

## British troops out now! No to NATO's Ireland deal!

### Not Orange against Green but class against class!

No sooner had a beaming Margaret Thatcher and Garrett FitzGerald emerged from signing their vaunted 'Anglo-Irish accord' than American president Ronald Reagan signalled his congratulations. Reagan instantly called the British and Irish ambassadors into the White House to wax rhetorical about this 'promise of peace and a new dawn for the troubled communities of Northern Ireland' (*Guardian*, 26 November 1985).

Within weeks of the 'new dawn', Orange reactionaries were leading 100,000 outraged Loyalist marchers through the streets of Belfast, prominent Sinn Fein activists were being hunted down and arrested in a major crackdown and several hundred more British troops from the crack Spearhead Battalion were being shipped in to carry out the imperialists' bloody 'promise of peace'. One minute into the New Year the IRA signalled its opinion on the Hillsborough agreement by blowing away two RUC cops. In the meantime Republican prisoners launched an abortive hunger strike in protest at yet another of the British government's massive frame-up 'super-grass' trials.

The British imperialists and their Green Tory lackeys hope that this 'Made for NATO' deal will serve to pacify the oppressed Catholic minority in the North while reconciling the Protestant majority to some form of power-sharing, and pave the way to turning Ireland into a floating aircraft carrier for



Margaret Thatcher and Irish prime minister Garrett FitzGerald's celebrated Hillsborough accord means more imperialist terror and communalist fratricide for Northern Ireland.

NATO's anti-Soviet arsenal. But short of a genocidal bloodbath, no amount of capitalist scheming can do away with the communalist Frankenstein created in the North by centuries of British imperialism's 'divide and rule' butchery. There can be only one equitable and just solution to the troubles of Ireland: the

struggle for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles! No to the Thatcher/FitzGerald accord! Imperialist hands off Sinn Fein/IRA! British troops out now! Not Orange against Green, but class against class!

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Mark Peters/Newsweek



Durban: COSATU president Elijah Barayi, delegates cheer formation of largest black labour federation in South African history.

## South Africa: Black union federation launched

### For a Bolshevik Party!

Singing freedom songs and wearing red T-shirts with the slogan, 'One country, one federation', 10,000 black South African workers rallied at King's Stadium in the port city of Durban on 1 December to launch the Congress of South African Trade Unions. In founding COSATU, with its half-million members, South Africa's overwhelmingly black proletariat has created its strongest organisation in a century of struggle against hideous superexploitation by apartheid capitalism.

From the Witwatersrand mining houses to the City of London and Wall Street, the capitalists

are well aware that this 'super-federation' with 34 member unions covering the mines, harbours, transport, metal industries and retail trade has the power to bring the South African economy to a standstill. Coming after almost 18 months of continuous nationwide revolt, COSATU's birth expressed above all the desire of the black toilers to utterly smash apartheid.

But trade unionism, however militant, is not enough to liberate the non-white masses of South Africa or even to significantly ameliorate the hellish conditions in which they work and 'live'. Any serious class struggle against the white supremacist bosses and their police state poses the question of *power*. For the oppressed to emerge

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# Ireland...

(Continued from page 1)

The Hillsborough agreement, unveiled in mid-November, involves significant shifts in posture (though not substance) by both the British and Irish governments. Dublin has formally agreed that the reunification of Ireland requires 'the consent of the majority' in the North, ie the Protestants, and thus recognised the 1921 partition. Thatcher in turn, with bi-partisan support, has agreed to set up an Anglo-Irish 'intergovernmental conference' in which Dublin will be given some say over Northern Irish affairs, notably how best to suppress the IRA! For years now, British governments have vacillated between a policy of military repression to crush the IRA and attempts at 'power-sharing' to try and undermine Republican support in the Catholic community and boost the 'moderate' (ie pro-imperialist) SDLP. One such attempt was the Sunningdale agreement of 1973, where a 'power-sharing' assembly was set up, consisting of the SDLP and some pliable Unionist politicians around Brian Faulkner. This scheme was smashed by the reactionary Orange general strike of 1974.

This time around British imperialism is taking a more subtle approach. But the subtlety is lost on the embittered Loyalist masses and their reactionary leaders. Ulster MPs have resigned en masse to force a sort of plebiscite on the issue. At the monster Orange march in December, Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party and the more 'respectable' Official Unionist Party of James Molyneux, often deeply divided in the past, stood shoulder to shoulder. Amid a sea of placards demanding 'No surrender', Paisley ranted with Hitler-like ferocity against the 'Jezebel' Thatcher. In the eyes of the Loyalists, Hillsborough

smacks of the beginning of the end of the Union, the undoing of partition.

The backdrop to the Hillsborough agreement is the concern by American imperialism in particular that Ireland's nominal neutrality and the continuing instability in the North is an obstacle to securing, particularly, the harbours and facilities of the west coast of Ireland for NATO's war plans against the



Dublin Trades Council banner at miners support rally: united class struggle for workers revolution is the only way forward.

Soviet Union. Moreover Britain, the US' staunchest anti-Soviet ally, has long been too decrepit to be able to afford the endless infusions of money needed to maintain 'social peace' in the North. So the current deal was brokered in Washington, including with promises of financial aid. Indeed, one form of 'financial aid' is the money which Reagan's so-called National Endowment for Democracy, a CIA conduit, has been pouring into the SDLP.

For what it's worth, Ireland's 'neutrality' is pretty phoney. In 1949 the Irish Republic refused to join NATO only because of the question of partition. But it has pursued a deeply anti-Communist and pro-Western policy, including membership in NATO's Common Market and military contingents in numerous United Nations 'peacekeeping' missions.

Predictably Neil Kinnock's Labour Party has given enthusiastic backing to the Thatcher/FitzGerald accord. Imperialist repression of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland has been bi-partisan policy from the start. Indeed it was a Labour government which sent British troops in in the first place. Yet when thirteen Campaign Group MPs voted against the accord, the Labour-cretinist fake left went into paroxysms of praise, exemplified by *Socialist Action's* salute to 'Labour's internationalist 13'. We say: Keep Ireland out of NATO! Down with NATO's anti-Soviet war drive! Defend the Soviet Union!

The IRA/Sinn Fein, with its petty-bourgeois nationalist perspective of pressuring the Green bourgeoisie and the British imperialists into realising a 'united Ireland', has no answer other than to appeal to the SDLP for a Nationalist united front. And the Republican-tailing British fake left echoes this futile perspective, seeking to square the circle by denying that the Ulster Protestants are anything more than English settler-colons. Typically, the centrist *Workers Power* (December 1985/January 1986) declaims that, 'On the face of it, the unionist reaction is hard to understand' and concludes with the customary nationalist appeal for 'Self-Determination for the Irish People as a Whole'. The article does not even raise the question

of the working class! 'But the Irish people' are not a whole; they are bitterly divided into two communities. The partition cannot simply be wished away. As we noted in 'Theses on Ireland', 'Prior to the partition revolutionaries would have opposed partition, striving to cement revolutionary unity in the struggle for independence from British imperialism. However, with the partition, the accompanying communal violence and demographic shifts, and the establishment of a bourgeois republic in the south it was necessary to oppose the forcible reunification of the six counties with the rest of Ireland. At the same time the present statelet guarantees the political and economic privileges of the Protestants.' (*Spartacist* no 24, Autumn 1977)

Northern Ireland is an instance of interpenetrated peoples: two communities with conflicting national rights occupying the same territory. The Orange statelet (or the call for an independent Ulster) is necessarily oppressive to the Catholic minority, an extension of the Irish Catholic nation. On the other hand, Marxists are not for reversing the terms of oppression. We oppose every manifestation of the all-sided oppression of the Irish Catholic minority -- the discrimination in jobs and social services, the army/police/paramilitary terror, the denial of its national rights. But the only consistently democratic solution in this circumstance is a proletarian-revolutionary one. The key to breaking the cycle of imperialist terror and communalist fratricide in Northern Ireland is united class struggle of the Catholic and Protestant workers against all their exploiters and oppressors -- British imperialism as well as the Orange and Green bourgeoisies. The miners strike gave a taste of that desperately needed class unity, as Catholic and Protestant workers alike rallied in class solidarity behind the British miners.

Ireland today provides potentially fertile ground for revolutionary class struggle. The North is increasingly immiserated in poverty; the South is a land of death and misery, where the average worker can scarcely afford to buy a pint any longer. On top of that is pernicious Paisleyite bigotry in the North and benighted anti-woman clericalism in the South. A revolutionary Trotskyist party, forged in struggle against all variants of nationalism and pro-imperialist economism and in intransigent opposition to British imperialist domination, could galvanise the oppressed masses across communal lines and on both sides of the Irish Sea. What is needed is a programme which seeks to combat the oppression of the Irish Catholic minority in the North as part of the revolutionary transitional programme which transcends the capitalist framework of economism and democratic reformism: For an end to discrimination in housing, education and employment! For jobs for all! For anti-sectarian workers militias to combat Orange and Green terror and imperialist rampage! For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British army! Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act! No forcible reunification -- For an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles! No to the Hillsborough accord, NATO's deal for Ireland! No imperialist 'solutions'!

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## Quote of the month



Trotsky and Lenin

### Stalinism and anti-Stalinism

The following statement was written by American Trotskyist leader James P Cannon at the start of Cold War I and the McCarthyite witchhunt, in response to appeals by sundry bourgeois-liberal and social-democratic anti-Communists for 'anti-Stalinist unity'.

We Trotskyists, as everybody knows, are also against Stalinism and have fought it unceasingly and consistently for a very long time. But we have no place in the present 'all-inclusive' united front against American Stalinism. The reason for this is that we are anticapitalist. Consequently, we can find no point of agreement with the campaign conducted by the political representatives of American capitalism in Washington, with the support of its agents in the labor movement and its lackeys in the literary and academic world. We fight Stalinism from a different standpoint.

We fight Stalinism not because it is another name for communism, but precisely because of its betrayal of communism and of the interests of the workers in the class struggle. Our exposition of the question is made from a communist point of view, and our appeal is directed not to the exploiters of labor and their various reactionary agencies of oppression and deception, but to the workers, who have a vital interest in the struggle against the capitalist exploiters as well as against perfidious Stalinism.

-- James P Cannon, 'American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism' (April-May 1947)

## WORKERS HAMMER

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# WORKERS HAMMER

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# No US war base at Trincomalee! Defend the Tamils!

## Bloody communal terror in Sri Lanka

The bloody suppression of the Tamil minority of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) by the racist mobs and troops of the right-wing government of JR Jayewardene feeds the spiralling horror of communalist slaughter on this Indian Ocean island. The victims are innocent civilians among both the mainly Hindu Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese majority. Trying to escape bloody government-instigated pogroms of July 1983, when hundreds of Tamils were burned or hacked to death, hundreds of thousands of Tamils fled to the Northern and Eastern provinces. The result was the de facto partition of the island. The government has accelerated this brutal forced population transfer by resettling Sinhalese colonists into formerly Tamil areas, notably around Trincomalee.

The strategic naval port of Trincomalee has emerged at the centre of the bloody conflict between Tamils fighting for their liberation and their oppressors, the government of Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP). Recent reports in the Indian press describe air force bombing raids over Tamil areas of Trincomalee, helicopter strafing of nearby villages and temples, and naval gunboats strafing coastal villages (*The Hindu*, 13 November). Some 80,000 have fled their homes into squalid refugee camps.

The battle for Trincomalee is not just a matter of national justice vs oppression. Sri Lanka is separated from India only by the 30-mile-wide Palk Strait. Possession of Trincomalee gave Britain the edge over its rivals in the conquest of India and thus Britain's leading imperial position in the 19th century. Now, US imperialism wants Trincomalee as a key link in the military chain that runs from Simonstown, near Cape Town, South Africa through Diego Garcia in the

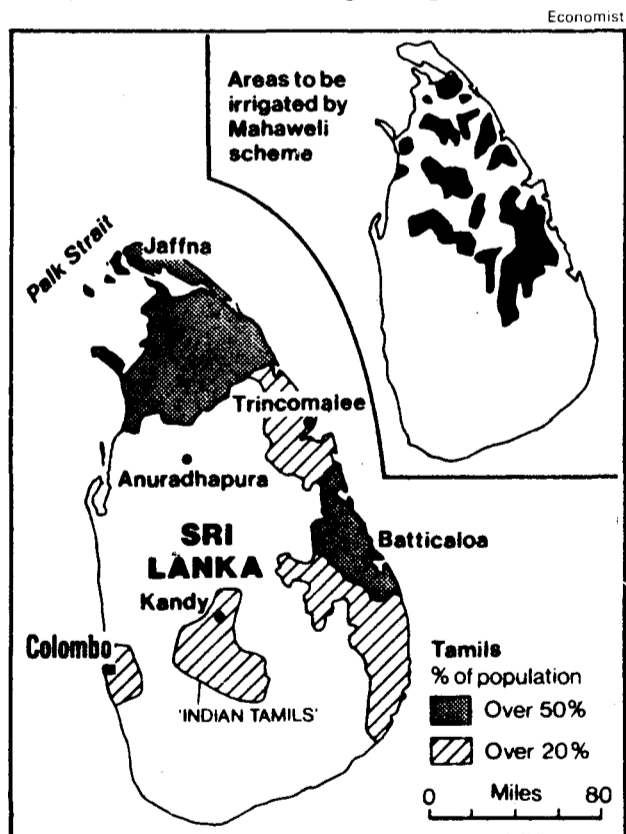
in 1948, the Europeans were ousted. Within two years the Burghers were squeezed out. Then the policy of 'Sinhala only' was introduced to go after the Ceylon Tamils (the Indian Tamils in the hill country plantations having no rights in any case). Now they're going after the Muslims, Christians and all other ethnically/religiously 'impure', in the name of this petty-bourgeois socialism/nationalism.

The 'socialism' of the populist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) was corruption and nepotism, assigning incompetent Bandaranaike nephews to collect the taxes and administer the

fruitless cycle of negotiations, truces and renewed massacres. A flimsy 'cessation of hostilities' was established on 18 June. Throughout the first phase of the negotiations the Sri Lankan government stonewalled, offering nothing but the phoney district council proposals earlier put forward as a sop at the Round Table Conference last year. Phase II of the talks lasted barely six days and was terminated on 19 August after the Sri Lankan army massacred hundreds of Tamil civilians in Vavuniya and Trincomalee. The only meaningful 'ceasefire' proposal would be the immediate



Vehicles entering Colombo searched at police checkpoint.



Indian Ocean to the CIA spy post in Alice Springs, Australia and the US war bases in the Philippines. It's all part of imperialism's crusade against the Soviet Union and social revolution around the globe. In a display of military backing for Jayewardene, the US aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* and three other ships scheduled a four-day visit to Colombo in November.

Since World War II, the 'salami tactics' of Sinhalese nationalism have meant intensifying communal polarisation in Ceylon. Under British colonialism, the civil service was run by the 'Burghers' (descendants of intermarriages with Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialists), with the Tamils in between, and the Sinhalese hardly represented at all. With independence

tea estates. Even Jayewardene's right-wing UNP talks socialism, although his version is more Reaganite. Lately he has been trying to reverse 'Sinhala only', since discovering that Sinhala is not a world language in which one can sign contracts for cheap textiles with Frankfurt bankers. He also feels the weight of tens of millions of Tamils across the straits in Tamil Nadu, and the knowledge that New Delhi could annex the island in a simple mopping-up operation. So JR's murderous repression of the Tamil people in Lanka is combined with genuflection toward Rajiv Gandhi's India.

### Communal terror and 'negotiations'

After the massacre by armed Tamils of some 150 Sinhalese civilians at the Buddhist holy city Anuradhapura in May, the Indian government exerted pressure to get negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and Tamil groups. While denying responsibility for this indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) justified it as a reprisal and a demonstration of the ability to strike in the Sinhala heartland. Immediately a mood of dismay and despair at the widening cost of the war did prevail in wide layers of the Sinhalese. This gave Jayewardene, always under pressure from Sinhala hardliners, the opportunity to accept negotiations. But in the longer run the massacre fueled Sinhala xenophobia, and crucially it gave Indian premier, Rajiv Gandhi, the pretext to crack down on the exile Tamil groups and compel them to attend negotiations in Thimpu, capital of the Himalayan principality of Bhutan.

The negotiations between the Jayewardene regime and the Tamil organisations -- which run the gamut from the bourgeois parliamentarist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) to the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil-eelam (PLOTE) and four other guerilla groups based in southern India and grouped under the umbrella of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF) -- have so far produced only a

withdrawal of the army and police from Tamil areas, the release of all Tamil political prisoners and the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

### Jayewardene's military build-up

Meanwhile Sri Lanka has been reorganising, re-equipping and expanding its forces, purchasing fast patrol boats, attack helicopters and transport planes. Despite official denials, anyone riding a bus down Galle Road can see new counterinsurgency aircraft, Italian SIAI-Marchettis, training at the Ratmalana airport outside Colombo. Besides the Israeli advisers and 'former' Special Air Service commandos from Britain, Rhodesian pilots and other mercenaries have been hired to handle the new equipment, for which South Africa is reportedly a prime source. With National Security minister Lalith Athulathmudali talking of the need for a 100,000-man armed forces, the UNP government rammed legislation through parliament in one day on 10 October empowering the conscription of anyone over 18 years of age. This draconian act will also serve to legitimise the UNP goon squads/private armies that are in the forefront of the anti-Tamil communalist killings.

For many Tamils the 'ceasefire' simply never existed. Only on the Jaffna Peninsula was it reasonably effective -- because the army has been beaten back and forced to stay in its few large camps. Fresh atrocities in the Mannar district drove new waves of refugees to India. The mid-August army massacres sealed the fate of the Thimpu talks. Said one Tamil negotiator: 'With two massacres in two days, if we resume the talks, our cadres will put a bullet in our back' (*Frontline* 7-20 September). The Tamil groups claimed that more than 800 Tamils were killed during the 'ceasefire'.

But it is around Trincomalee that the main battle has been taking place. 'Home Guards', mobs of lumpen criminal elements armed by the government and led by UNP politicians, have rampaged through the town, looting, burning,

killing with the tacit and often overt support of the police and armed forces. Even elements of the government now fear these private armies. Tens of thousands of Tamils have fled Trincomalee town, while in a reciprocal process Sinhalese villagers have been driven from areas controlled by the Tamil groups. The government controls the town, but guerrilla groups hold a wide belt to the north along the coast and an area on the south of Kottiyar Bay. Between the end of the Thimpu talks and the institution of a second ceasefire on 10 October, several large-scale government operations were mounted, little more than reprisal raids in force, without fundamentally altering the military balance.

The Jayewardene regime has instituted a conscious policy of forced population transfers to drive the Tamils out of economically viable areas. A government plan envisages colonising 200,000 Sinhalese settlers into areas brought under irrigation by the massive Mahaweli project, areas which were formerly mainly Tamil. Tamils, once a majority in Trincomalee district, have now been reduced to a minority by Sinhalese colonisation combined with systematic state terror. Some 200,000 Tamils fled to the Northern and Eastern provinces after the July 1983 massacres, and another 150,000 fled abroad, mostly to Tamil Nadu in south India.

This massive displacement of the Tamil population from the South posed a dramatically changed reality. As we wrote (*Workers Hammer* no 70, June 1985):

'The international Spartacist tendency has consistently upheld the Tamils' right of national self-determination.... Before July 1983, however, we argued against the exercise of that right, in favour of united working-class struggle to redress Tamil oppression in the context of the struggle for socialist revolution within the existing unitary island state. But with the events of July 1983 the historic social balance shifted....

'The massive murderous repression of the Jaffna Tamil people and the escalating outbursts of government-instigated violence against the Tamils ... has brought to the forefront the struggle for Eelam. Therefore, a socialist perspective of a struggle for a Ceylon workers state is expressed now in the slogan of federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka. At the same time we recognise -- as the Tamil nationalists, who place their hopes on pressure or intervention from capitalist India, do not -- that the only real hope for the Tamil minority to wrest anything from the Lankan regime proceeds through the spreading to the south of resistance to the rapacious government....'

### No faith in capitalist India!

In recent months the Tamil liberation fighters have received a sharp lesson in the real content of the Indian government's 'friendship' with the cause of Tamil Eelam. The Rajiv Gandhi government cracked down on the activities of the armed struggle groups in India, forcing them to close their camps. They then were frogmarched to the Thimpu talks, where ENLF delegates were prevented from meeting outsiders or making phone calls. India declared that a settlement would be based on 'the framework of a united Sri Lanka'. Angered at the effrontery of the Tamils in walking out at Thimpu and at their not responding sufficiently dutifully to Rajiv's beck and call, the Indian government unceremoniously deported three top Tamil leaders on 23 August.

But the Gandhi regime miscalculated the depth of popular support for the Tamil cause in Tamil Nadu. With opposition politicians eager to seize the opportunity, within 48 hours there were massive demonstrations and work stoppages. Demonstrators carried placards saying 'Down with Rajiv Gandhi!' Gandhi's ally, the Tamil Nadu chief minister MG Ramachandran, was compelled to call a one day holiday/fast to control the upsurge. Quickly two of the deportations were rescinded.

Ever since Indira Gandhi was assassinated by avenging Sikhs, there has been speculation of a rapprochement between India and US imperialism, and indeed that a pro-imperialist negotiated settlement of the war in Lanka might be the first act of this reconciliation. The Nehru/Gandhi dynasty's 'anti-imperialist' credentials have rested on India's diplomatic alliance with the Soviet Union and its anti-American posture. Now with Rajiv playing footsie with US imperialism and pushing capitalist modernisation, many Indian leftists and Tamil militants are speculating that India has 'gone over to imperialism'. Of course the Indian

capitalist class has always been wedded to the world imperialist system, but the possibility of new alignments has set the subcontinent vibrating. Rajiv's modernisation drive is bound to stimulate the centrifugal forces that always threaten the fragile unity of India.

The fact that the Indian government's reputation is now linked to a negotiated settlement in Sri Lanka poses new threats to the cause of liberation of the Tamils. Immediately the Indian government demanded further concessions by the Sri Lankan government. A new proposal by the JR regime allows for provincial councils with perhaps some powers over the crucial areas of land and police. The Northern and Eastern provinces are to be treated as entirely separate units. This is a



Rajiv Gandhi with Sri Lankan war minister Athulathmudali.

long way from recognising the right of Tamil self-determination and their legitimate right of Tamil Eelam. As long as the army, with its notoriously ill-disciplined and communally motivated ranks, occupies the Tamil areas and the 'Home Guards' are not disbanded no ceasefire is likely to hold.

While many Tamil militants have been dismayed, angered and disillusioned by India's role, their leaders continue to curry favour with the Indian ruling class. The bourgeois parliamentarist TULF together with the PLOTE group have continued to cooperate closely with the Rajiv Gandhi government and watched smugly as the Indian authorities cracked down on the other groups. PLOTE has been rewarded for its subservience by being the only group allowed to freely maintain its camps in India. One of the deportees, SC Chandrasaran, oiled the way for his return with appropriate genuflections: 'We will support all efforts by Rajiv Gandhi to settle the ethnic problem. India is our only hope.' The ENLF as a whole called Rajiv 'a well-wisher'.

But the Indian bourgeoisie, both in New Delhi and its Tamil regional counterpart in Madras, are the enemies of liberation. The treatment of India's own national and ethnic minorities, exemplified by the brutal massacre of the Sikhs, bodes ill for those who place



Tamil victims of state terror in Batticaloa (left); Tamil homes torched during July 1983 pogroms (right).

their confidence in Gandhi's concern for the rights of the oppressed Tamils of Lanka. With good cause, JR's war minister Athulathmudali says, 'As far as India is concerned, there is a lot of faith and trust now' (*India Today*, 30 September).

There is growing fragmentation, disorientation and despair among the Tamil militants. The TULF and PLOTE have happily gone along with the negotiating process. Within PLOTE internal dissidence has been ruthlessly squashed, with kidnappings and murders. In the ENLF, the so-called 'Marxist-Leninists' of EROS and the EPRLF have been more willing to toe the line of Gandhi's negotiations. Combativity among the guerrillas has been directed into more communalist killings and internecine fighting. On 3 September elements in or around the ENLF murdered two TULF ex-members of parliament, one a supposed leftist,

official of the Lanka-Soviet friendship society and father of a PLOTE leader.

In the camps in Tamil Nadu, money is extorted from refugees by some groups, while others have got themselves tangled in drug trafficking. Recently 30 armed youth looted the most famous Hindu temple in Jaffna. From protesting against the negotiations and for the release of political prisoners, Jaffna demonstrators now demand the return of goods looted from their temple, even asking the hated police to help. The Jayewardene regime will and no doubt is seeking to exploit these sordid, degenerative aspects of the situation, which carry the seeds of vicious caste conflict. And with the negotiations, the outline of a traitorous sellout deal can be seen, with the TULF/PLOTE policing Jaffna, while India seals its coast and the army goes after the ENLF and Tamils in the Vanni and the Eastern Province.

### Murderous logic of nationalism

In the last year Tamil nationalist forces have undertaken an ominous shift in tactics. Whereas previously they prided themselves in scrupulously avoiding Sinhalese civilian targets and struck only at the occupying military and police forces, there are now repeated incidents of senseless massacre of innocent Sinhalese villagers, fishermen, women and children. The petty-bourgeois nationalist Tamil organisations have come to mirror the worst Sinhala chauvinism of the traditional Ceylonese left parties with their own murderous logic of racialism and nationalist communalism. Marxist revolutionists, who base themselves on the morality of internationalist class struggle, abhor racialism in all its forms and find deeply repugnant the terror methods of gangsterism employed by those who fight in the name of social justice.

The increasing indiscriminate communalist response among the Tamil fighters fuels Sinhala chauvinism. Jayewardene's own dictatorial appetites are nurtured by mounting communalist hysteria among the Sinhalese. And his principal opposition within the Lankan bourgeoisie, Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, has formed a 'National Front' with the powerful Buddhist religious hierarchy and the petty-bourgeois communalist MEP. The UNP narrowly won a recent by-election where the SLFP campaigned over the 'plight' of [Sinhalese] refugees' and 'A vote for the UNP is a vote for concessions to the Tamils.'

Of course, for the SLFP this appeal to Sinhala chauvinism comes naturally; the party first reached prominence with the racist 'Sinhala Only' campaign which denied language rights to the Tamils in the mid-50s. This did not, however, deter the reformist Communist Party and Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP -- often falsely described as 'Trotskyist') from joining the SLFP in a popular front government, and hailing Mrs B's bloody massacre of the 1971 uprising of Sinhala youth led by the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna -- People's Liberation Front).

The JVP, for its part, has moved from its



earlier eclectic leftism to virulent Sinhala chauvinism. One Prins Gunasekera, known as a front man for the JVP, has joined the National Front. The government's continuing ban on the JVP reflects above all its fear of popular unrest. Recently, they have begun arresting Sinhalese supporters of a dissident JVP group claimed to be cooperating with the Tamil fighters.

The 'New' Samasamaja Party (NSSP), a warmed-over 'left' version of the LSSP with ties to the misnamed Militant tendency in the British Labour Party, meanwhile denounces the JVP for 'ultra-leftism' (!) and tries to obscure the chauvinist character of the National Front, describing it only as a 'front among a section of the SLFP, Sinhala petty bourgeois radicals and the pro-JVP elements', no doubt hoping to leave an opening through which to

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# The WRP and the Russian question

Since the dramatic split in the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) last October, the two wings have gone in markedly different directions. The Healy/Redgrave-led WRP has become a dwindling cult minus the cult figure. The anti-Healy wing led by Mike Banda and Cliff Slaughter has been thrust face-to-face with a painful reexamination of the political and organisational practices which led to the Healyite abomination.

Its moorings cut loose by the break with Healy, the organisation is visibly and deeply unstable. Banda himself has disappeared, reportedly back to Sri Lanka. *News Line* rapidly shifted from daily to twice-weekly, and then changed its name to *Workers Press* (title of the first Healyite daily paper) after a hail of lawsuits from Vanessa Redgrave's ever busy solicitors forced it to cede its logo to the other wing. Politically, the organisation appears to be caught up in a vague and murky split dynamic. The party and youth leaderships seem to be in an ongoing state of political warfare. While the party press runs a series on dialectics by Slaughter, the youth (and the Australian and

American papers) run a parallel series by American Workers League secretary David North, now evidently in control of the 'International Committee' (IC). Meanwhile reports abound that the IC has 'suspended' the WRP.

With the hideous bureaucratism of the Healy/Banda machine swept away, the WRP is today a political Pandora's Box displaying a range of confused tendencies from lumpenist youth vanguardism to reformist workerism. But a recent series of WRP public meetings also reflects a widespread openness to serious discussion and political clarification. The Spartacist League (SL) has intervened in these meetings to bring to the fore fundamental programmatic aspects of the revolutionary Trotskyism once professed by the WRP's predecessor, the Socialist Labour League (SLL).

'Healyism Implodes', a special 64-page edition of *Spartacist* devoted to the WRP's 'buried history' and our tendency's bureaucratic expulsion from the 1966 London IC conference, has sold briskly at these meetings, as has the 1961 SLL international resolution 'World Prospect for Socialism', a defining reaffirmation of anti-revisionist Trotskyism

upon which our tendency stands. Following the 19 November Liverpool meeting, one older WRPer told us, 'Oh yes, we have to discuss your positions, we can't ignore 1966.'

## Pabloist method, anti-Soviet conclusions

Not surprisingly, the most persistent issue in dispute has been the Russian question. Our support to the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan and our opposition to Polish Solidarnosc as an agency for capitalist restoration have been the focus of much questioning and discussion by WRP members. At an 11 December Nottingham meeting, speaker Cliff Slaughter devoted most of a 45-minute summary to our Poland position. So did National Organiser Simon Pirani, speaking in Edinburgh on 19 December, in defence of WRP positions on Poland and Afghanistan.

In meeting after meeting, WRP spokesmen have steadfastly defended their support to Solidarnosc and the way it was used against Arthur Scargill and the NUM at Blackpool TUC in 1983. Slaughter and Pirani both argued that the attack in *News Line* on Scargill's anti-Solidarnosc position aided in the fight against Stalinist influence in the TUC and NUM. In fact (as we documented in our September 1984 article, 'Hate Thatcher/MacGregor! Hate the WRP!'), it only served to aid the 'new realists' and Fleet Street witchhunters in their fight against Scargill and the NUM, helping to isolate that key union on the eve of Thatcher's onslaught. Nor could it be otherwise, since Solidarnosc itself was a tool of imperialist reaction. Far from seeking to stop the Polish bureaucracy's scabbing, the Solidarnosc leadership welcomed a delegation of Notts scabs and praised Thatcher as a 'wise and brave woman'. That the Stalinists are eminently capable of strikebreaking is nothing new. But in this instance, the bu-



Poland 1981 v Hungary 1956: While Solidarnosc led historically socialist Polish proletariat into arms of Vatican and CIA, Hungarian workers made clear their determination to defend socialism in struggle against Stalinist bureaucracy. Hungarian insurgent leader Col Pal Maleter (inset) said: 'We don't mean to go back to capitalism. We want socialism in Hungary.'

## Spartacist speaks to WRP meeting 'There is a Trotskyist alternative'

We reprint below, in slightly edited form, the remarks by a Spartacist floor speaker at a 19 November Liverpool WRP public meeting.

I'm not speaking as an outsider to this meeting, though I'm not a member of the WRP. I belong to the international Spartacist tendency and this document ['World Prospect for Socialism'] that I suppose you comrades remember or know, is a founding document of our tendency.

It's the bond that we had with the International Committee and the Socialist Labour League when this document was first written in 1961. And it was printed in the *Labour Review*. This is a very fine document which was the result of the development of the SLL coming out of a very important split that took place in the Communist Party after 1956, Hungary and the crisis of Stalinism.

We tried at the time to have actually a joint common international movement with the

SLL. We were expelled from the 1966 London International Conference and we were never really reconciled to that. And we said at the time that Healy should be ousted from the international Trotskyist movement because he was not making at that point any kind of positive contribution to the revolutionary movement by breaking up what was in 1966 a very important opportunity of moving toward reorganizing the Fourth International which had been destroyed by Pabloism.

Now, in subsequent years, what has been taking place, and what is in fact one of the elements which is inevitably worrying all of you comrades, is that the SLL and then the WRP has been increasingly adopting positions which were at variance with the Trotskyist programme as codified among other things in this document. In terms of the so-called Arab revolution, in terms of these attitudes towards the revolutionary national liberation movement; over Stalinism and the support that was given

to one wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy in China against the other one; the beating up of a Canadian socialist, Ernie Tate, which took place in 1966 -- it was a very dangerous situation, he could have been killed at that opportunity. Taking to court socialist newspapers, which took place at the time around the beating of this comrade. And then what has been taking place is something which is going beyond that, and that was when there was an element not only of political subordination to national liberation movements, but actual material subordination [to bourgeois nationalist regimes], which meant, as has been raised in the press, that for instance the Iraqi communists were killed. That was done for ... how many, thirty pieces of silver? And that's very bad. It's not something which one looks at with pleasure. It's terrible.

We don't really know, we cannot know what happened really in terms of what Gerry Healy did to women comrades, or whatever. We know



reaucracy's scabbing was facilitated by the nationalist anti-Communism Solidarnosc peddled within the Polish proletariat, which acted to suppress class-consciousness.

Slaughter's line of defence in Nottingham was that the WRP had supported Solidarnosc, not its reactionary leaders. In thrust this is the same defence made by every WRP spokesman (and every fake-left supporter of Solidarnosc): namely, that the leadership and programme didn't count, what counted was that Solidarnosc was a mass movement of workers against Stalinism. But what sort of mass movement was it? What were its aims? Is any mass opposition to Stalinism necessarily progressive?

As Trotsky pointed out, 'mass actions' are of diverse kinds: 'there are the pilgrimages to Lourdes, the Nazi plebiscites, the reformist polls, the patriotic demonstrations, the strikes under the leadership of traitors and, finally, the revolutionary struggles doomed to defeat because of centrist leadership' (*Writings* 1934-35). To determine the character of a movement as distinct from its leadership and aims is the essence of Pabloist objectivism/liquidationism. It was the same methodology employed by a host of fake Trotskyists in justifying support to the clerical-reactionary Khomeiniite movement in Iran. Applied to Poland, this methodology had thoroughly anti-Communist conclusions. For Trotskyists, the central question is that of leadership and programme, a position once ably defended by Slaughter himself in his excellent article, 'What is revolutionary leadership?':

'What is needed above all is a strongly disciplined leadership able to develop the theory of Imperialism, the Permanent Revolution, the relation between the Workers' States and the world revolution, and to establish its leadership of the working class. Unless this crisis of leadership is solved, there will be no "natural" growth towards Socialism....' (*Labour Review*, October/November 1960, emphasis in original)

#### Poland 1981 v Hungary 1956

Was Solidarnosc a movement towards political revolution -- the ouster of the bureaucracy on the basis of defence of the workers state? Let us see what Solidarnosc called for at its first national congress in September 1981 (see *Labour Review*, January 1982):

'It is necessary to do away with the principle which allows the planning institution to manage enterprises.'  
 '... it is necessary to introduce the principle of self-financing, consisting in the enterprise covering all its expenses from its own profits (or possibly bank credits).'  
 'The term "state enterprise" will be reserved only for those enterprises which will function in the sphere of so-called basic services (such as the railways, post office etc.).'  
 '... private enterprises, both national and foreign-owned ... would be given equal rights in our economy.'

Collectivised property, central planning, state monopoly over foreign trade and investment -- the fundamental bases of the workers

*continued on page 8*

what Gerry Healy did to politics, and that's very very bad.

And you've gone a certain way away from defending the Soviet Union in the course of this degeneration that took place in this organisation. For instance, what happened in 1983 at the Blackpool conference of the TUC. Where in fact, whilst many organisations in Britain took the side of the Spencer union in Poland, Solidarnosc, what happened was that the *News Line*, under the signature of Mike Banda, general secretary of the WRP, actually set brother Scargill up for a terrible witch-hunt that the bourgeois press lauded. And that was on the eve of the miners strike. So that was an actual tool given to the bourgeoisie, to Thatcher, to MacGregor on the eve of the miners strike.

And these are things that cannot just be forgotten. And the question of Iran, Iraq. What that means is that what has happened is that the WRP has been increasingly supportive of bourgeois-nationalist regimes which border the Soviet Union.

What about Afghanistan, where you have a war which goes into fundamental principles. On one side we have a nationalist regime which stands for women's liberation, to some extent, because at least they want to give women an education, they want to have women teachers, they want to take women out of the

## 'Proud to be a Healyite'

# Who is David North?

For many people in the Banda/Slaughter-led Workers Revolutionary Party who deeply (and quite legitimately) mistrust the entire old leadership, American Workers League head David North has something of a reputation of a stalwart fighter against Healyism. After all, North probably never beat them up, probably didn't throw their daughter down the stairs and probably didn't attend the CC meeting which criminally ratified the monstrous murder of 21 Iraqi Communists by the Ba'ath regime. For his part, North lays claim to the mantle of having started the fight to oust Healy, with his abstract 1982 critique of Healy's 'dialectical' gobbledygook. And, he got CIA-baited by Healy. So who is David North?



Spartacist tendency protested the Healyite libel of honest revisionist Joseph Hansen as GPU/FBI agent.

David North was Gerry Healy's handpicked man for the biggest CIA-baiting operation of them all. Indeed he rose to the top by showing his capacity to CIA-bait former WL head Tim Wohlforth, who got dumped in 1974 after more than ten years as Healy's loyal American accomplice and hatchetman. Here's North's version:

'... the immediate events that directly precipitated the split with Wohlforth led inexorably to the monumental political struggle of *Security and the Fourth International*.... The extraordinary intervention of the late Joseph Hansen, long-time SWP leader, in defense of Wohlforth's flagrant violation of the Workers League's security -- his failure to report the family connections of his personal companion, Nancy Fields, to leading CIA personnel -- raised under new historical conditions all the unresolved questions surrounding the assassination of Leon Trotsky in August 1940.' (1984 Foreword, *Trotskyism versus Revisionism*, vol 7)

veil. And on the other side we have these horrible, reactionary, Muslim crusaders supported by the CIA.

And which side are you on, comrades? That's a very crucial question. We stand on the side of the Red Army in Afghanistan. This is a fundamental position of Trotskyists that we defend the Soviet Union unconditionally. This is a tradition which is in this document ['World Prospect for Socialism']. This is a founding document, it's a fundamental tool for reforging the Fourth International which has been destroyed by Pabloist revisionism. We stand on that fight.

And we think that you, to some extent, through the leadership of Gerry Healy and the other leading members of the Central Committee of the WRP, have given up this struggle. And this is a struggle which is fundamental.

Without that, what's going to happen? More people are going to be burnt out by 'dialectics' and 'security', smokescreens which have been used, comrades, let me use this word, to fuck you up. And that's not a nice thing to have happened in the workers movement. Because what it means is that the energies, the desires, the will to fight for revolution has been perverted -- to the use of what?

And that's something which has got to change. That is something which has got to be modified. Otherwise, the Libyan gold, or if it was

'Security and the Fourth International' is a monstrous multi-year campaign centred on the despicable slander of Joseph Hansen of the reformist American SWP as an 'accomplice' in Stalin's murder of Trotsky, but reaching out further and further until just about everyone was supposed to be implicated as a spy for the capitalist and Stalinist secret police (for a full treatment, see 'Healyism Implodes', *Spartacist* no 36-37, Winter 1985-86). It echoes the discredited Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by his 'own people'. From the claim that Hansen had a part in setting up Trotsky's assassination by the GPU it's a series of short steps from Hansen to Cannon to Trotsky. It takes only one piece of evidence to dispose of this ridiculous charge: Hansen wrote his supposed FBI spymasters during the post-assassination investigation telling them that correspondence be sent to SWP party headquarters!

A few years ago, North's WL brought suit in an American court against the SWP -- shades of Vanessa Redgrave! -- for having expelled Healyite provocateur Alan Gelfand. And last spring, the WL's *Bulletin* carried two articles with North's by-line in which he wrote of the completion of 'the evolution of the Spartacist group towards fascism'.

Who is supposed to believe such outlandishly grotesque rubbish? Certainly not the illiterate or ignorant, they're probably too smart for that -- only those who long for a new Healy. The purpose of these vile slanders is to build a wall around members to keep them from reading and thinking and discussing politics. And to this cause, David North has devoted his whole political career. North can't even claim to be 'born again'; he remains unregenerate in his defence of the 'security' set-up, even though he almost fell victim to it, and even denounces any talk of discussion with 'revisionists'. So how many millions do you have to take from despotic regimes to become a revisionist? And who is a CIA agent -- North? Gelfand? Jack Barnes?

As for North's credentials as an intransigent fighter, the introduction in the *Bulletin* to his anti-Healy documents whines that he 'was compelled to withdraw the criticisms, without an answer being given, under threat that there would be an immediate breaking off of fraternal relations'. Perhaps in a party where nobody ever challenged the 'founder leader' this sounds a logical and rational course of action, but it does not say much for the principled communist firmness, not to mention the moral backbone, of North. Then again, it was David North who said (in a 23 January 1984 letter to Mike Banda reprinted in the 5 November 1985 *Bulletin*), 'every member of the Workers League is proud to be known as a "Healyite"!'

Iraqi, it doesn't matter, has determined political positions which go against the fundamentals of Trotskyism.

And that cannot be because that, you know, is something which cannot exist. What is the result then? How many ex-members of the WRP are today in the *right* wing of the Labour Party, in the *right* wing of the labour movement. Well that's something which is very bad. Why is that?

Well, because Gerry Healy, to some extent, was seen as and understood as the representative of communism in Britain, for many workers. And now the gutter press is using all that because they say: 'See, communism is bad. Go back to the Labour Party and the SDP. Don't be for communism.' And there is an alternative, there is an alternative to that, to fight for a revolutionary working-class party which will split the Labour Party in this country and forge a mass revolutionary Trotskyist organisation as a section subordinated to a democratic-centralist International, a reborn Fourth International.

And what I would like to conclude with, comrades, is: you might find it useful to have a look at what the Spartacist tendency has been saying since the time it first got in touch with the SLL from the [years] '61 and '66 and subsequently, and maybe you'll find that useful. Thank you. [Applause]

(Continued from page 7)

state -- Solidarnosc planned to liquidate them all. Not once in this document is the word socialism even given lip service. Before Solidarnosc consolidated around this capitalist-restorationist programme and its appeal for 'free elections' open to all bourgeois parties, we recognised it to be a contradictory movement, fuelled by just grievances against the privileges and mismanagement of the ruling stratum but dangerously influenced by anti-Semitism, nationalism and clerical anti-Communism. At that congress, Solidarnosc crossed the Rubicon, and the necessary position for Trotskyists was, as we said, 'Stop Solidarnosc' counterrevolution!'

Many WRP leaders have tried to equate Poland 1981 with Hungary 1956. But this analogy collapses at the first test. Compare the pro-capitalist programme of Solidarnosc with the founding declaration of the Central Workers Council of Greater Budapest:

'We declare our unshaken loyalty to the principles of socialism. We regard the means of production as collective property which we are at all times ready to defend....

We demand the abolition of the one-party system and the recognition only of those parties which base themselves on socialism.' (quoted in *Eyewitness in Hungary*, edited by Bill Lomax)

Even so, recognising the possibility of a counterrevolutionary turn of events in Hungary, a 3 May 1957 British Section conference resolution warned: 'Even though the Soviet intervention in Hungary might have gravely complicated the straight issues, we remained intransigent in defence of the USSR from imperialism, despite the Soviet bureaucracy.... Had imperialism seen fit to intervene during the Hungarian Revolution in defence of the Nagy government, we would have been for the victory of the Red Army against the armies of intervention' (*Education for Socialists*, February 1978).

In and of itself, the support of masses of workers for a movement against the Stalinist bureaucracy does not make it progressive. In his 1933 article, 'Class Nature of the Soviet State', Trotsky projected the following scenario for Stalin's Russia:

'The workers, having lost control over the state and economy, may resort to mass strikes as weapons of self-defence. The discipline of the dictatorship would be broken. Under the onslaught of the workers and because of the pressure of economic difficulties, the trusts would be forced to disrupt the planned beginnings and enter into competition with one another. The dissolution of the regime would naturally find its violent and chaotic echo in the village and would inevitably be thrown over into the army. The socialist state would collapse, giving place to the capitalist regime or, more correctly, to capitalist chaos.'

Add heavy funding by the CIA, open subversion by the Catholic hierarchy and ... you have Solidarnosc' plan for power.

Running like a thread through the WRP's position on the Russian question is the premise that Stalinism is purely counterrevolutionary and that it is therefore permissible to bloc with any opposition to the bureaucracy. Trotsky, in contrast, asserted the 'dual' character of the bureaucracy, explaining in the same article 'how and why the Stalinist apparatus could completely squander its meaning as the international revolutionary factor and yet preserve a part of its progressive meaning as the gatekeeper of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution'. If this was demonstrably clear in Poland, particularly with the December 1981 crackdown, it was evidently so right from the start in Afghanistan.

Simon Pirani argued at the Edinburgh meeting that 'the basic question of the rights of national minorities' was posed by the Red Army's intervention in Afghanistan. Even were



**Afghanistan: anti-Soviet reactionaries murder radical schoolteacher.**

this the case, as in Poland 1939, it would have been necessary to take a class stand with the Red Army against its reactionary feudal enemies. But in fact, Pirani was simply echoing the imperialist and social-democratic hue and cry which placed a premium on the 'democratic right' of CIA-financed Muslim reactionaries to butcher little girls who discard the veil or learn to read and write.

Rather, what was posed in Afghanistan was defence of the Soviet Union and defence of fundamental social reforms, centrally for women. Faced with the threat of a pro-Western regime being installed in a traditional client state on its southern flank, the bureaucracy moved in. But in fighting the feudalist rabble, the Red Army is acting not only in defence of Soviet military security but perforce as an agency for social progress. Indeed, in this country where mullahs outnumber workers by *ten-to-one*, Sovietisation is the only conceivable road to social revolution, as in Outer Mongolia and Soviet Central Asia in

the 1920s. That is why the Spartacist tendency said: Hail Red Army! Extend the social gains of October to the Afghan peoples! Only those who sow illusions in Stalinism would expect the bureaucracy to carry out such a social revolution in the manner of the Bolshevik-internationalist regime of Lenin and Trotsky. But today by far the greater betrayal would be for Soviet forces to abandon Afghanistan (as the WRP and others demand). That would mean consigning Afghan women once again to the benighted enslavement they have suffered.

Particularly in this period of renewed Cold War, the Russian question is the fundamental line of divide between Trotskyists and all manner of liquidationists. Stalinophobia offers a well-travelled one-way ride into Neil Kinnock's Labour Party. The bureaucratic expulsion of Alan Thornett from the WRP in 1974 has been much discussed at these meetings. But WRP members should not make the mistake of assuming that any enemy of Healy is their friend. Thornett's rightist trajectory eventually led him to scab on the 1979 engineering strike on the road to total liquidation into Labourism. That his followers today consist of a tiny bedraggled band in Oxford is the result of two definitive splits from Thornett's centrism towards the revolutionary Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League.

The Socialist Labour Group, affiliated to Pierre Lambert's PCI in France, is even more deeply buried in the Labour Party. And their PCI braintrusters are so deeply embedded in the Cold War social-democratic bureaucracy in France that their trade union full-timers have for years been on the receiving end of CIA contributions to the notorious Force Ouvriere! An SLG speaker at the London WRP meeting located the roots of the Healyites' degeneration in their 'retreat from the Labour Party in 1964'. In fact 1964 was the culmination of a principled struggle by the Healy group within the Labour Party Young Socialists, centrally around the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defence of the USSR.

Workers Power has focussed its interventions in WRP meetings on the 'myth' that the 'International Committee embodies a principled revolutionary struggle against a degenerate liquidationist tendency called Pabloism' (*Workers Power*, December 1985/January 1986). Pabloist liquidationism is no more a myth than WP's congenital tailing of everything that moves -- from Khomeini to Solidarnosc to the Bennite left -- in the hopes of pressuring them to the left as a substitute for proletarian-revolutionary parties. That is Pabloism. Though flawed and belated, the 1953 fight against Pabloism is a necessary cornerstone of any struggle against revisionism today.

Confronted with a question mark over every aspect of their party's history, WRP supporters face a difficult task. Careful re-examination of the documentary record of the struggle against Pabloism, of documents like 'World Prospect for Socialism', of the documents of the Spartacist tendency, in conjunction with the classics of Lenin and Trotsky, will yield a wealth of revolutionary understanding. The decisive question is programme. The Spartacist League, which draws a hard line on Soviet defencism, has also been the tendency to draw a hard line against all forms of liquidationism, whether Labourite or Pabloite. As American Trotskyist leader James P Cannon noted, the Russian question is 'the question of a revolution'. There is an alternative to ending up in the Labour Party, and that is fighting to construct a mass Trotskyist party. Forward to the world party of socialist revolution, a reformed Fourth International!■

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# 1961 SLL on Russian question

We reprint below extracts from the 1961 SLL international resolution, 'The World Prospect for Socialism', centring on the Russian question and liquidationism.

Thus we see the USSR, China and Eastern Europe as workers' states which have become deformed or degenerated. Their present form can only be temporary, and it is wrong to interpret these temporary distorted forms as a new or inevitable stage in the development of society. We stand for the defence of these states as of every conquest of the working class; their return to the sphere of exploitation of imperialism would be a shattering blow to the prospects of socialism, whereas their continued existence constitutes a permanent challenge and threat of instability to imperialism. But our defence of the USSR, Eastern Europe and China does not mean giving up the right of criticism. Revolutionaries have a duty to criticise ruthlessly the counter-revolutionary role of the bureaucracy, which in fact works against the defence of the revolution. Both in the Soviet bloc and in the class struggle all over the world, through the influence of the Communist Parties, the bureaucracy hampers the struggle for socialism. In calling for a political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy we are not supporting the 'liberation' propaganda of the imperialists and their agents in the Labour movement. We advocate such a revolution to preserve and not to overturn the nationalized property relations, to ensure their protection from the restoration of capitalism....

Especially dangerous is the petty-bourgeois tendency which characterizes the Soviet Union as a system of 'state capitalism'. By using the method of superficial comparisons, the theories of 'state capitalism' claim that the Soviet bureaucracy, through its control of the state apparatus, has become a new capitalist class and has destroyed all the gains of the October Revolution. On this basis all re-

sponsibility for the defence of the USSR from imperialist attack is avoided, and the necessity for constructing a Leninist party is denied. Formally embracing Marxism, such tendencies in fact provide a Left cover for the bourgeois theories of 'totalitarianism' and the impossibility of working-class power; in times of political crisis, such as the Korean war, they provide support for the imperialists. They are a direct agency through which certain elements in the movement capitulate to petty-bourgeois democratic opinion at a time when sharp class struggle arises and the need for proletarian discipline and principled programme becomes vital. The discussion of the character of the USSR from the point of view of abstract political criteria like 'democracy' and 'freedom' rather than from the basis of production relations is clear evidence of the class character of this tendency. In theory as in practice they are a direct line of transmission to Right-wing social democracy....

In Hungary and Poland, the risings of 1956 were unable to overthrow the rule of the bureaucracy. Here too, a modification of the old police rule has taken place. But in Hungary, leading workers and intellectuals remain imprisoned, and the workers' councils set up in 1956 were ruthlessly suppressed. In Poland, Gomulka's leadership tided the bureaucracy over the storms arising from Poznan and Warsaw in 1956. Since the Eighth Plenum of that year, however, the legislation on workers' councils and the suppression of dissident opinions have been used to stifle the initiative of the youth and the working class. Following concessions to the Stalinist or Natolin group in 1958, with the return to office of many of the members of the repressive machine, there came a restriction of the worker's councils to advisory committees in the factories. This reimposition of bureaucratic power and the checks on working-class activity

have encouraged the open political campaigning of elements like the Roman Catholic Church....

The greatest danger confronting the revolutionary movement is liquidationism, flowing from a capitulation either to the strength of imperialism or of the bureaucratic apparatuses in the Labour movement, or both. Pabloism represents, even more clearly now than in 1953, this liquidationist tendency in the international Marxist movement. In Pabloism the advanced working class is no longer the vanguard of history, the centre of all Marxist theory and strategy in the epoch of imperialism, but the plaything of 'world-historical factors', surveyed and assessed in abstract fashion....

The idea that Marxists enter Social Democratic or Communist Parties in order to transform them into revolutionary parties must be rooted out. Marxist tactics towards these parties have nothing in common with the politics of the pressure group or ginger group....

The Labour bureaucracies -- where they have state power as well as where they batten on the working class in the imperialist countries -- will not be washed out of the movement by a spontaneous development or by broad propaganda groupings of a centrist type. The experience of the British Labour Party between its 1960 and 1961 conferences has demonstrated this once again. Anxious to preserve their power and privileges, their own narrow interests conflict with those of the masses. Even when forced to lead struggles, or when in order to defend these privileges, they are forced to uphold working-class conquests, they do so with their own methods. And these methods seek to avoid, at all costs, the mobilization of the class power of the working masses....

The Fourth International as a world organisation founded by Trotsky in 1938 no longer exists. It has been destroyed by Pabloite revisionism. The only sections which continue its theoretical tradition are those affiliated to the International Committee....

## Sri Lanka...

(Continued from page 5)

crawl into the popular front of Sinhala racialism.

### Class struggle v communalist slaughter

The communalist frenzy is not the only pressure on the bonapartist Lankan government. With tea prices now joining the slump in tourism, textile exports and migrant workers remittances, the economy teeters downward. Recent new government austerity measures include plans to close down all unprofitable (ie most) nationalised corporations. To pay for the ballooning military budget, which has increased tenfold in eight years, the UNP regime is further squeezing the masses with increased taxes on alcohol, cigarettes, train fares, and postal and telephone services.

But the Lankan working class, Sinhala and Tamil alike, have shown a willingness to resist. The largely female Sinhala workforce of the textile plants around Colombo have defended themselves with a wave of militant strikes over the last year. And the hideously oppressed Tamil plantation workers of the upland tea estates, denied even the limited citizenship rights of the Jaffna Tamils, have fought the regime. On 7 November, some 25,000 plantation workers struck to protest the arrest of four students by the police. The crucial demand for full citizenship rights for the plantation Tamils has long been overlooked by the nationalist Tamil groups.

At bottom, the Sinhala communalism which the government itself instigates and seeks only to control is intended to prevent a popular revolutionary upsurge and the class unity of Sinhala and Tamil. Class struggle can halt the reactionary spiral of racialist slaughter. But that requires a revolutionary party armed with the programme of Lenin and Trotsky, with the strategy of permanent revolution to overthrow capitalism. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka have earned a reputation as the only consistent defenders of Tamil national rights among the Sinhalese; they have won recognition as well for their militant support for the struggles of Sinhalese women textile strikers. The SL/L was born out of the only wing of the Ceylonese left which courageously stood up against the popular front betrayals that prepared the way for Jayewardene's dictatorial regime.

The traditional leftist parties have be-

queathed an ugly legacy of class collaboration and Sinhalese chauvinism; as partners in Mrs B's popular front government their hands were bloodied with the violent suppression of the 1971 youth uprising. The petty-bourgeois Tamil nationalists, indifferent to the plight of the plantation Tamils and scornful of the prospect of joint struggle with Sinhalese workers, pander to the Indian bourgeoisie. And the murderous cycle of communalist terror continues to deepen.

The only just solution demands the forging of a Leninist vanguard which can unite Tamil estate workers, Sinhalese textile workers, Jaffna students and Muslim villagers -- all

the diverse layers oppressed by capitalism -- into a common revolutionary movement based on the methods of class struggle and the power of the strategic proletarian sectors. Such a Leninist vanguard must be based on a perspective of proletarian internationalism. The fate of the Lanka masses is inextricably linked to that of the mighty Indian proletariat. Only socialist revolution throughout the subcontinent can hold forth promise for the future; only international revolution can forever end the rule of capital that breeds the bloody horror of communalism.

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 393, 13 December 1985.

## Black family in Sheffield terrorised Racist thugs set free

On 29 August seven white racist thugs launched a potentially murderous attack against the family of a black couple, Bob and Maisie Titus (see *Workers Hammer* no 74, November 1985, 'Defend the Titus Family!'). On 2 December these scum made their third appearance in Sheffield magistrates court, the previous two hearings having been adjourned. The charge was 'criminal damage', the 'punishment' a pathetic £300 fine. The would-be racist murderers were then set free to try again. Shortly after the hearing, as the Titus family were moving house, having been driven out by the threat of a repeated attack, the thugs struck again daubing the family's car with paint. Bob and Maisie intend to appeal against the court decision. Any future hearing must be met with a big militant picket drawn from the Sheffield labour movement and minority communities demanding: *Jail the racist thugs!*

The court hearing was a disgusting farce in the worst traditions of British imperial racist 'justice'. Forty picketers there to support the Titus family were excluded from the courtroom whilst the friends of the racists were invited to pack the hearing. Bob and Maisie were allowed in only after a protest. In a hearing which lasted for two hours no witnesses were called. The only people who gave 'evidence' were three solicitors, two for the racists, one for Bob

and Maisie. The racists' solicitors ludicrously claimed that Bob and Maisie provoked the racists, threw things at them and that Bob had a knife. This whilst their home was under attack from a gang armed with wooden staves, bricks and milk bottles. Bob left the hearing in disgust before the verdict pointing out that he and Maisie were 'reduced to being spectators' at this revolting spectacle.

The bosses courts will find every way possible to set free racist thugs who appear before them. The 2 December picket of the court had a heavy presence from the Sheffield Campaign Against Racism carrying placards saying 'Police must recognise racist attacks'. The Spartacist League were there with a placard saying 'Defend the Titus family -- For integrated trade union centred defence guards!'

Reliance on the courts and cops is a death trap for black and Asian families. The social power of the labour movement must be mobilised alongside the minority communities to smash racist attacks. We can only regret that a squad of black, white and Asian workers were not at the Titus family home at the time of the attack. The racist scum could have been acquainted with the pavement and taught a richly deserved lesson. The Sheffield labour movement must mobilise to defend the Titus family!

# South Africa...

(Continued from page 1)

victorious from the inevitable civil war, they must be organised and led by a class-conscious vanguard infused with the understanding that those who labour must rule.

A Bolshevik party in South Africa must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, counterposing the programme of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now is the time for internationalist revolutionaries -- black African, coloured (mixed-race), Indian and white alike -- to undertake the construction of communist nuclei, in and oriented towards the workers movement, laying the basis for a racially integrated Leninist workers party.

## Black unions and petty-bourgeois nationalism

During the early 1980s independent black and coloured unions grew explosively and became the main organs of mass resistance to apartheid. However, since the revolts erupted in the black townships in September 1984, the potentially powerful organised black working class has been largely on the sidelines.

This is certainly *not* due to any lack of courage and combativity on the part of the ranks and organisers. Nor is it simply because of the labour movement's fragmentation, a weakness which the 'super-union' is intended to overcome. It is due to the absence of revolutionary leadership at the head of the workers movement. Union leaders have responded to the greatest crisis of the apartheid state in a generation with a narrow economism, on the one hand, and passive support to petty-bourgeois nationalism on the other.

The formation of COSATU certainly strengthens the economic power of black workers, and for this reason is to be welcomed by communists. But it also underscores the danger that the black working class will be used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. The new federation is demonstrably closer to the liberal nationalist African National Congress (ANC) than were the main union groupings which came together to form COSATU.

If the top leadership of COSATU appears clearly in the ANC camp, those black unions which have remained outside the new federation represent the other main current of petty-bourgeois black nationalism, the Black Consciousness Movement which excludes whites, holding that only blacks can organise blacks. The largest of these groupings is the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), which has been rather tame in the workplace and is affiliated to the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The second main Black Consciousness labour group is the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions, allied with the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which avows a 'socialist' programme that equates the class line with the race line. AZAPO opposes imperialist liberals like Teddy Kennedy, whom the ANC cultivates, while identifying 'socialism' with Zimbabwe's tribally based, neocolonial despotism.

The issue of racial exclusionism in South African trade unions is far more than a tactical question. It is in the proletariat's interest that the union movement be open to all workers -- black, coloured, Indian and white. Only class organisation of the oppressed and exploited can transcend the tribal and ethnic divisions fostered by apartheid in its policy of 'divide and rule'. Furthermore, dedicated anti-apartheid white South Africans (like the martyred Neil Aggett) have played an important role in building the black unions.

Multiracialism in the South African labour movement points toward a genuinely multiracial South Africa under a black centred workers government. Indeed, if post-apartheid South Africa is to be anything but a Zimbabwe writ large, there had better be a place for the white minority, with its relatively high level of cultural and technological skills, which can be a valuable resource in the socialist reconstruction of all Africa. But a multiracial South Africa can be built only on the basis of a workers revolution, not classless appeals for brotherly reconciliation.

The National Union of Mineworkers with 150,000 members is the largest and most important component of COSATU. The half million deeply oppressed migrant black gold miners stand at the heart of South Africa's economy. The NUM is the first black union to really establish itself in the mines, and its devel-

opment raises crucial questions about the direction of the whole union movement.

The general secretary of the NUM and the leading figure at the founding of COSATU is the articulate, ambitious 33-year-old lawyer Cyril Ramaphosa. After a spell in security police detention for his activities in the Black Consciousness Movement in the mid-70s, Ramaphosa went on to serve on the board of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by the Oppenheimer empire to promote a black middle class. When Anglo American decided -- after a series of bloody unofficial strikes in the mines -- to allow the growth of 'responsible' unions with which it could bargain, Ramaphosa launched the NUM.

Harry Oppenheimer may have expected the NUM to behave something like a company union, but the practically slave labour conditions in the mining compounds have produced an explosive situation. Class struggle in the Witwatersrand gold fields in recent years has been especially bloody and desperate even by South African standards. The mine workers union has been involved in countless job actions, many of them attacked by police with tear gas, *sjamboks* (whips) and shotguns. If Ramaphosa has remained free while many other black unionists have been jailed, this is not just because he is the kind of 'moderate' Anglo American can talk to, but also because he leads a powerful union with a combative membership.

The Ramaphosa leadership has sabotaged that power and militancy. This was sharply revealed in the aborted miners strike last August-September. Coming at a time of mass defiance against Botha's state of emergency and with the international capital flight from South Africa, a nationwide gold mine strike could have been a most powerful blow against the apartheid regime. Other unions including the strategic Metal Workers offered to strike in solidarity. The whole world was watching the gold fields. But what happened?

First the NUM dragged out negotiations, complying with every clause of apartheid legislation for a 'legal' strike, while thousands of miners were besieged in their hostels and shipped off to the bantustans. Eventually, Ramaphosa signed an agreement with all the mining houses (including Anglo American) save one, and struck only seven mines at the beginning of September. This was presented as a smart move 'splitting the bosses'. Instead it was the union that was split. The cops and army prepared their forces as if for war, naturally concentrating on the few mines actually struck. The courageous miners who walked out were ruthlessly crushed almost as the strike began.

The effect of this betrayal goes far beyond the mines. As the gold strike loomed, the ANC leadership had scheduled talks in Lusaka, Zambia with a delegation of South African magnates headed by Gavin Relly, Oppenheimer's successor as chairman of Anglo American. Had the NUM waged an all-out strike, this meeting, held in mid-September, would have blown up in the participants' faces. One labour expert hit the mark when he explained that Ramaphosa did not call out the whole union because 'he did not want to ruin his relationship with Anglo American' (*New York Times*, 6 September).

The ANC has long looked to this preeminent representative of the 'liberal' bourgeoisie to pressure the Pretoria regime. This is the suicidal strategy of the popular front. Anglo American, the biggest superexploiter of black migrant labour in South Africa, which installs secret gas vents in the mine compounds to deal with strikers, is as much an enemy of the black oppressed as the most *verkrampte* (reactionary) Afrikaner Nationalists. The aborted gold mine strike demonstrates graphically how trade-union economism and nationalism combine to derail class struggle against apartheid.

## Class war, not race war

The liberal nationalism the ANC espouses has challenged, but cannot destroy the apartheid regime. The heavily armed apartheid state still has the whip hand. More urgently than ever, events in South Africa show the deadly results of this impasse.

On 23 December, five whites, including three young children, were killed in a terror bombing at the 'whites only' beach resort of Amanzimtoti near Durban, provoking calls for retaliation from the white population. On Christmas Day, 56 blacks died on the outskirts of Durban when 2000 Zulus brandishing spears, clubs, knives, machetes and some shotguns clashed with 300 Pondos, a Xhosa-speaking people.

Also on Christmas Day, five blacks died in Soweto as youths calling for a 'black Christmas' fought with migrant workers who refused

to cancel their holiday celebrations. And three blacks were left dead, and others wounded, as a result of fighting over the holidays in a black township northeast of Cape Town between the UDF and AZAPO. The danger of degeneration into a disastrous race, tribal and factional war looms.

In the past year over a thousand blacks, many of them young children, have been killed by the racist police state. But while blacks bury their dead in the impoverished townships, white suburbanites a few miles away play cricket and host dinner parties. One can understand that desperate black rage may have motivated whoever set off that bomb in the exclusive Durban beach resort. However, indiscriminate terrorism against the white population is not only criminal and morally indefensible, it will rebound against the black masses. The Amanzimtoti bombing plays into the hands of hardline white supremacists who are prepared to kill, in truly Hitlerite fashion, hundreds of thousands of blacks to restore apartheid law and order.

While Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders are talking with Gavin Relly and his fellow 'progressive' South African capitalists, they are also calling upon the black masses to 'make the townships ungovernable'. This is the policy of chaos. It can inconvenience the apartheid rulers for a time, but it will not overthrow them. Nor is it intended to: the ANC is pursuing the utopian and reactionary goal of 'power-sharing', seeking to pressure the bosses into letting a layer of petty-bourgeois black leaders share in the superexploitation of black labour. The very restless black masses in South Africa today are very far from having an instrument -- a revolutionary workers party -- for taking power.

COSATU president Elijah Barayi put the authority of COSATU behind the campaign for disinvestment, another aspect of the policy of chaos, trying to 'make the economy ungovernable' by appealing to the imperialist mass murderers of Hiroshima and Vietnam to put the squeeze on their South African allies, to get them to clean up their act. Barayi was faithful to the strategy that led to Sharpeville when he justified disinvestment saying, 'Let us all suffer together; that will force the Government to abolish apartheid' (*Financial Times*, 2 December).

But the imperialists have already 'disinvested' billions of dollars, pounds and deutschemarks from South Africa, and it has not stayed the hand of the murderous apartheid police state butchers one whit. For Botha knows that the Wall Street, London and Frankfurt bankers are waiting for the imposition of social peace, even if it is a 'peace' of the graveyards, and the billions will flow back seeking superprofits, the golden spoils of apartheid slavery.

The policy of chaos dangerously underestimates the potential repressive power of the white rulers, who are now in considerable disarray and deeply politically divided. If South Africa's rulers cannot govern the segregated black townships, they can still isolate and destroy them. A South African Hitler -- and there are plenty of candidates for this role -- could seal off the townships, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off the electricity, food and water ... and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of dead would secure 'social peace' in South Africa for a generation.

If the racist rulers in Pretoria have not yet moved toward such a Hitlerite 'final solution', they are wantonly slaughtering black township dwellers. At a mass funeral in Mamelodi for some of the latest victims, anti-apartheid fighter Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, defied Botha's banning order and proclaimed: 'This is our country. In the same way as you have had to bury our children today, so shall the blood of these heroes we buried today be avenged.' Her courageous words speak for all supporters of social justice.

But how will the martyrs of apartheid terror be avenged? Certainly not by calls to make the townships ungovernable, and still less by talks with Oppenheimer/Relly & Co and appeals to Wall Street to disinvest in South Africa. It is the powerful and combative black proletariat, under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, which will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism and the avenger of its crimes. On that grave will arise a black-centred workers government, the only road to the liberation of black Africa from the chains of neocolonial exploitation and imperialist domination.

Adapted from Workers Vanguard no 393, 13 December 1985.

# Cold War...

(Continued from page 3)

support'. The 'difference between democracy and dictatorship', Brown added, 'is that we do things openly, while no one can prove where the money of the CGT comes from'.

Liberation replied, 'Not that open, since in a confidential note addressed to the chairman of the Endowment, it's stated that the finances in France must remain secret....' Brown blew up, demanding to know how they got the letter, then abruptly cut off the interview, threatening: 'What's your job, journalist or cop? ... If Liberation publishes this story, the paper will be definitely [black]listed.'

While the revelations about American dollars financing the French right-wing opposition caused quite a commotion, it seems that not everybody on the left is opposed to such 'democraCIA'. The CGT and CP, no doubt fearing someone would accuse them of receiving money from Moscow, declared that the expose was an 'attempt to destabilise fighting unionism' (Liberation, 28 November)! The Socialists and various 'far left' groups are protesting against the CIA money in France, but only in France. They object to having been put on the same list as 'undemocratic' countries like Poland. They can't fight the NED/CIA 'psy-ops', because they're for dollars going to Polish Solidarnosc. They have lined up with their own bourgeoisie -- and with Reagan -- in this crucial battlefield of the Cold War.

The pseudo-Trotskyist PCI of Pierre Lambert has been silent on the Reagan dollars. This is not so strange when you consider that, as recently as 1980, several dozen of their members were paid FO functionaries -- including Lambert himself -- and the number has undoubtedly increased since then. For the last 15 years at least, the Lambertists have regularly voted for Bergeron's report at FO conventions -- giving political support for this CIA tool. In 1983-84, the PCI pulled all their supporters out of the teachers union -- until then one of the only French unions which had not succumbed to a Cold War split -- and took them into Force Ouvriere, putting the finishing touches on Irving Brown's wrecking job.

Lutte Ouvriere, another fake-Trotskyist outfit, actually came out and defended FO's American 'subsidy': 'What's being paid off is the 10 per cent anti-communism that there is in FO.... It's not even sure that this foundation wants something from FO in exchange for its subsidy' (Lutte Ouvriere, 30 November). Even the backward workers appealed to by LO know better than that: 'you don't get something for nothing', 'whoever pays the piper calls the tune', etc. Thus these workerists excuse the integration and subordination of the unions to the imperialist state.

The international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, has consistently opposed the sinister machinations of the 'AFL-CIA'. In the US, the Spartacist League and its union supporters have fought for two decades against CIA 'labour' fronts like the American Institute for Free Labor Development. The Militant Action Caucus in the telephone workers union (CWA) exposed the AFLD's attempts to smash Communist unions in Chile, which paved the way for the bloody 1973 Pinochet coup, and demanded that the CWA break all ties with this Trojan Horse of imperialist penetration. In France, the LTF denounced CIA funding of Mitterrand's cohorts in the Portuguese Socialist Party, which ten years ago acted as the spearhead of reaction against the 'revolution of the carnations'.

The iSt took the lead in denouncing the millions of CIA dollars sent to finance Polish Solidarnosc via the AFL-CIO and various West European social-democratic unions (as well as the Vatican bank). When this Polish yellow 'union' came out for 'free trade unions' and 'free enterprise' in East Europe (also calling for the Polish economy to be controlled by the IMF bankers' cartel!), the SL/US demonstrated outside a Solidarnosc press conference at the offices of Albert Shanker's teachers union, demanding 'Stop Solidarnosc Counter-revolution!' More recently, as Irving Brown has been working overtime to 'capture' the emerging black trade unions in South Africa, we have warned that his 'aid' is the kiss of death to independent workers struggle.

From Chile to El Salvador, from Poland to France, the labour lieutenants of international capitalism do their best to subvert class-struggle unionism. As usual, the social democrats are in the 'ideological' front lines of the anti-Soviet Cold War drive (now joined by their anti-Trotskyist camp followers).

The Stalinists want to wish it away with their 'detente' pipe dreams. The fight against the Irving Browns thus falls to the authentic Trotskyists, who uniquely stand for the political independence of the working class and have fought the anti-Soviet war drive down the line.

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## UDM...

(Continued from page 12)

perspective undercuts effective defence of the NUM, shown nowhere more clearly than in his reliance on the bosses' courts to defend the NUM's rights. One of the decisive lessons of the strike was precisely that the courts, like the government and police, are not neutral, but are necessarily an arm of the bosses' state. Yet today the NUM leaders appeal to the same courts to defend their union against the NCB/scab offensive. After Thatcher rigs the ballots in favour of the UDM, her courts predictably rule in favour of the scabs and the NCB deducts dues money exclusively for the UDM. It's a set-up for the bosses. Following the UDM's squeaky 26-vote majority in a South Derbys ballot, the courts not only rejected a simple appeal by the NUM that detailed voting figures be made public but even awarded £80,000 of NUM funds to the UDM gang.

The key to rearming the NUM is the struggle for complete and unconditional independence of the union from the capitalist state. The bosses are today using the 'dues check-off' as a weapon to buttress the Spencerites. The NCB is using its power to collect union dues from workers' wages as a means of strangling the union, for example granting the UDM exclusive rights to all dues checked off in Notts. Abolish the dues checkoff throughout the coalfields! The NUM must collect its own dues! No government interference in the internal affairs of the union!

The control of the bosses' state over dues collection was not simply a mistaken trade unionist policy. It was in fact a direct result of the post-war Labourite lie that 'socialism' would evolve through gradual capitalist nationalisations. When the mines were nationalised, the labour bureaucracy then lyingly claimed that it was 'our industry' and established the system where the Coal Board checked off the dues. This was part and parcel of a whole series of class-collaborationist joint union-management committees, Plans for Coal and other agencies for tying the union to the state. From the postwar nationalisations to Kinnock's disgusting condemnation of strikers' 'violence' throughout the miners' 12-month strike, the reformists have sought to subordinate the workers movement to the capitalist state.

Before the war dues were generally collected by union officials, as it should be. Indeed in the struggle against the Spencer

## Support victimised miners

We urge readers to contribute generously to the fund for sacked and jailed miners and their families to: Miners Solidarity Fund, St James' House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield.

## Milquetoast Militants Witchhunted

'Scabs welcome, leftists out' -- that is Neil Kinnock's programme for the Labour Party. While Roy Lynk and Don Concannon remain a valued part of Labour's vaunted 'broad church', Kinnock is hell-bent on purging supporters of the Militant tendency from the party. For months he sided openly with Thatcher as she tried to bankrupt and starve out downtrodden Liverpool, with its Militant-dominated local council. Now he's oiling the wheels for the expulsion of Derek Katton, Tony Mulhearn and other local Militant leaders. Meanwhile Roy Hattersley's Birmingham Sparkbrook constituency recently carried out a racist expulsion of two 'black section' activists.

Militant are hardly the 'dangerous revolutionaries' of Fleet Street mythology. Rather than mobilise Liverpool's plebeian masses in struggle against the Tories (particularly when it would have had real impact, during the miners strike), the Militant councillors managed to antagonise both the city's trade unionists and its significant black population. They even handed out

union, Miners Federation members wore their dues tokens as badges of honour to show their contempt for the Spencer union. It was by mobilising their own class forces -- not by relying on the bosses' courts -- that the Miners Federation took on and defeated the Spencerite scabs in the 1930's. For example, in South Wales in 1935 the union launched a series of mass strikes, demanding the ouster of the scab union. As we described it in *Workers Hammer* no 72, September 1985:

'Within a week six pits were on staydown strike and another 40,000 men were striking

The Fed



**CARW DISTRICT, S.W.M.F.**  
**NOTICE.**  
**A**  
**MONSTER CAMPAIGN**  
**Against Non-Unionism**  
**in the Garw Valley**  
Has been inaugurated with the joint support of the Executive Council of the S.W.M.F.; the Garw District S.W.M.F.; and the Garw Valley Joint Committee.  
The Campaign will proceed until the **Scourge of Non-Unionism** has been **COMPLETELY WIPED OUT** from the Valley.  
Look out for Posters announcing Meetings and for Explanatory Literature.  
**SUPPORT THE HOUSE-TO-HOUSE CANVASSERS**  
Miners' Wives specially invited to co-operate.  
(Signed) RICHARD BENNETTA, Miners Agent.

Campaign against Spencer 'union' in South Wales, 1929. While bosses imposed dues check-off for scab union, MFGB relied on direct dues collection. Dues tokens (above) were worn as badge of honour by decent unionists.

on the surface. Demonstrations supporting the men, often organised by their wives, occurred throughout South Wales. Railwaymen refused to move scab labour...

Class struggle was the way to bury the Spencerites!

But simple trade union militancy is not sufficient to beat the scabs and bosses for good. What is needed is a revolutionary leadership in the unions, one firmly based on a programme of class struggle, independence from the capitalist state and defence of Soviet Russia from imperialist revanchism. Such a leadership can be forged only as part of the struggle to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party. With a Trotskyist programme as the guide, the Labour Party can be split in sharp struggle, its working-class base won to communism and its pro-capitalist misleaders flung out as the scabheards they are. Smash the Spencerite split! Defend the NUM! ■



## Smash the UDM!

# 'Company union' in the coalfields

Roy Lynk's 'Union of Democratic Mineworkers' has set itself up as a rallying point for every scabby element in and outside the British labour movement. Centred on the anti-communist, ballot-mongering scab opposition to the miners strike in Nottinghamshire, the UDM has since gone on to claim a dubious majority in South Derbyshire and inroads in other areas, notably Lancs. Lavishly financed by the bosses, openly opposed to striking, quick to sign a 'sweetheart deal' with the Coal Board on wages and pensions, this anti-union, anti-democratic outfit is a 'company union' in the fullest sense.

The bosses are rubbing their hands with glee over the emergence of their own wretched little version of 'democratic' counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc. The rise of the UDM is today at the sharp end of the Cold War splitting operation in the labour movement. The Electricians' Eric Hammond has joined hands with the Spencerite UDM against the miners and with the Fleet Street bosses' offensive against the print unions. The Electricians and Engineers, unions that scabberded against the miners strike, take government money and embrace anti-union laws. And the Labour/TUC leadership under Neil Kinnock and Norman Willis are trusted tools and accomplices of the Cold War right wing. Kinnock et al are out to make the Labour Party safe for open scabherders in order to demonstrate their fitness for Number Ten.

If the UDM is allowed to fester and grow, it poses a threat to unions not only in the coalfields but elsewhere. Just as with the Spencer union of the 1920-30s, the coal bosses are playing the UDM card for all it's worth in their effort to weaken and destroy the National Union of Mineworkers. But unlike the period following the 1926 General Strike, the militant layers of the working class today have not been demoralised into prostrate passivity. The NUM emerged from its defeat bloodied but unbroken, with tens of thousands of its members profoundly radicalised. At the same time the oppressed masses of the inner-city ghettos who were among the strike's staunchest supporters demonstrated their own combativity in warding off Thatcher's cop riots in the autumn. And the Iron Bitch herself remains widely reviled throughout the population.

Sentiment for an effective campaign against the scab union runs strong in the coalfields, and significant battles are being waged against the Spencerite breakaway. At Westoe pit in the North East last month, the NCB sacked a man for allegedly 'intimidating' a UDM recruiter. In the pivotal Notts border area of North Derbyshire, one fool scab provocatively 'preaching UDM' entered a pub filled with Warsop Main strike veterans having a pre-Christmas drink. Dozens of cops hastily arrived at the scene to provoke a bloody fight ending in the arrest of five miners. The end of the strike has certainly not meant an end of struggle in the coal industry, which has seen dozens of local strikes over the past ten months. At Silverwood colliery in Yorks last month face workers who had just set a new production record called a well coordinated work stoppage when management reneged on promises to rehire 9 sacked miners.

Lynk's scab outfit must be destroyed as

part and parcel of a class-struggle strategy to rearm the NUM and the entire labour movement in preparation for battles ahead. And that requires a political break with reformist class collaboration and with the Labour/TUC traitors whose backstabbing and ballot-mongering paved the way for, and now further encourage, the accursed UDM.

### UDM: Tory paymasters, Labour godfathers

Liberal endowed with hundreds of thousands of pounds from the likes of the anti-

Neither Solidarnosc nor the UDM -- the only 'unions' in the world supported by Thatcher -- are genuine unions; they are bosses' unions financed, set up and run by the capitalists and their government. Nor should it be surprising that the myriad fake left groups like Workers Power who support imperialist 'democracy' a la Margaret Thatcher in Poland supported the Iron Lady's scab ballot in Notts as well. The virulently anti-Soviet RCP, which now seeks to pose as defenders of the NUM to cover up its notorious scab pos-



Workers Hammer



Daily Express

Battle lines drawn during the strike continue today: the 'Union of Democratic Mineworkers' is anti-union, anti-democratic, anti-Communist. It must be crushed through class struggle!

communist Freedom Association and American oil tycoon John Paul Getty, the UDM exhibits all the hallmarks of corruption typically associated with CIA-style splitting and wrecking operations in the international labour movement (see article, page 3). Several right-wing NUM officials like Leicestershire's Jack Jones and COSA's Trevor Bell have told of UDM/Coal Board attempts to bribe them with cars and improved 'pensions' into taking their sections into the UDM. Meanwhile the NCB deliberately stalls wage negotiations with the NUM to allow the UDM to get 'bedded down'. The Spencerite breakaway has not only been given exclusive negotiating rights in the two areas where it does have a significant presence, but is also being given national negotiating rights in all coalfields equal to the NUM.

But if the Tories are the paymasters for these professional strikebreakers and anti-communists, it is the Labour/TUC traitors who provide the political inspiration. Len Murray and Frank Chapple foreshadowed the Notts splitters with their vicious anti-communist witchhunt of Arthur Scargill at the 1983 Blackpool TUC for his forthright stand against Polish Solidarnosc and anti-Soviet warmongers Reagan and Thatcher. And indeed it was the anti-Soviet Cold War elements within the workers movement -- like Eric Hammond, Bill Sirs and Terry Duffy -- who were the biggest scabherders against the miners. Today it's -- these same anti-communists, headed up by Hammond of the EETPU, who collaborate openly with the UDM.

ition in favour of the ballot during the strike, even today gives credence to Thatcher/Lynk's 'democratic pretensions,' blaming support for the UDM on 'the NUM's bureaucratic methods.' (Next Step, 22 November) And the November 1985 Eurocommunist-loyal Leninist moans, 'Hasn't the whole banner of "democracy" been handed to the right in this battle?'

If the pro-CIA TUC/Labour Party Cold Warriors openly support the UDM, militant miners can expect little better from 'Judas' MacKinnock and Norman Willis. It should be an elementary demand that all the architects of and activists for this company union be booted out of the Labour Party -- yet Kinnock's general secretary Larry Whitty warns local constituency parties not to take any actions against UDM members. And the TUC talks about 'deals' and 'compromises': Clive Jenkins harks back to the early federated structure of the miners union upon which the rotten 1930s reunification with the Spencer union was based. Yet the 'lefts' refuse to let go of the coat-tails of the scabherding rights. Recently retired Emlyn Williams hailed Kinnock as 'a good friend of the South Wales miners'! And from Benn to Skinner to Scargill, they all continue to boost Kinnock's fortunes as the next (strikebreaking) prime minister.

### No reliance on capitalist courts!

For all his undoubted commitment to the union, Scargill's left-reformist/Labourite

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