassment and intimidation in their holy war.

Sun Myung Moon's pseudo-religious 'Unification Church' proclaims: 'Communism is a cancer. You can't live with it. You have to destroy it.' The *Washington Times* -- created by Moon's right-hand man, former South Korean army officer and Moonie link to the Korean CIA, Colonel Bo Hi Pak -- is today key to Moon's sinister designs. The Spartacist League was not exaggerating when we said, in announcing our \$20 million suit against Moon's *Washington Times* newspaper: 'Moonie Libel That Kills' (*Workers Vanguard* no 332, 17 June 1983).

How can this self-anointed 'messiah' with his South Korean munitions plant, who performs mass marriages of sex-deprived zombie victims in Madison Square Garden, hope to establish a 're-

spectable' daily newspaper? By being the loudest noise on the anti-Soviet bandwagon. Already, in its short history, the Moonie newspaper has become known as the mouthpiece for Jeane Kirkpatrick (who views the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse as 'moderate authoritarians'), CIA-

backed *contras* and every reactionary policy of the Reagan administration. The *Washington Times* boasts of its rare interview with the president himself and claims their newspaper is the first one he reads in the morning.

continued on page 8

## Moonie Press's Retraction

### Letters



The Washington Times

-26 December 1983

WASHINGTON, D.C.

25 cents

### The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

**Editor's note:** On Nov. 30, 1982, The Washington Times ran a story on the Nov. 27, 1982 anti-KKK demonstration in Washington, D.C. The letter published below describes the activities and position of the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League in regard to its demonstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Spartacist League (SL) and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated the Labor-Black Mobilization to "Stop the KKK" in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27, 1982. The Labor-Black Mobilization was built through the participation of organized labor -- over 70 union locals, officials, and executive boards endorsed. A permit for the rally at Constitution and First Avenues, near the Capitol Building and the beginning of the Klan's route of the march, was secured from the appropriate police authorities on Nov. 22. During the next four days, the SL and the SYL posted thousands of placards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets announcing the Labor-Black Mobilization rally.

The Labor-Black Mobilization rally began at about 9:30 a.m. on Nov. 27 and continued until about 12:40 p.m., engaging the participation of 5,000, predominantly blacks

and trade unionists, who listened to speeches and took part in militant chanting. A monitor squad, including several members each from the Laborers, AFSCME, Teamsters, and Transit Unions, as well as 10 International Longshoremen Association members from Norfolk and union supporters of the SL, had been formed to maintain an orderly and controlled demonstration.

For approximately one-and-one-half hours, the demonstrators were face to face with the police who had lined the Constitution Ave. side of the rally site. At 12:40 it was learned that the Klan would not march and, as the police withdrew, the demonstrators spontaneously entered Constitution Ave. proclaiming, "We stopped the Klan!" Protesters rushed to the top of Capitol Hill and then wheeled around and headed toward Pennsylvania Ave. and Lafayette Park, the Klan's intended destination. Thousands streamed up what was to have been the KKK march route, stopped traffic, and exchanged victory salutes with drivers.

Prior to and at the time the Labor-Black Mobilization demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the Park police operations were in progress with police using tear gas against others who had assembled near Lafayette Park. The Labor-Black Mobilization dem-

onstrators were directed by our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this rally the monitors successfully, peacefully, and in an orderly manner led the demonstrators away from the police and tear gassing and out of the park, without incident. Many hundreds of protestors then attended a victory party at the Bellvue Hotel in the Capitol area.

What happened on Nov. 27 was that the Klan did not march. The media -- with the notable exception of the black press -- portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as widespread violence and looting. But it was only *The Washington Times* that named the SL and the SYL as provocateurs of violence against the police.

We believe that through the militant presence of the Labor-Black Mobilization the Klan was stopped. Neither the SL, the SYL nor any other component of our mass Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

**JAMES M. ROBERTSON**  
National Chairman  
The Spartacist League  
**EMILY TURNBULL**  
National Secretary  
Spartacus Youth League  
Washington

# FOR WORKERS REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH ISLES CELTIC STRUGGLE AND ENGLISH

We reprint below an edited transcript of a talk given by Spartacist League Central Committee member David Strachan at a public meeting in Sheffield on Sunday, 29 January.

Comrades, I think the recent events in Sheffield posed a number of central questions of revolution in this country. Concretely it's posed the treachery of the Labour Party, the centrality of the Irish question and the reality of the fascist threat. And it also poses a number of the same questions that arose two years ago when the H-block hunger strikes were on, and in this country there were the smallest demonstrations that took place anywhere in Europe at the time.

Now as communists we want to unite the working class, to be the tribune of the oppressed. And we see communalism, nationalism, racism as dividing the working class and the oppressed and as tools of the bourgeoisie. In this country the Irish question is a particular manifestation of the way in which the bourgeoisie divides the working class and there is a direct and absolute interest of the English working class to break the Irish connection. What should have happened today was not this ban in which the organisers of the Bloody Sunday demonstration ran with their tails between their legs and the fascists turned up with several buses, but a mass labour and minority mobilisation to crush the fascists, to make Blunkett's ban quite irrelevant.

There should have been contingents down from Scotland, a William Wallace contingent, a Black Douglas contingent, a John Maclean contingent. And from the black and Asian areas there should have been contingents too: a Toussaint L'Ouverture contingent, an Udhan Singh contingent named after the founder of the Indian Workers Association, the man who assassinated the governor of Punjab who headed up the Amritsar massacre, and who was himself murdered by the British state secretly during the Second World War. There should have been contingents from all over the country of blacks, Asians, trade unionists, and I think we could even have had a contingent from Cambridge called the Kim Philby contingent. Because in this country the most admirable people are the ones who are frequently known as the traitors. We'd like to celebrate some of these traitors tonight.

## Fascists — shock troops for anti-Irish reaction

Now, the fascists are bidding to do all the dirty work for the capitalists and one thing they see as particularly important is the question of Ireland. Last year on the Saturday before the 'twelfth', when all the Orange celebrations are, Martin Webster and a number of other British fascists went to Northern Ireland and spoke in Coleraine Town Hall. And Webster said, 'The reason the National Front is here is that it holds a little flame, it is a few elite people who will hold high the Union Jack come what may. When you are ready for battle we will lead you to the sound of gunfire.' And then his youth leader, this fellow Joe Pearce, a particularly unsavoury character, got up and announced that the Front 'would not be happy until every black rapist is hanging from lampposts in the streets of Brixton and every IRA man is hanging from the lampposts in the Falls Road'. So they want to get every minority -- the Irish, the

blacks, the Asians -- and they want to get the trade unionists. They see the connection and it's time that in the left and labour movement in this country the connection was seen between these various questions and not denied in the manner that Sinn Fein and the organisers of the Bloody Sunday commemoration did this weekend.

And the reason why no one wants to face up to these connections of an all-sided capitalist offensive to discipline the labour force, to blame minorities for the privations of capitalism, is that the capitalists are presently driving to war against the world's first workers state, the Soviet Union. They're preparing nuclear first strike and they want to drive down the living standards of the working class, to impose Cold War austerity to prepare for that. And most of the left in this country, and much of the Labour Party, are going along with that, accepting the terms the bourgeoisie imposes on them for this period and bowing down before these pressures.

Now, it is always important to stress that the Labour Party in this country represents the

Spartacist Britain



Spartacist Sheffield meeting to commemorate the Celtic struggle, 29 January 1984

great bulk of the organised working class, that it is a strategic obstacle to proletarian revolution, that it represented, in its development, the aspirations of the working class for political representation. But it's also important to stress the other side of it (and this is the side that is frequently forgotten these days): that it is a bourgeois workers party, that it is in its leadership and programme the agency of the bourgeoisie in the working class, and that particularly on Ireland its name stinks.

I defy anyone here to indicate to me one good thing that this Labour Party has ever done on Ireland, one good thing. It was the Labour government that withdrew political status in

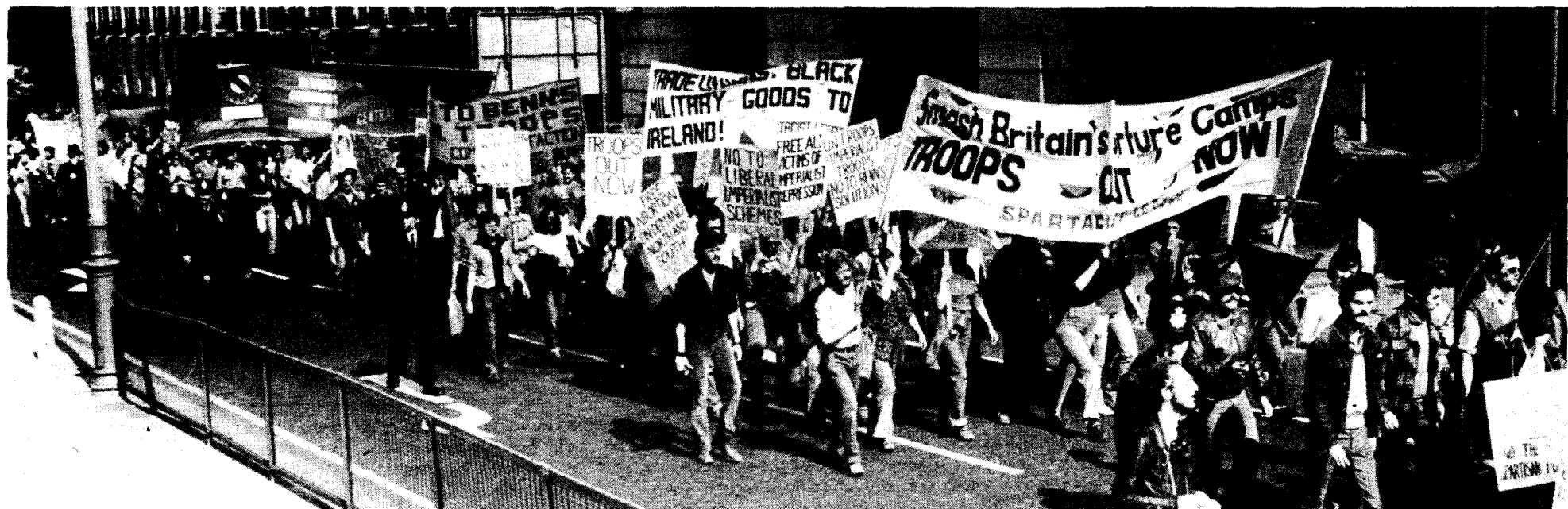
1976 in order to call all the people who fought British imperialism criminals, to justify the British policies. It implemented the Prevention of Terrorism Act, it's had bipartisanship with the Tories for years and many of the left wing groups that presently are trying to work in the Labour Party attempt to cover this up and to justify it. This goes to extremes at times. For instance *Socialist Organiser* claims that -- he's now Lord -- Harold Wilson is sympathetic to the oppressed Northern Catholics. This is the prime minister who implemented many of these policies. Some years ago many of these groups used to chant 'Victory to the IRA' -- now their main activity seems to be to plead for plastic bullets to be banned and to hope that the next Labour government will set a date for withdrawal.

And even the people who claim that they have nothing to do with the Labour Party, like the RCP who said they're finished with the Labour Party at the last election, spend their time pressuring Labour 'rising stars' like David Blunkett to implement some sort of 'PTA-free zones' for them. And the Labour Committee on Ireland -- all these groups like Socialist Organiser, Socialist Action, Workers Power are all involved in it -- has on its platform people who want the United Nations to supervise in Ireland, people who think that the model that should be followed in Ireland is Zimbabwe with Lord Carrington going over there to fix up a deal. They are adopting one form or another of a British capitalist solution, and this comes down most sharply when they refuse to raise the elementary call in this country for the immediate unconditional withdrawal of the British army.

Now they're so busy trying to make the Labour Party reform that whereas in the past they would have defended anything the Republicans did, any sort of bombing, they now are very, very concerned when the Republicans carry out bombings in this country. It is not from a Marxist standpoint. The Marxist position on bomb attacks like the Harrods bombing is that such attacks are indefensible, that they are indiscriminate attacks on civilian targets, that they cannot be defended as we for instance defend those who've carried out attacks like that on Lord Mountbatten or the British army. We defend them against state repression. But not the perpetrators of attacks on random civilian targets like the Droppin Well, like La Mon, like the Harrods bombing.

The fake Trotskyists don't have that position. Their main concern is that such bomb attacks will hinder the 'dialogue' that they see developing between Sinn Fein and such Labour 'lefts' as Ken Livingstone, who is very closely identified with Sheffield's David Blunkett. What they worry about is not that such bombing attacks poison and divide the relations in the working class but that this will upset the Labour 'lefts'. And it's true. It did upset the Labour 'lefts', as we've seen. It wasn't just Blunkett with the bans. In London there was a motion put in the GLC that condemned the bombing attack, that condemned anybody who politically sympathises with the Republicans. And everyone voted for that, including Ken Livingstone, 'on the nod' -- unanimously, by some form of acclamation.

Now I want to make a point about the Cold War and Ireland. Recently in the newspapers there was a report that Enoch Powell said that

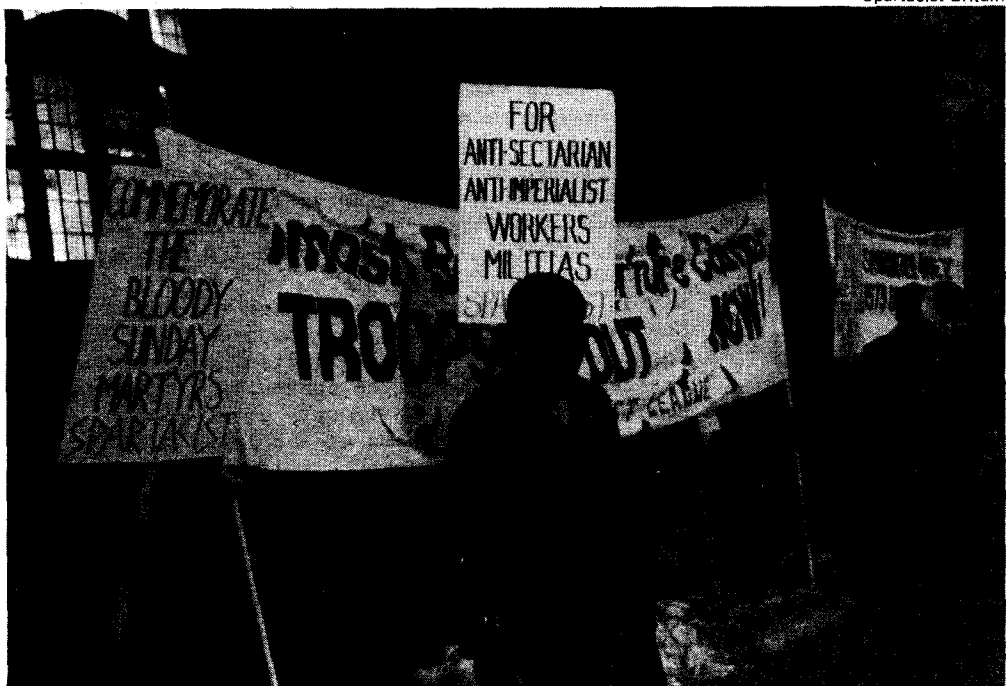


Spartacist League contingent during 1981 IRA hunger strike. Proletarian revolutionaries fight for 'Troops out of Ireland now!'



# BRITISH ISLES! DOMINATION

Spartacist Britain



Spartacist picket commemorates Bloody Sunday martyrs and protests Labour ban on Sinn Fein march.

Mountbatten of Burma was blown away by a CIA plot. Now one does not have to subscribe to Powell's various conspiracy theories, but it is true that American imperialism and the other imperialists are quite concerned about Ireland and they're concerned about Ireland's neutrality because in what they envisage as a battle of the western approaches in the war that they are planning against the Soviet Union they would like to have secure the harbours and facilities of the west coast of Ireland in particular.

And in the way of that is a certain Irish neutralism, which is pretty phoney. For one thing, Ireland joined the Common Market. In 1949 Ireland only refused to join NATO because of the question of partition. It has pursued a deeply anti-Communist and pro-Western policy and has sent its troops repeatedly to join United Nations 'peacekeeping' missions which are to prop up capitalism in various forms, including most lately in Lebanon. The Irish bourgeoisie agree that they would join a European defence organisation of some description in the future. So in fact the neutrality of the Irish Republic at this point is very very closely linked up to the question of partition and it's quite clear what Powell and some of the more thoughtful Loyalists in Ulster are concerned about is that some deal will be made where a united Ireland is traded for Ireland's full involvement in the NATO alliance.

So when you consider this question of Irish neutrality you see the Labour Party has all these plans for some sort of united Ireland solution (they're justified by the Labour Party left wing like Socialist Organiser's Sean Matgamna who says it should be a federal solution with the Protestants getting a little bit of democracy in the framework of a united Ireland). You can see that these are imperialist plans for Ireland. Sinn Fein's idea of a united Ireland is not necessarily simply the same but dovetails very neatly and dangerously with the Cold War intentions of some of the principal imperialists in the world. And of course Sinn Fein likes Solidarnosc, just like the Labour Party does, remember that.

## Nationalism — dead-end for Irish workers

Now that's not all that's wrong with Sinn Fein because Sinn Fein are nationalists. There's been a lot of talk in the British left recently that they've gone over to socialism. They oppose abortion in their statement of principles, which is hardly reassuring to Irish women. And *Socialist Action* said it was a 'revolution' because they dropped the adjective 'total' from their opposition! They have explicitly and repeatedly said that they are opposed to the overthrow of the Southern regime by force of arms. *Republican News* not so long ago said the following: 'Britain can be beaten when the Free State premier, the SDLP leader and the Catholic hierarchy are forced to apply their muscle instead of as at present playing with it.' So their strategy is to get the Irish bourgeoisie and the Catholic church to support a united Ireland and going along with that they're seeking some opinion in British imperialist circles to support them too. And the inheritors of the old liberal ideas of deals with the Irish and neo-colonialist solu-

tions is the Labour Party and part of the solution immediately is to seek some Labour 'lefts' to agree with. So their policy is genuinely for a national united state. Their programme is in that sense simply nationalist, just to reverse the terms of oppression.

So this programme obviously has no perspective for the Protestants and in fact the nationalists themselves like Gerry Adams are quite explicit about that: But many British and Irish left-wing groups, working class groups, also subscribe to this theory. One of the most grotesque examples of it recently is from *Socialist Action*. They argue, for instance, that 'the paper thin workers unity around bread-and-butter issues favoured by *Militant* merely prolongs the existence of the sectarian state in the north.' Now the British *Militant* group does argue that the only way forward is 'we'll just



Fascist scum attack Sinn Fein march, April 1979



27 November 1982: thousands of black youth, unionists and revolutionary Marxists triumphantly marching the route the Klan had vowed to take.



Bloody Sunday, 1972. Cross marks spot where three boys were killed.

find the narrow economist issues' -- they avoid the national question, they support British troops in Ireland. But *Socialist Action* says it's impossible to have workers unity around bread-and-butter issues and I want to suggest that workers unity around bread-and-butter issues may be a stepping stone to broader unity. It's not the question of having unity around bread-and-butter issues that's wrong, it's the question of what the rest of the perspective is.

The Republican perspective does not appeal to Southern workers either and that's not just a question that the IRA employs military tactics. The Southern workers have to deal with their own capitalism -- they know what it's like, and it's not simply the lackey of British imperialism. There's been an extension, with multinationals there, a rather strengthened Irish bourgeoisie. And the workers in the South also remember for example the experience of the 1930s when they had an attempt at protectionism and self-reliance and what they remember from that is emigration and poverty.

And in the nationalist schema, which is subscribed to almost universally by British groups, the programme is to force the Protestants to be part of a united Ireland. The Protestants are in fact not simply backward Irishmen or 'quislings' but a separate community which has rights and if you tell them they have to become Irish nationalists it's the same as telling Greeks in Cyprus they have to become Turkish nationalist or vice versa. And in order to justify this wiping off of the Protestant community and its legitimate rights, it's then presented that the Protestant working class is absolutely hopeless.

The Protestant working class does have a history both on its own in some cases and also a history of joint struggle with Catholic workers and I want to emphasise that. In 1907 there were joint pickets on the Falls Road. The leader of the British dockers union told Larkin to make them return to work and then sacked Larkin. In 1919 there were the Belfast engineering strikes where many Catholics were sacked but also many Protestant socialists as a result of the failure of that class struggle. In 1932 during the unemployed struggles there was unity -- temporary, later it was superseded by sectarian strife -- but it was unity in struggle which could have been built on. And interestingly enough the British press, the *Daily Mail*, claimed that it was all organised by 'a husky Russian'.

The Protestant community has rights and should not simply be told to become Irish nationalists in a united Ireland and we are therefore against forcible reunification. We argue for an Irish workers republic within the framework of a socialist federation of the British Isles. Now the socialist federation of the British Isles is not simply an extension of England. And in that socialist federation the Protestants of Northern Ireland will get a decent deal just the same as everybody else -- the Scots, the Irish, the Welsh, and even the English.

## Sheffield — militant traditions and social-democratic racism

And the question of the Celtic fringe is not just a moral question, it's not just a question of saying English workers, be good to these people and then you'll be morally uplifted and you won't be oppressing someone. It's not just that in England to this day there are large components of Irish workers, not fully assimilated. It's not just that when there's an atrocious bomb attack like the Birmingham pub bombs Irish workers get beaten up by BL workers who are on other occasions their militant brothers in struggle. It's not just that the techniques of repression that are refined in Northern Ireland

continued on page 8

# Moonies ...

(Continued from page 5)

From Central America to South Africa to the most filthy secret police agencies of the most horrible dictatorships, the Moonies have their connections. The liberal *Washington Post* (28 August 1983) ran an expose on CAUSA, a Moonie group 'which is pumping millions of dollars into an anti-communist organizing effort throughout the United States and in much of Central and South America'. The chief of the Moon operation in Honduras is strongman General Gustavo Alvarez, overlord of the Honduran death squads and the Nicaraguan *contras* (see 'Moonies in Honduras: Death Squads and Contras', *Workers Vanguard* no 334, 15 July 1983). The Moonie cult is far more sinister than glassy-eyed white youths selling flowers on street corners: they are would-be shock troops of anti-Communist reaction.

Why did the Moonie god apologise to the Marxist 'Satan'. First of all, their article was a pack of lies. The thousands who were there on the spot knew it. Nearly all of black Washington knew what happened on November 27. That is why the Moonie lawyers used an archaic law to force the case out of Washington, DC to New York City. Even the cops have said that the SL did not provoke violence. We knew we had the truth on our side. But we also knew how little the truth can matter in court, especially in libel cases.

## Victories cost money

The successful conclusion of the libel suit against the Moonies' *Washington Post* is not only a tremendous success for the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, but also for all those who took part in the Labour/Black mobilisation, and for all those who have opposed the fanatical ultra-right Moon empire. Total costs for this lawsuit have amounted to over \$30,000. Only a fraction has been raised so far. The Partisan Defence Committee needs your help. Celebrate the victory against the Moonie press with a donation to the PDC. Send your cheques, marked 'for PDC' to Spartacist League, PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE.

The Moonies understood that, if they pursued this case, they were in for a hell of a fight. We had top legal counsel and private investigators. Our lawyers had begun the process of 'discovery' to subpoena the documents and those responsible for putting the libelous article together. We hit them where they live in their attempt to gain respectability and political influence through the *Washington Times*. Our own press was exposing the Moonies' sinister operation, and they have a lot to hide. And we had launched a broad-based campaign that was reaching out to a wide spectrum of Moon's many enemies, including parents.

Importantly, the Moonies and their lawyers knew our record of successfully fighting against such dangerous set-up defamations. They knew that in 1981, we sued California Attorney-General (now governor) George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League on a list of 'terrorists' with which 'law enforcement would have to deal'. As a result of the suit and campaign, the Attorney General's office was forced to retract and send the retraction to police agencies around the country.

And they knew of the successful lawsuit in the case of Jane Margolis, a supporter of the SL and an elected delegate to the Communications

Workers of America (CWA) 1979 convention, who was pulled off the convention floor and held incommunicado by the Secret Service when Jimmy Carter addressed the union. This outrage was meant to brand her as someone too dangerous to be in the same room with the president. The lawsuit forced the Secret Service to officially apologise and hand over \$3500 which Margolis donated to the CWA Defense Fund.

The Spartacist League didn't ask for this case. We took it on to defend our party and its supporters from a set-up libel that kills. As we said, on 14 June 1983 when we filed the suit: 'We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away in the dead of night.' We fought to win. And we did win, against the most vicious, anti-Communist, and vindictively litigious outfit in the world.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 346, 20 January 1984

# Bloody Sunday ...

(Continued from page 12)

The events leading up to that weekend made clear both the fascists' intentions and the fake lefts' capitulations. Two weeks before a public meeting organised by the LCI and IFM in Essex was shut down by the cops after meeting organisers refused to allow 35 NF thugs into the room. An LCI meeting in Birmingham faced with a similar ultimatum declared itself 'private'.

When we proposed to the Bloody Sunday 'mobilisers' that they join us in the picket of Sheffield Town Hall, a number of their supporters initially agreed, a member of the Socialist Workers Party even openly announcing support for it at a Sheffield University meeting. But the leaders moved in to quash any suggestion of joint action, hastily conjuring up a wimpy 'alternative' -- a 'picket' to accompany the submission of their pleading petition, deliberately scheduled to take place an hour and a half before our proposed picket. And when we mobilised our forces to get there at the same time, these hardy souls wrapped up their banners and fled.

The following day the IFM staged a day school at Sheffield University which did not so much as discuss either the anti-Irish ban or the threatened NF provocation. That day's *Sheffield Star*, a Tory rag, reported IFM/RCP leader Keith Thompson pleading that 'The Labour Party line is the same as ours on these issues'. The RCP subsequently claimed that this remark came from the pen of one of the *Star*'s editorialists -- if so it certainly captured the IFM/RCP's strategy. RCP goons excluded our supporters from their day school. An SL leaflet counterposing the militant proletarian perspective that we were fighting for and they were seeking to suppress summed it up: 'The IFM/RCP's alternative is "PTA-free zones", petitioning labour faker red-baiter Blunkett, dangerous and diversionary attempts to ignore the fascists and now, pleading identity of interests with the Labour traitors. Take your choice!' Though the *Star* managed to find space on its front pages to report every capitulatory and confusing comment from Sinn Fein and the IFM/RCP, they spiked any mention of our militant picket (which was covered briefly by Radio Hallam).

As late as the Saturday afternoon edition of the *Star*, the Bloody Sunday 'mobilisers' stuck to their story that coaches would be leaving from Sheffield Poly for a march, destination unstated. But on the Sunday, there were no coaches, no mobilisers, no march. Twenty minutes after the buses were meant to depart, two Sinn Fein supporters showed up to announce the cancellation of the march to any who might have turned out. At that very moment, four coaches filled with skinheads -- one emblazoned with the Cross of St George -- were being detained and turned around at the Sheffield spur off the motorway by the cops. An Irish Club and Asian shops in the Spital Hill area of Sheffield where the NF had intended to assemble had been warned of the possibility of fascist rampage. But not everybody was as cowardly or oblivious to the fascists as the march demobilisers. One black West Indian we spoke to in a pub near Spital Hill packed with Irish and West Indian customers pointed to a huge Doberman and told our comrades, 'This is for fighting Nazis.'

Having seen to it that there would be no Bloody Sunday march, the powers-that-be now tried to make sure that there was no public expression of opposition to British imperialism at all that day. Three hours before our scheduled public meeting, a representative of the Sheffield Poly Student Union Executive notified us that our room booking there had been cancelled because they did not want a public meet-

ing on Ireland. They didn't stop us -- our meeting went ahead at an alternative venue. *We remembered Bloody Sunday!*

In the wake of their criminal betrayal, Sinn Fein and its RCP and WP camp followers attempted to cover their tracks. Having abandoned their Bloody Sunday demonstration, they held a meeting subsequently to concoct an after-the-fact 'alternative' -- to bus people to Wakefield prison where Irish hunger striker Frank Stagg died. To exculpate their consistent refusal to do anything to stop the NF, they now try to claim there was no NF, dismissing our report of the coaches turned around by the cops as a 'slander', claiming they were IFM and not NF supporters. An SL supporter at the meeting made short shrift of this crap by describing the coaches with their skinheads and banner and asked, 'that couldn't have been IFM supporters -- could it?'

In their thirst to tail after some force or another, these opportunists exposed their hollow pretensions to 'anti-imperialism' and 'anti-racism'. Clinging to the coattails of the Sinn Fein nationalists, their only strategy for fighting the oppression of the Irish Catholic people is to scream about 'self-determination for the Irish people as a whole', endorsing the nationalist project of a united Ireland forcibly incorporating the Protestant people. In contrast revolutionaries understand that the fight against the special oppression of Irish Catholics in the North requires the unity of Catholic and Protestant workers in a struggle for their common class interests. And when it came to the Bloody Sunday demo in England, the nationalist sectoralism practised by Sinn Fein and tailed by the RCP and WP meant repudiating a perspective of mobilising a unified class-struggle response to the threatened NF provocation. Seeking to pressure the Labour 'lefts', they became in practice unwitting tools of the pro-imperialist class traitors.

Racist British imperialism will meet its downfall only at the hands of a unified working-class assault led by a revolutionary vanguard party which acts as tribune of all the oppressed. Around the events of the Bloody Sunday march, the Labour-loyalists and vicarious nationalists demonstrated where they stood. This year's Bloody Sunday march should have been a victorious rout of the fascist rabble by thousands of militant workers and minorities. That is what we fought to build. To make sure that happens next time, the task facing us today is to build the Spartacist League into the mass revolutionary workers party this country needs.

## Theses on Ireland

A proletarian perspective for Ireland; in *Spartacist* no 24 (Autumn 1977), English language journal of the international Spartacist tendency. Available from Spartacist Publications, PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE. Price 45p, inc p&p.

# Celtic struggle ...

(Continued from page 7)

and then were further refined against the blacks and Asians in Brixton and Toxteth are used against trade unionists' picket lines, as we saw at Warrington quite recently. It's not just that parliamentary acts like the Prevention of Terrorism Act are used in general as attacks on democratic rights.

We want to tap the legitimate grievances of these people of the Celtic fringe. We want to use their militancy and their history of

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struggle against repression as part of building a revolutionary party, as part of learning something in these isles. In many ways their traditions and their struggles are richer than the more Labourite, social-chauvinist traditions that have existed within England. The Welsh and the Scottish working class have been in the vanguard of the labour movement in the British Isles. You just need to mention the Welsh miners, Red Clydeside, the names of even Labour Party leaders that come from these areas. These countries have had a serious history of national struggle contrary to what organisations like Sean Matgama's now-called Socialist Organiser said in 1979. They've been plundered, they've suffered from military occupation and they've legitimate grievances and oppression. We want to use their struggles to help catalyse a proletarian revolution throughout the isles. We like what Engels said quite a long time ago: 'Give me 200,000 Irishmen and I could overthrow the entire English monarchy.'

Now Sheffield -- there is a 'socialist republic of South Yorkshire', at least it's called such, and it has within its working class history many honourable and militant experiences and traditions. But I do want to say something about some of the unsavoury sides that perhaps aren't mentioned so much and I think ought to be remembered by the working class in this part of the country. Now although it's obscure I would like to mention the fact that the Yorkshire Cricket Club is having a great debate at the moment and it's noteworthy that it's one of the few county cricket clubs in the country that doesn't have foreigners in it -- that means non-Yorkshire, not just Viv Richards. And many pubs throughout this area including in miners' villages have signs up saying 'no travellers' which are racist bans. Gypsies and travellers are a favourite target of national chauvinism. Hitler tried to wipe them out. They are frequently the victims of historic struggles over land and people dispossessed of land in the past and in this country many of them are of Irish origin. And one comrade has reported to me that in terms of housing provided by the council, South Yorkshire has one of the worst records for blacks and Asians in the country. And then there's David Blunkett who very assiduously never says anything about international issues except when it comes to banning Irish demonstrations in this area and has on paper, I believe, declared this an 'anti-apartheid zone'. They could start with the 'no travellers' signs on the pubs!

On the other hand, Sheffield was, particularly in the early nineteenth century, a centre for a number of movements which had very positive qualities. It provided some of the most steadfast jacobins, that is supporters of the French revolution. It was a centre for jacobin conspiracy. They held meetings at night and drilled with arms. There was tremendous turmoil in Sheffield in 1830-32 and indeed the Sheffield proletarian masses demonstrated and marched with music, one piece being a Scots traditional tune 'Scots wha hae wi Wallace bled'. And then there was the Chartist movement, early revolutionary militants who struggled to fuse bourgeois democracy, the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary tasks, with an egalitarian collectivist order and Sheffield was a centre of that. Those are the traditions that we'd like to appeal to.

David Blunkett and the like don't stand in that tradition. They stand in the tradition of the Irish bourgeoisie who collaborates with the imperialists, they stand in the entire tradition of the Labour Party leadership on Ireland, and in the tradition in particular of the local magistrates, lords and capitalists who hounded and persecuted the Chartists and the republican jacobins of the nineteenth century. David Blunkett aspires to be the Francois Mitterrand, the Bob Hawke, the Lord Harold Wilson of Yorkshire. Even in Yorkshire, comrades, the main enemy is at home.

### English imperialism and Celtic oppression

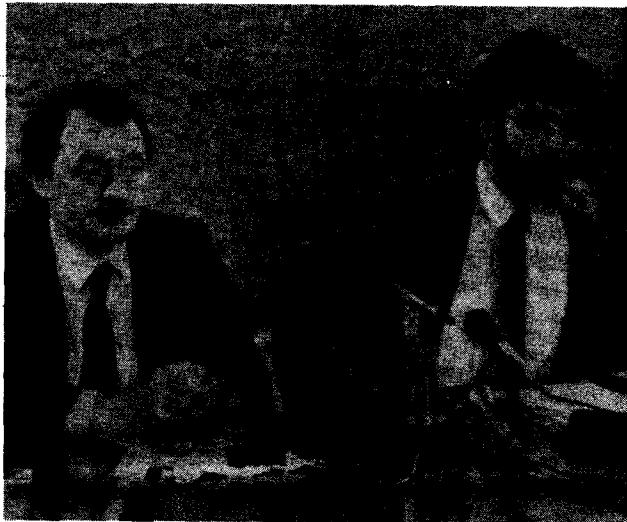
Now a little further up the road than York is another country called Scotland. And there's some precedent for the people of this area and part of the country to look to the north. Because until a quite late point the north of England was not fully pulled into the London-centred central state. And from time to time, the northern lords, reflecting some pressure from the masses, thought they might like to secede to Scotland. And there's a reason for that. In particular one example I want to offer. And that is during the Scottish wars of independence led by Robert Bruce, William Wallace, the Black Douglas, or as he's known amongst those who appreciate him more fully, the 'good Sir James', they used to raid down, after Bannockburn, they raided repeatedly into the north. Because the English kings were so arrogant, would not give up their claims to Scotland and to rule over a different country, the Scottish conducted a defensive war raiding into the northern areas of England. And

so some of the northern lords thought it might be a good idea to join with Scotland rather than just be a victim of the pride of the English.

Now one of course has to say something about Scotland, because they've been used for the very worst things that the British imperialists could dream up. There are the regiments of course, at least one of which is always in Belfast it seems these days. And there are people like Sir Colin Campbell who put down the Indian mutiny. And this fellow Haig whose family, if the Scottish working class had had a little bit more instinct would never be allowed to name its whisky after him any more. Because he was simply a butcher -- not just of Scottish but English working class lads in the First World War and his statue ought to be one of the very first things destroyed in London after the proletarian revolution. It's also important to mention that J Ramsay MacDonald did not come from Essex. There's a saying that when a Scot and an Irishman meet, the Scot says 'We're so good and they're so bad, they're so right and we're so wrong.' And that captures some of it.

Nevertheless they did struggle for independence against the English -- the struggles of Bruce and Douglas against English overlords. And there's a continuity of the struggle that went through the jacobites. They had a very reactionary content but many of them became jacobins under the impact of the French revolution and the felt national grievances they had.

And in the development of the Scottish working class there were in particular strong independent organisations, the Clydeside shop stewards is an example. And in Scotland there



Nationalist IRA combines indiscriminate terror with appeals to British imperialism. Here, Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams with social-patriotic Labour 'left' Ken Livingstone (left).

was even more response to the French revolution. For one reason they were not traditionally anti-French. They didn't have 'fog over the Channel' like England. And so the Scottish jacobins, the United Scotsmen, had a greater mass base. They organised under the platform: 'Liberty, equality and no king'. There's the memory of John Leslie, who in 1905 was imprisoned by the British state for running guns to the Russian 1905 revolution. And there's the memory of John Maclean, who we remember not as the social democrats do, as being a premature and early fighter against 'Bolshevik totalitarianism' because he didn't join the fight for the Communist International. That was his error. Or in the case of some Scottish nationalists who see him as a 'socialist republican'. It was no accident that Lenin bracketed him with Liebknecht when the Russians looked around for leaders against the war. And they made him consul for Scotland. In 1915, May Day, 50,000, many of whom were women munition workers by the way, paraded in the middle of the war. And he was an honorary president of the first All Russian Congress of Soviets. And he distinguished himself against all the patriotic right wing who supported the war and against the pacifistic ILP who talked about war being bad in general but didn't fight to turn it into proletarian revolution. And so we remember John Maclean for that as well. And for his support of the Easter Uprising in 1916 and for his involvement in November 1918 in a mass demonstration of Scottish workers who hailed the German revolution as the beginning of international socialism. So they were more outward looking and they've got things that we can learn from too. Coming out of their felt oppression.

The point of some of these stories and anecdotes about the history of the labour movement is that it's important to look to the struggles of the oppressed and not to the struggles of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie. We look to the Irish, blacks, the Asians, for their contributions, not to so-called Labour 'lefts' who are meant to solve the problems for us. England is the largest country in the British Isles and it has the largest and most powerful proletariat. But I want to highlight the contributions of the Celtic fringe, because in general they have been

more revolutionary, they have been infused frequently with elements of genuine struggle against the stultifying English social-democratic pro-imperialist culture that wraps up much of the English working class. So we want to hail those types of struggle and to build on those contributions of the Celtic working class for the future revolution in this country. ■

## Leaflet...

(Continued from page 12)

pubs. Such nationalist crimes deepen and exacerbate national and racial divisions within the working class. But they pale beside the mass terrorism of the imperialist ruling class. What about the razing of countless Irish villages over the centuries by English overlords, or Edward I's use of Yorkshire levies to massacre and burn Berwick. Marx had it right when he said of the English working class and Ireland: 'A nation which oppresses another cannot be free.' We say: Damn you England -- leave the Irish alone! Troops out of Ireland now! Smash the Prevention of Terrorism Act! Trade union blacking of military goods to Northern Ireland! Not Green against Orange, but class against class! For anti-sectarian workers militias to combat communal terror and imperialist rampage in Northern Ireland! No to forcible reunification! Ireland will only have a future as a workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles!

The Celtic nations have suffered the atrocities of English domination for hundreds of years. But the Labour Party leaders of the 'Socialist Republic' rant only against those 'who advocate, support or are involved in the taking of life of civilians of Great Britain'. They amnesty the bloodstained ruling class who invented concentration camps, who looted, raped and murdered across India, and who daily order 'shoot to kill' in Belfast. Scratch the 'socialism' of Blunkett and you find a 'little England' chauvinist.

Make no mistake about it: The 'anti-terrorist' hysteria is orchestrated by the same people who witchhunt Arthur Scargill for telling the simple truth about warmongers Reagan and Thatcher and for correctly labelling their favourite 'trade union', Polish Solidarnosc, anti-socialist; the same people who denounce NGA strikers and militant miners defending picket lines as 'violent lawbreakers'; the same people who hounded the Bradford 12, stage racist deportations and ban American black militant Stokely Carmichael from entering the country. And taking his cue is lapdog Blunkett. Is it any surprise that six months ago this same 'realistic' 'socialist' was rebaiting the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League (SL) as 'disruptive', throwing 'CIA agent' smears at the Soviet-defencist SL?

Sheffield Council's anti-Irish ban and the Blunkett/cop alliance is what comes of months of wheedling by the IFM and its parent RCP that Sheffield, and various other Labour-dominated local councils, declare 'PTA-free zones'. At the time of Blunkett's vile CIA-baiting these 'anti-Labour' poseurs invited him to one of their 'public' meetings while excluding the communist SL, the better to impress 'comrade' Blunkett. Like the Irish nationalists of Sinn Fein whom they tail, the IFM/RCP have no perspective for class struggle in Britain. Their idea of 'Irish freedom' is the Republican dream of a 32-county united Ireland which denies abortion rights to women and forcibly incorporates the Protestant community. They endorse atrocities like the Harrods bombing as 'anti-imperialist', while opposing the closed shop with the sort of arguments that Tory union-bashers love. And far from seeking to mobilise workers and minorities against the fascists, their candidate in the Bermondsey by-election shared a platform with a fascist. The events here in Sheffield show just how dangerous is the strategy of the IFM/RCP and others to pressure the social democrats and reform the capitalist state.

The NF is looking for another Bloody Sunday -- with our blood! Irish, blacks, Asians, an army of Scottish workers storming out of their Clydeside bastions across the border like Wallace and the Black Douglas did -- all marching behind the power of organised labour -- that's what's needed this Sunday. The Washington DC labour/black mobilisation initiated by our American comrades, which stopped the fascist Ku Klux Klan marching 27 November 1982, shows the way. And the successful Sheffield University demonstration that halted fascist harassment on campus in January 1981 was initiated by the Spartacist League. Down with Blunkett's ban, green light for the fascists! No state bans -- the Bloody Sunday commemoration must not be halted! Stop the fascist swine! Troops out of Ireland now! For a mass trade union/minority mobilisation on Bloody Sunday to crush the fascist anti-Irish provocation! ■

# Class struggle...

(Continued from page 1)

have intended their call for a 24-hour stoppage to be a token protest action to blow off steam, but many workers in the printing industry and elsewhere saw it as a springboard to wider action against Tory rule.

This widespread sentiment at the base was reflected in the TUC Employment Policy and Organisation Committee vote on December 13 narrowly endorsing the NGA action. In an unprecedented move TUC general secretary Len Murray publicly repudiated this democratic decision and denounced any support to the NGA, including the tepid, toothless 'left'-inspired resolution conveying a 'sympathetic and supportive attitude'. Seizing the opportunity to pass the buck, the NGA tops called off even their one-day protest action pending TUC approval. A divided TUC General Council convoked by Murray put the imprimatur on his backstabbing. Murray is now naturally and rightly hated by millions of militant workers as an open class traitor. But the TUC 'lefts' are no more willing to confront the Tories' union-busting offensive. For example, Arthur Scargill, head of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers, while condemning Murray, took no action in support of the printers or against the anti-union laws. Clearly the NGA could not take on the government on its own, but from the beginning its leadership refused to force the issue upon the TUC by mobilising the necessary strike action. It was they who cancelled the Fleet Street mass meeting, at a time when such a gathering of workers from the union's central bastion, might well have been an explosive catalyst for widening strike action. It was they who called off the mass picketing at Warrington and the 24-hour strike. And it is they whose only visible activity since Christmas has been pleading in court to 'purge' their contempt.

While the Fleet Street press showered the 'courageous' Murray with kudos, in Westminster Iron Lady Thatcher purred, 'The TUC believes in upholding the law'. Indeed, it wasn't Parliament or the queen's assent which made the Tebbit/Prior anti-union legislation 'the law', but the treachery of Murray and his TUC cohorts. The open endorsement of the Tories' union-busting laws by the right wing of the Labour Party/TUC bureaucracy and the do-nothing acquiescence of the lefts have shaken and angered countless worker militants. They want to fight. These worker militants can and must be broken from the entire tradition of Labourite reformism in both its right and left forms. There can be no proletarian socialist revolution in Britain without splitting the Labour Party and winning the mass of active, class-conscious workers as the communist vanguard.

## Labour/TUC 'new realism': Cold War austerity

The TUC's backstabbing of the printers was a practical lesson in the 'new realism' consolidated at its Blackpool conference last September. The conference was an orgy of Cold War anti-Sovietism centred around Reagan's Korean Air Lines 007 provocation and a witchhunting attack on 'left' miners' leader Arthur Scargill for his correct denunciation of Polish Solidarnosc as 'anti-socialist'. Acting as Murray's hatchetmen against Scargill were none other than Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party. Not long ago the Healyites served as messengers for Islamic fanatic dictator of Libya, Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi. Now they're serving the cause of Pope John Paul Wojtyla and his friends in NATO, Downing Street and the CIA. The Blackpool TUC represented a concerted drive by the NATO/CIA-loving right wing to pull the trade-union movement into line behind the imperialist preparations for anti-Soviet nuclear war. As we said at the time:

'That means toeing the line for Thatcherite austerity, domestic fist of the drive to war. It means crawling to Tebbit, accepting the Tory attacks on jobs, wages, living standards and social services.' (*Spartacist Britain* no 52, September 1983)

The attack on Scargill was a warning to any who might step out of line with Cold War anti-Sovietism, in particular as the question of Solidarnosc is the touchstone for social-democratic anti-Sovietism. Neither the Labourite 'lefts' nor Communist Party supporters like Scottish miners' leader Mick McGahey and TASS leader Ken Gill stood up to the Cold War witch-hunters. Not surprisingly when it came to the crunch with the NGA over Tebbit, they bowed to the Cold War rights again, going no further than words of support despite their votes against Murray in the General Council.

Under the impact of the renewed anti-Soviet

war drive led by US imperialism, a distorted and uneven class line has been cleaved between 'little England' reformists around Tony Benn and the NATO/CIA-connected Atlanticists in the Labour Party. This has already led to a major split in 1981, producing the Social Democratic Party. The remaining Cold War right, both in the parliamentary Labour Party and the TUC, denounced NGA 'violence' and 'lawbreaking' from the outset and openly took on the task of being direct agents for Thatcher's anti-union laws. The 'left' Campaign group of Labour MPs mumbled words of 'active' support for any NGA industrial action -- particularly when it became clear there was not likely to be any. And what of the Labour Party's 'dynamic' new leader, Neil Kinnock? He sat on his hands for three weeks, only to finally announce: 'I have no intention of condoning breaks in the law and no intention of being a drill sergeant for divisive and ruinous Tory legislation' (*Times*, 14 December 1983). At the first hint of class struggle the Welsh windbag collapses. The Labour Party leaders not only betray the workers' struggles against the Tories, but when in power themselves act to suppress labour militancy and increase the rate of exploitation for a sclerotic British capitalism. Remember the Callaghan/Healey Social Contract under the last Labour government!

The Cold Warriors like Denis Healey and Roy Hattersley, fifth columnists for the SDP, should be driven out of the Labour Party. Not that we have any illusions in the Bennite 'left'. On the contrary, we follow Lenin in seeking to put those with socialist pretensions, such as the Bennites, in power in the mass reformist party and in the government while unceasingly warning, at every step that they are traitors and will betray -- thus to win over their worker-militant followers as these hard truths are brought home.

## Bring down Thatcher through class struggle!

While the 'left' bureaucrats' hangers on were alibiing surrender in the NGA battle, the Spartacist League was intervening with a revolutionary perspective. Outside the critical December 14 meeting of the TUC General Council,



Spartacist League contingent outside TUC General Council meeting, 14 December.

our call to 'Sack Murray' was taken up by numerous other militants. Against the NGA tops' attempt to pass the buck to Murray, we called for the occupation of Fleet Street to seize the bosses assets as ransom against the courts' theft of the union's assets and for a national, all-union print strike to defeat the union-busting attack. And against the TUC 'lefts' do-nothing 'sympathy' platitudes, we said: 'TUC: Back NGA all the way -- General strike now to smash Tory anti-union laws!' Both BBC and ITV news bulletins later in the day featured our spirited contingent.

The NGA dispute demonstrated the overwhelming and felt need to mobilise all the strength of the well-organised working class to defend its interests against the Tory offensive. It is not one-off struggles that will inspire the militancy of workers. Meanwhile TUC 'lefts' like the TGWU's Moss Evans engage in parliamentarist prattle about overturning Murray's *diktat* at TUC conference next September (!) and Scargill pursues an enervating overtime ban which encourages his own Cold War right wingers to foster divisive scabbing. Anything but class struggle! Clearly needed is a general strike against the Tories' anti-union offensive. But how to get it? Through widening actions, a strike in defence of the NGA could have built to a decisive confrontation with Thatcher. In the context of an all-union print strike joint strike committees of the NGA and other printing trades unions would be crucial in winning the strike. Such committees would not simply provide a democratic structure in which the bureaucratic sellouts of the union leaders could be

challenged and checked, but could be the vehicles to organise the extension of the strike by despatching flying pickets. Moreover, by overcoming the deeply entrenched craftist prejudices and structure of the printing trades, the basis would be laid for an industry-wide union forged through class-struggle unity.

The demand for solid support action had to be placed in particular upon those unions whose leaders claim to stand with the NGA -- like blacking all print shipments by the National Union of Railwaymen, ASLEF, and the TGWU, and mass pickets (above all at Eddie Shah's scab operation in Warrington) built through strike action with Scargill's miners, themselves in dispute with the National Coal Board bosses. Across the board, from the miners to the railwaymen to the dockers, the SOGAT printworkers still threatened with Tebbit injunctions, the British Telecom phone workers earlier hit with a court injunction, Ford workers at Dagenham facing massive job slashing, what is needed is not token 'solidarity' or 'moral support' but *solid industrial action*. Key to any generalised confrontation with the Tories/capitalists is the struggle to win over and integrate the vast army of unemployed, by fighting for jobs for all through worksharing on full pay.

The TUC's betrayal of the NGA has encouraged the Tory union-bashing offensive. Home Secretary Leon Brittan put it plainly: 'The closed shop is itself, however enforced, a flagrant denial of individual liberties ... not only morally wrong but deeply dangerous to the economy and jobs' (*Times*, 17 December 1983). Morality? Liberty? Deprived of its former world dominance and colonial empire, this rapacious ruling class turns with mounting virulence against the British working class. The only morality or liberty they are really interested in is to uphold their class rule of exploitation and oppression.

The proposed new King bill, in addition to imposing secret ballots for strikes will also undercut the political levy through which the unions support the Labour Party. In other words the trade unions are to be confined to narrow economic issues at best, while the Tory legislation promotes the drive to supplant the Labour Party with an SDP-type formation not directly linked to the workers movement. This is a direct attack on the working class's right to organise politically, with its own parties, which must be opposed.

The TUC chiefs seek talks with the Thatcher government to negotiate some crumbs so that Labour reformism does not become totally discredited in the eyes of their disaffected and embittered ranks. For working class militants it is an urgent task to defend the independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state. That means defiance of the anti-union laws! Defend the political levy against Tory attack! To hell with the government-inspired closed

shop ballots! To hell with Murray's talks with the Tories!

Of all the groups to the left of the Labour Party, the Communist Party (CP) has by far the greatest influence in the trade unions. Years of class collaboration in the name of 'peaceful co-existence' has resulted in the CP being dominated today by Cold War Eurocommunists. But Euros and pro-Moscow Stalinists alike capitulate before the Labourite traitors when it comes to class struggle. Thus, despite its significant weight in the Fleet Street printing trades, the CP was virtually invisible in this major confrontation between labour and capital.

At the height of the crisis, on December 13, prominent CP trade union leader Ken Gill, a member of the TUC General Council, spoke to a joint CP/Labour Party gathering in Tottenham and scarcely mentioned the NGA conflict! When challenged by a Spartacist spokesman, Gill (who is in the pro-Moscow wing of the CP) replied that there needed to be 'ideological struggle' in the TUC (!) before there could be talk of a general strike and claimed that 'unless the NGA engages in battle there is little one can do to support'. At this meeting another CP supporter, who is deputy father of the NGA chapel at the *Financial Times* while expressing 'disappointment' at calling off the 24-hour stoppage and 'disgust' at Murray's backstabbing, concluded that unionists should send resolutions to 'get Murray off the fence'. So here was the spectacle of one of the CP's most important union leaders claiming he could do nothing and a leader of one of the NGA's most powerful chapels claiming there was nothing to be done except writing to Len Murray!

One of the few left groups which raised the call for a general strike was the centrist Workers Power. At the same time, seeking to pressure the reformist leaders it also demanded that:

'The Labour Party leadership must be called to account. Hundreds of resolutions must be sent to the NEC demanding that Kinnock, Hattersley & Co retract all their attacks on the NGA, and declare their 100% support, and that of the whole party, for the NGA.'

Good luck! While trying to put comrades Kinnock and Hattersley on the right track, Workers Power also veered off to infantile rank-and-file and idiot adventurist gimmickry (eg proposing to take on 'armed police riot squads ... under the guise of football, gymnastics and martial arts clubs'). Like Tony Cliff's SWP from whence it came, Workers Power seeks to skirt the issue of political struggle against the trade union bureaucracy by pinning its hopes on a 'rank-and-file' movement with no programmatic content. Workers Power's seemingly constant call for an 'indefinite general strike' regardless of circumstances is an organisational gambit intended to cover up their political capitulation to Labourism. They conspicuously refused to call for a general strike against the Labour government during the winter of discontent.

On every front, at home and abroad, the bourgeoisie is on the offensive against the hard won gains of the working class in a desperate attempt to reverse the decline of British imperialism. For this third-rate imperialist power it means marching in lockstep with Reagan's America in preparation for war to overthrow the Soviet degenerated workers state, born of the Bolshevik Revolution. And it means destroying such gains as the trade union movement has made over the past half century, forcing labour back to the pre-World War I status of the notorious Taff Vale decision. The Government Communications Headquarters at Cheltenham is a part of the imperialist intelligence/communications (ie spy) network aimed against the Soviet Union which we want to see shut down. But the recent ban on trade union membership by staff working there is more than another opportunity for the TUC/Labour misleaders to whine about 'slurs' on their 'patriotism'. The NGA sellout cleared the way for escalated attacks on the trade unions. Contrary to Len Murray's attempts to plead otherwise, Thatcher does think trade unionism is incompatible with 'national security'. The Cheltenham ban is the thin end of the wedge against all union rights in the civil service and 'essential services'. It clearly shows the connection between Thatcher's hatred for the workers states and for the trade unions. Now management at Tadworth Court Hospital is attempting a similar unilateral denial of union bargaining rights to its staff.

Meanwhile as one sector of industry after another undergoes devastation, valuable skills of the proletariat are thrown to the wind. The decades-long decay of British capitalism has condemned large sections of the population to permanent impoverishment. In the summer of 1981 jobless youth, black and white, burned down the slum neighbourhoods of the bleak and dilapidated cities. In capitalist Britain, Labour's 'nationalisation equals socialism' has been shown to be more a form of welfare than anything resembling the socialist reconstruction that is needed.

The progressive rot of Britain combined with the demonstrated impotence of the Labourite bureaucracy to stop it also create a fertile social climate for the ominous growth of fascism. Thus the struggle against the anti-immigrant racialism directed at the South Asian and West Indian communities is crucial to forging a revolutionary vanguard party of the now ethnically diverse British proletariat.

The flagrant betrayal of the NGA highlights the wretchedness and utter bankruptcy of all wings of traditional Labourite reformism. The right openly accepts the dictates of Cold War austerity, while the 'lefts' no longer offer believable reforms and fear any struggle which might challenge the basis of capitalist rule. The working class acutely needs a new leadership which can halt and reverse the Tory anti-union offensive and carry the struggle forward to proletarian socialist revolution, which would be followed by some ambitious five year plans to make Britain a decent place to live. ■

## LE BOLCHEVIK

Journal de la Ligue Trotskyste de France  
Abonnement: 40F les 10 numeros  
Le Bolchevik BP 135-10  
75463 Paris Cedex 10

# Cuban troops defend black Angola

## South African racists driven back

'If Americans can afford a Grenada, so can we', bragged South African army chief Constand Viljoen. No doubt the sight of those white boys with guns pushing around black Grenadians and overpowering dark-skinned Cubans stimulated the salivary glands of Pretoria's apartheid butchers. In December they launched another major military offensive, the fifth in recent years, against black-ruled Angola, complete with Reagan-style denunciations of the Soviet 'menace' and Begin-style calls for the blood of guerrilla 'terrorists'. According to Pretoria 2000 of its troops (Luanda stated 10,000) drove 150 miles into Angola while its warplanes bombed villages. South Africa claims its targets were guerrilla bases of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) who have been fighting for 18 years to liberate neighbouring Namibia from the boot of South African colonialism; in fact, the hundreds of victims of the apartheid state's *blitzkrieg* were unarmed villagers.

But Angola is not going to be another Grenada, where a few hundred poorly armed but tenacious Cuban construction workers were finally subdued by 6000 'crack' American troops, 30 warships and dozens of warplanes after one week of fighting. When Angolan nationalists finally won independence in 1975 after a bloody decades-long struggle, South Africa launched a massive invasion backed by the US, attempting to install its puppets in power. US imperialism, fresh from its humiliating military defeat in Vietnam, was unable to intervene directly, and the apartheid terrorists were driven out of Angola through the introduction of thousands of dedicated Cuban troops. Now numbering between 25,000 and 30,000, these Cuban troops, armed with Soviet tanks and SAM missiles, are the border guards of Angola's hard-won independence against the apartheid regime in Pretoria and its big brothers in Washington.

As Pretoria's troops drove towards Luanda, Moscow initiated consultations with Cuba and Angola to further strengthen Angola's 'defenses, independence and territorial integrity' (*New York Times*, 13 January). On 15 January, South African troops withdrew from Angola.

After the battle with Cuban troops at Cuvelai, Pretoria claimed 342 enemy dead but admitted at least 21 of its own were killed -- the highest number of South African casualties in any of its Angola invasions. And since these white supremacists, like the Israeli Zionists, believe one white South African is worth a hundred black Africans or Cubans, casualties have the corresponding demoralising effect on their armed forces.

Talk about a 'state-supported international terrorist conspiracy'! Consider the sinister Washington-Pretoria anti-Soviet axis. Ever since Angola and Mozambique won independence, South Africa routinely has engaged in terror raids, sabotage, espionage and economic warfare

to turn these and other economically backward neighbouring black states into vassals of South African imperialism. For example, in Mozambique disruption of communications by South African-backed rebels combined with a drought produced 40,000 deaths from starvation.

Sections of the American and West European ruling classes fear that Pretoria's imperial appetites could destabilise the region and the apartheid citadel as well. US assistant secretary of state Crocker warned that southern Africa could 'end up a replica of the worst aspects of the Middle East'. These 'enlightened' imperialists point out that Angola's two biggest industries, oil and diamonds, are still owned and controlled by US and South African capital respectively. They propose to woo Luanda's bourgeois-nationalist regime away from Havana and Moscow. But the African nationalists know all too well that Reagan's 'linkage' ('independence' for Namibia in exchange for withdrawal of Cuban troops) would only 'link' Angola to South Africa in a Namibia-style colonial relationship.



In any case, however distasteful the apartheid butchers may be to liberal imperialists, South Africa has become an increasingly important ally of America's global anti-Soviet war drive. The necessary connection between hideous racist oppression and anti-Communism is graphically underscored by the thousands of Polish Solidarnosc-lovers who have emigrated from 'totalitarian' Poland to South Africa where whites are 'free' to live off the superexploitation of enslaved black labour.

The Soviet-backed Cuban military forces not only protect Angolan independence and the struggle for freedom in Namibia. They also shake South Africa from within. Every time they give the white supremacists a bloody nose in Angola, it emboldens the brutally oppressed non-white masses of South Africa to fight to throw off their shackles. The stinging defeat of South Africa's 1976 invasion was followed by the Soweto rebellion and a rising tide of black proletarian militancy and unionisation struggles. From the gold mines of the Rand to the docks of Durban, this awakening black proletariat is the revolutionary powerhouse for the smashing of apartheid and for full emancipation throughout southern Africa through socialist revolution.

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 346, 20 January 1984



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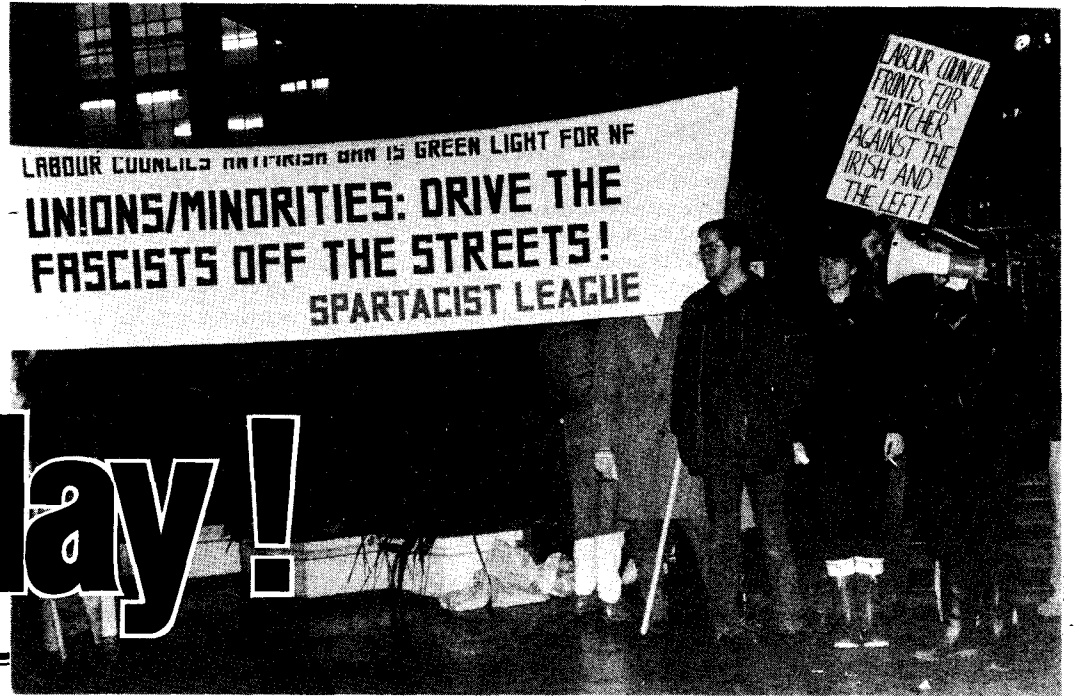
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# SPARTACIST BRITAIN

## Tory/Labour anti-Irish bans: green light to fascists

# We remember Bloody Sunday!



Spartacist picket of Sheffield city Council protests Blunkett ban on Sinn Fein Bloody Sunday Commemoration demo. 27 January 1984

## Troops out of Ireland now!

Bloody Sunday, January 1972: The day fourteen civil rights marchers were gunned down in the streets of Derry by British troops. Now the fascist National Front wanted to make the annual commemoration march, slated for Sheffield 29 January, the scene for another bloody Sunday. When Sheffield's Labour-dominated City Council, headed by Labour 'left' rising star David Blunkett, imposed a ban on use of council facilities by march organisers in the wake of the Harrods bombing, the NF saw a green light for race-hate provocation. Emboldened by the labour bureaucracy's cowardly treachery in the face of the Tory onslaught against the NGA, feeding off the anti-Soviet war drive, the NF crawled out of the sewers in an attempt to prove itself as the bourgeoisie's shock troops for anti-Irish reaction. What was called for was English and Irish workers and all racial minorities joining together in struggle against a common, deadly enemy: a mass trade union/minority mobilisation in this solidly trade-union city to demand the imperialist troops get out of Ireland and to inflict a crushing and humiliating blow against the NF race-terrorists. That's what was needed. That's what the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) fought for.

What happened instead was an anti-democratic ban on all marches, initiated by Blunkett and imposed by Tory Home Secretary Leon Brittan, in towns and cities throughout the region. For the first time in twelve years, there was no Bloody Sunday march in England. Instead of being crushed under the heel of labour and minorities, the fascists got off scot-free with the knowledge that the streets of England were off limits to opponents of British imperialism that

day. That this outrage could come to be was bitter testimony to the state of the opportunist left in this period of Cold War.

The Labourite misleaders bent over backwards to prove themselves loyal lackeys to the imperialist ruling class: with Blunkett doing Thatcher's dirty work, 'left' Michael Meacher openly condoned the Labour/Tory ban; only Labour MP for Sheffield Joan Maynard spoke out publicly against it. The Communist Party, with its industrial base in Sheffield, stayed invisible. The fake Trotskyists, like Socialist Action and Socialist Organiser, erstwhile cheerleaders for Provo nationalism now ensconced in the Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI), dropped the question like a hot potato rather than come out against Labour 'left' Blunkett.

And the nationalists of Sinn Fein and their fake-left press agents of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), its Irish Freedom Movement (IFM) front group and the centrist Workers Power (WP), who were meant to be mobilising the Bloody Sunday march, did everything to demobilise it. For weeks their only response to Blunkett's ban was an impotent petition campaign, to be followed by an even more impotent call to reselect the Labour councillors. Rather than seek to mobilise opposition to the ban, they sought to pressure the very Labour 'lefts' who had initiated it and, failing that, to circumvent it through a welter of confusing shifts of venue. Rather than break with their dead-end nationalist sectoralism and seek a broad mobilisation of labour and minorities against the NF, they went to any length to ignore the fascists. In the end, they abandoned their march without any warning, criminally setting up militants and

minorities for a potential fascist rampage as they turned tail and ran.

The martyrs of Bloody Sunday were remembered in Sheffield last month -- by the Spartacist League. Our supporters distributed thousands of leaflets (reprinted below) agitating for mass trade union/minority mobilisation at pits and steel plants and minority communities in the Sheffield area as well as elsewhere. We canvassed dozens of Labour Party and trade union officials in an attempt to unlock the potential social power of the labour movement. On Friday 27 January, the day Brittan announced the ban, we organised a protest picket outside Sheffield Town Hall. Sympathetic passers-by, some half dozen of whom joined the picket, bought 50 pieces of lit during the protest. It was endorsed by a convenor at Treeton colliery, as well as the head of an ISTC branch in Glasgow and a retired AUEW official who had participated in anti-fascist struggles in the thirties. Thirty protesters picketed behind banners which pointed the way forward: 'Smash Britain's torture camps -- Troops out now!' 'Labour Council's anti-Irish ban is green light for NF -- Trade unions, minorities: Drive the fascists off the streets!' Our chants boomed through Sheffield city centre, scoring the 'socialist' pretensions of Blunkett and his lot: 'It's not the red flag that flies over Sheffield, but the Bloody Sunday butchers' apron!' And on the Sunday, while the Republicans and their fake-left friends were nowhere to be seen, we held a well-defended public meeting, 'A commemoration of the centuries of Celtic struggle against English domination: The role of Sheffield and its labour movement' (see page 6).

*continued on page 8*

## Spartacist leaflet

# Crush the fascists through mass trade union/minority mobilisation!

The National Front's threat to stage a race-hate anti-Irish provocation against the Bloody Sunday commemoration 29 January must be stopped! The Tories and the capitalist press have been working overtime to whip up anti-Irish hysteria over the Harrods bombing. The NF stormtroopers want to capitalise on this. That these vile fascist scum even contemplate showing their faces in this solidly pro-union, working-class city is the result of the green light given them by the Labour Party dominated Sheffield City Council's anti-Irish ban.

Led by Labour 'left' rising star David Blunkett, the council first banned the Irish Freedom Movement (IFM) and Sinn Fein from using its facilities. Now Blunkett and the chief constable have written a letter pleading with the Tory home secretary to ban all demonstrations and marches over the weekend in Sheffield. The

Bloody Sunday commemoration must not be stopped. Any reliance on the Labour Council or the Tory government to ban the fascists is provenly worse than useless. Calling for state bans is counterposed to mobilising the working class, the social force that can and must crush the fascists. Invariably such bans end up being directed against the left and workers movement.

The fascists have long bid to do imperialism's dirty work against the Irish. The NF wants to get the Irish and they want to use the opportunity to divide the working class, the better to smash the trade unions and any organised working class movement. Not just the organisers and all those who intend to march on the Bloody Sunday demo but every working class militant who ignores the fascist threat does it at their own peril, especially now that it is proposed that the demo be shifted from Sheffield to

Bradford with its large Asian working class population. The fascists cannot be ignored! They must be stopped! Miners, steelworkers, every trade union must combine with Irish and other minority organisations to keep the fascist rats off the streets of Sheffield and Bradford. The labour movement and all supporters of democratic rights must mobilise to smash Blunkett's anti-Irish ban.

What about the Harrods bombing? Marxists oppose the strategy of individual terrorism as a futile diversion from the task of mobilising the masses, while defending against state repression the perpetrators of attacks against military targets and imperialist leaders. But attacks like the Harrods bombing, aimed against a random civilian population, are simply criminal acts, just like Ulster Protestant bombings of Catholics

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