



Northern Ireland: Break the spiral of reaction

Northern Ireland 1983 presents a grim picture. British imperialist terror stalks the streets, as the Royal Ulster Constabulary carries out a 'shoot on sight' murder campaign against Republican activists. The Catholic ghettos are hellholes of despair and oppression; the Protestant working-class areas scarcely better off. Against a backdrop of social deprivation, 25 per cent official unemployment and army/police repression, the interpenetrated Catholic and Protestant communities are locked into sectarian antagonisms which only seem to harden by the month.

The conflicting claims of the Irish Catholic and Ulster Protestant peoples, two distinct communities sharing and contesting the same territory, cannot be democratically resolved within the framework of capitalism. Every day the British army remains, it simply exacerbates the oppression of the Catholic masses and deepens the communal divisions. It is an elementary duty for proletarian revolutionists to demand their immediate, unconditional withdrawal. But the Republican programme of forcible reunification of the Thirty Two Counties would simply reverse the current terms of oppression between Protestant and Catholic. There can be no solution to social oppression and the conflicting national/communal claims in Northern Ireland other than through the perspective of proletarian revolution, forging class unity between Catholic and Protestant workers in struggle against the common enemy.

The gelnite bomb planted by the Irish National Liberation Army in a crowded pub in Ballykelly early last December, which killed six Protestant civilians and eleven British soldiers, served only to deepen the sectarian hatred. From the standpoint of the proletarian class struggle, the Ballykelly bombing was an indefensible crime, an act of indiscriminate genocidal terrorism.

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Top: British troops terrorise Belfast. Bottom: Droppin well after INLA bombing.

Troops out now - smash the RUC/UDR! Not Green against Orange but class against class!

Victory to the water workers!

The first national water workers strike began on 24 January when 20,000 manual workers walked off their jobs over a 15 per cent wage claim. After months of fruitless haggling with the National Water Council, which intransigently refused to budge beyond the government's four per cent wage limit for the public sector, trade union leaders were finally forced to call their men out. The bourgeoisie's anti-strike propaganda mill immediately went into high gear, retailing endless stories about hardship and inconvenience, daily featuring statistics about the number of households forced to boil water, the number of infants scalded, ad nauseum.

Even before the strike began, the government was mooting threats of calling out the army to maintain water services. The Ministry of Defence reportedly has 15,000 troops on

standby, but they aren't trained in running British water facilities. Any attempt to use the armed forces to break this strike must be met with the full resistance of the trade union movement.

But the real reason Downing Street feels confident that 'this is a fight we are going to win' is the record of treachery by the leadership of the labour movement. The labour movement has been on the defensive, as the Tories rain down blow after blow upon workers and minorities. It can be turned around. But that will require militant tactics and a strategy which can break the dead hand of the Labour/TUC bureaucracy. Despite widespread militancy at the base the ASLEF strike was stabbed in the back, the health workers dispute was restricted to diversionary 'days of action' and ineffectual rolling strikes with no attempt to bring out the broader sectors of industry, and the potentially powerful miners were discouraged from striking by a left-talking leadership which made no attempt to mobilise them for serious strike action. Instead the bureaucrats counsel the workers to channel their energies and hatred for the Tories into electing a Labour government committed to Cold

War anti-working class austerity and into fueling the bourgeoisie's chauvinist crusade by blaming workers overseas for unemployment.

Immediately the water workers walked out, the employers upped their offer to 7.3 per cent over 16 months. But sentiment to stay out for the full claim remains firm among the strikers, and was only hardened by Employment Secretary Norman Tebbit's clumsy tirade against the 'undemocratic' strike vote. One Doncaster union official reported, 'Far from there being any weakening, people were more determined than ever to see this out.' If the determination is matched by a programme to win, and not the scenario of a 'gentlemanly strike' (as the *Sunday Times* put it) mapped out by the trade union leaders thus far, this strike can move forward to a rapid victory. That means shutting it down hard, now!

The leadership of the Scottish water workers, who have yet to join the strike, are now threatening to bring Scotland out. Now is the time to do it. Thatcher has denounced the strikers and called for a return to the Victorian age of the 'puritan work ethic'. Well, why not return Downing Street to the days of

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WSL's witchhunt manual

Last summer the Workers Socialist League (WSL) of Alan Thornett published a 64-page bulletin laughably purporting to be a 'Spartacist Truth Kit'. An upcoming issue of *Spartacist Britain* will feature an extensive reply to this tired recitation of anti-Spartacist slander and defence of/cover-up for the WSL's own politics of craven Labour loyalism and Stalinophobia. (These are the people who call themselves 'Bennites', and who said workers should enforce Reagan's anti-Soviet pipeline boycott when even Thatcher refused to do so!) But the real purpose of the 'Truth Kit' comes in its conclusion:

'As proven slanderers, scabs, provocateurs and poseurs; as wanton revisionists and chauvinists; as the hyenas of the left whose main task is to latch onto and destroy rival left-wing organisations, the Spartacists should be exposed, hounded and driven out of each and every working class arena where they show their heads. The information in this pamphlet will, hopefully, assist those Trotskyists who undertake such a task.'

And that's just what it's being used for now -- not by 'Trotskyists', mind you, but by the deeply anti-communist Cold War bureaucrats of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) trade union in San Francisco. CWA Local 9410 officials have introduced the WSL's witchhunt manual alongside material from other fake leftists (and even the Moscow Trials!) as 'evidence' in a kangaroo court trial aimed at purging a militant local Executive Board member.

The leadership of the CWA (representing American telephone workers) has always been composed of notorious Cold Warriors and is known for its ties to CIA 'labour' fronts like the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Last July Local 9410 officials led by president Jim Imerzel initiated a purge trial against Kathy Ikegami, a leader of the class-struggle opposition Militant Action Caucus (MAC). The

trial proceedings were a response to MAC's exposure of the CWA bureaucrats' colluding with the telephone company to cover up impending redundancies, but from the beginning Imerzel & Co tried to obscure this issue, hoping to try Ikegami for her well-known political support for the Spartacist League/US (SL/US).

For years the CWA bureaucrats nationally and in SF have been out to get MAC, the only organised opposition in the union, for its consistent exposure of their pro-company and pro-CIA betrayals and its fight to mobilise the membership in strike action. And it's not just the bureaucrats: four years ago the Secret Service invaded a CWA convention to seize a MAC delegate as she prepared to speak out against a proposed speech by then-US president Carter.

When more than 1000 local members (more than 20 per cent of the total) signed a MAC-initiated petition demanding the recall of the local executive officers, an increasingly desperate Imerzel and his friends sent a McCarthyite smear letter around to the 9410 membership, claiming that 'MAC is an affiliate of the Spartacist League (SL), an international Trotskyist-communist political sect' (their emphasis). According to this bizarre and clinically paranoid epistle, 'the Spartacist League/MAC' plans an 'illegal strike ... as a step towards the destruction of our Local Union', and:

'... if you believe as we do that citizens in a "free" society must be permitted to hold different political views without fear of coercion, intimidation and physical reprisals, then YOU had better "get involved" before it's too late. As only four (4) Executive Officers in only one (1) of nine-hundred (900) CWA Local Unions, we are unable to withstand alone the very substantial "might" of the International Spartacist League with its several newspapers and other resources.' (The complete letter, as well as MAC's leaflet

in reply and a background article are published in the 28 January issue of *Workers Vanguard*.)

The letter's weird ramblings were buttressed by 'evidence' of Spartacist 'infiltration' of labor unions' and "'Gestapo-like" tactics' taken from, among others, the International Workers Party (IWP -- local followers of Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno) ... and the WSL. The 14 January MAC leaflet noted that the letter quoted (or misquoted) various SL/US documents in British spelling, and added:

'That's because these quotes are pulled from a pamphlet, introduced at the Ikegami trial, entitled *Spartacist Truth Kit* published by a British group called the Workers Socialist League, a group that labels itself ... are you ready? ... Trotskyist! What Jim [Imerzel] doesn't tell you is that the claim of this peculiar and dishonest pamphlet is that Spartacists are hopeless sectarians, people who "on principle" abstain from any attempt to gain influence in the labor movement.'

In his attempt to witchhunt Ikegami and MAC, Imerzel has dug up a sorry World War II-vintage American Stalinist pamphlet, accepted the preferred help of the IWP political thugs -- and read into the trial record the quote from the WSL's 'Truth Kit' cited at the beginning of the article. To our knowledge, since the witchhunt against Ikegami and MAC by the CIA-loving bureaucrats began, not one of these pseudo-Trotskyist tendencies, including the WSL and its tiny American co-thinkers the Revolutionary Workers League, has backed away from this vile and dangerous frame-up.

Fortunately the members of CWA Local 9410 know Ikegami and her work (which is a far cry from Alan Thornett's scabbing and pimping for Labour in Britain). They feel differently and we hope that they will treat these errand boys of the pro-capitalist officials with the contempt they so richly deserve. And to the author of the WSL's slimy 'Truth Kit', some advice. You may not be much of a writer (and certainly no 'Trotskyist'), but for a job that suits your talents, why not apply to Frank Chapple? We're sure Jim Imerzel will provide a good reference. ■

letter So much for RCP's 'anti-racism'

Dear Comrades,

Given the Revolutionary Communist Party's [RCP] claim to 'fight' racism and its policy of excluding the communists of the Spartacist League from its public meetings, I thought our readers would be interested in a report of the RCP's public meeting on racism in Britain held on December 7 in Liverpool.

Because of the RCP's policy of excluding communists, four of our comrades entered the room and sat separately from each other. Then I looked at the lit table. There I saw back issues of the *Next Step* and various books and pamphlets of and by Trotsky. When I returned to my seat, a black RCP'er came up to me and asked 'How did you hear of the meeting?' I replied, 'I originally came from Toxteth, moved down to Birmingham, came up for the meeting.' So he began to talk about how the RCP deals with racism and fascism and WAR [Workers Against Racism] cropped up in the discussion. I pointed out that the likes of Tony Benn and Arthur Scargill while sponsoring WAR are at the same time pushing protectionism which has a racist backlash, divides up the working class internationally and leads up to trade wars, then shooting wars. Naturally he had nothing to say in reply.

Then the meeting began with a presentation by an Asian who was a victim of a recent fire-bombing by some fascists in Liverpool, then an Asian representative from WAR got up and made the most awful presentation I ever heard. He began with the reasons why the 'blacks' (anybody not white and British) were enticed over here by various Labour and Tory governments who went from India to the West Indies promoting Britain. Now they are no longer needed for cheap labour so they have passed numerous immigration/nationality acts directed at the 'blacks' to have them thrown out of Britain or throw young 'blacks' on the capitalists' scrap-heap. He said that 'we would have to create a condition where racism and fascism would be unacceptable to us'. This anti-racist meeting ended with the sentiment: if you want to change the decaying capitalist system without the working class, join the RCP. Now the floor was opened up for a round of discussion. Their chairman was very willing to let me speak first. (I guess because I'm black) So I got down to business. I started off that I was in the YCL and left it because they could not and would not want to fight racism and fascism but relied on state bans; they also took part in the work of the ANL. I pointed out that the pseudo-confrontationist strategy the ANL had then and the RCP has now is to substitute themselves for the working class. Well, in the eyes of the RCP the working class are 'racists'. I pointed out trade union/minority integrated defence guards based on the unions are the way to run these creeps off the streets as the SL/US did in Washington. Changing from the Washington mobilisation, I said where does the RCP stand in Poland? In their 'Black December' pamphlet the RCP sides with the KPN/fascists in Poland. (At this time their black RCP'er had his head in his hands.) When I added, in Afghanistan the RCP team up with anti-communist Islamic reactionaries dropping the woman question, their chair told me to wind up. I had a brief pause and continued. I told them that they have the same position on the Russian Question as the Labour Party 'lefts'. I then sat down.

One of our contacts then got up and rammed the anti-Klan demo down their throats in her intervention. She was told to wind up and we were threatened with physical expulsion. Another SL comrade, Alison, protested that the guy from WAR had just over an hour and our supporter had

under five minutes. Now the RCP'er told us to leave the room. RCP troublemaker no 1 (RCPTM1) made himself present. He repeated what their comrade said about us leaving the room and said, 'That happened three thousand miles away, anyway the blacks in America are much better off than the ones in Britain'. I shouted, 'You are telling me that the blacks are better off in America with the KKK'. Then RCP troublemaker no 2 (RCPTM 2) told me to shut up and get out. I refused to leave. When one of our comrades raised workers democracy RCPTM2 said 'the SL have got none'. I was given a last public warning and threatened with physical expulsion. As I began to argue about the threat of violence, RCPTM2 took my bag and threw it out of the room. I guessed that I was going to follow my bag very soon. I told him you want to use violence because you cannot address me politically. No sooner had I said that than RCPTM1 and 2 ousted me from my seat and I was heading for the door. Two SL comrades entered the room and prevented them throwing me out of the room and most probably stopping me from ending up down the bottom of the steps. They closed down their meeting. So much for the RCP's position on racism.

Comradely,
Norris B

Spartacist Britain replies: And it's not just the RCP's policy on racism that is bankrupt. On 26 January they excluded SLers from a Sheffield University public meeting on Derry's Bloody Sunday -- while welcoming campus Tory club members to attend and debate! So much for 'anti-imperialism' on Ireland....

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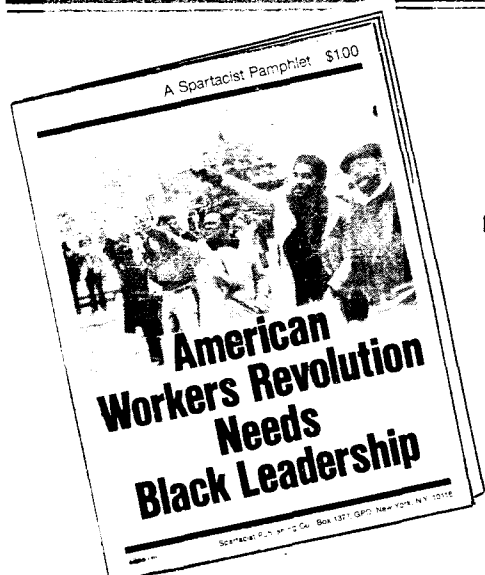
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Freedom through submission?

The British Raj and the Gandhi myth

Film review

'Gandhi'

Directed by R Attenborough

By Caroline Carne

'Columbia Pictures presents A World Event. It took one remarkable man to defeat an Empire and free a nation of 350 million people. His goal was freedom. His strategy was peace. His weapon was his humanity.' Now the story can be told. A story to warm every bourgeois liberal heart from Britain to India; a story dedicated to imperialist butcher Lord Mountbatten, approved by Indian despot Indira Gandhi, and blessed by every apologist for imperialism in the India 'Mahatma' Gandhi left behind.

Richard Attenborough's film 'Gandhi' paints a picture of British imperialism as essentially benign. True, mistakes were made, like the 1919 massacre of Indian civil rights demonstrators at Amritsar. But these were aberrations, not policy. The film presents Indian independence as the idea of one saintly and principled individual who inspired the Indian people to eschew revolutionary revolt in favour of passive resistance aimed at winning the hearts and minds of English men of reason. After the British withdrew, these ideals were drowned in blood by the barbaric masses.

The 'Ram Rajya' ('God's Kingdom') which Gandhi and his Indian Congress Party allies promised would follow the departure of the British, did not bring freedom and equality for the Indian masses. After the genocidal imperialist partition into India and Pakistan, the daily misery of the toiling masses, minorities and women continues. Strikes and demonstrations are viciously suppressed, child labour is exploited, starvation still claims thousands, communal rioting devastates Jammu, Kashmir and Assam. Women who cannot afford their dowries are burned alive and the Untouchables remain



Submitting to Empire, 1942: Gandhi jokes with Stafford Cripps, Labour's Colonial Secretary in imperialist War Cabinet.

outcasts.

And in Britain, the bourgeoisie's hatred and contempt for the oppressed masses of the 'Old Empire' has not lessened with the loss of its colonies. The Asian and black minorities imported as cheap labour in the 1950s are victims of daily harassment by the cops, racist and fascist attacks on the streets and draconian immigration laws. The machinery of repression perfected and refined in the 'Jewel of the Empire' is now used to enforce poverty and fear at home. Writing in 1922, Leon Trotsky captured the oh-so-civilised racist attitudes of British bourgeois society, in particular its labour movement misleaders:

'They have been and always will be the slaves of public opinion. They are thoroughly imbued with the anti-democratic exploiter, planter and parasite views on races which are distinguished by the colour of their skins, by the fact that they do not read Shakespeare, or wear stiff collars.' (*Writings on Britain* vol 3)

The truth about Amritsar

Attenborough's film whitewashes the British Raj in many ways. (Not one racist word passes the lips of a British officer in India -- such epithets are reserved for South Africans encountered during Gandhi's early years.) But the most striking cover-up is over the Amritsar massacre, the one significant British atrocity which is actually depicted, indeed as the climax of the first half of the film.

The British have always been anxious to present the massacre of at least 379 unarmed men, women and children and the wounding of another 1500 as the aberration of the local commanding officer General Dyer and his Gurkha mercenaries. 'Gandhi' retails the same lie. Following the massacre the British Commission is seen earnestly enquiring of Dyer whether he really ordered his men to shoot at the heart of the crowd, 'whether a little girl could appeal for help against your fire?' Later they are shown assuring Gandhi and Pandit Nehru that it was 'all the evil deeds of one individual. In reality, Dyer's actions were condoned by his superior officers. The film makes no mention of the British campaign to reinstate Dyer as the hero who forestalled another Indian Mutiny. The House of Lords passed a motion in his support and the readers of the *Morning Post* subscribed a £25,000 testimonial in his defence. Dyer confirmed that he 'would do the same thing again', and upon his death was given a state funeral.

Nor was Amritsar the last of the crimes and atrocities perpetrated by the British. The nascent proletariat and rising anti-imperialist movement after World War I was subjected to one act of brutal repression after another:

from the Rowlatt Bills granting 'emergency powers' against 'conspiracy and political outrage' to the aerial machine-gunning of rebellious tribes to the anti-Communist Cawnpore and Meerut conspiracy trials. And British atrocities continued through World War II. In 1943 Churchill ordered all ships carrying food to India to be stopped in the cause of his Mediterranean campaign, and between one-and-a-half and three-and-a-half million Bengalis died of starvation.

Saint Gandhi

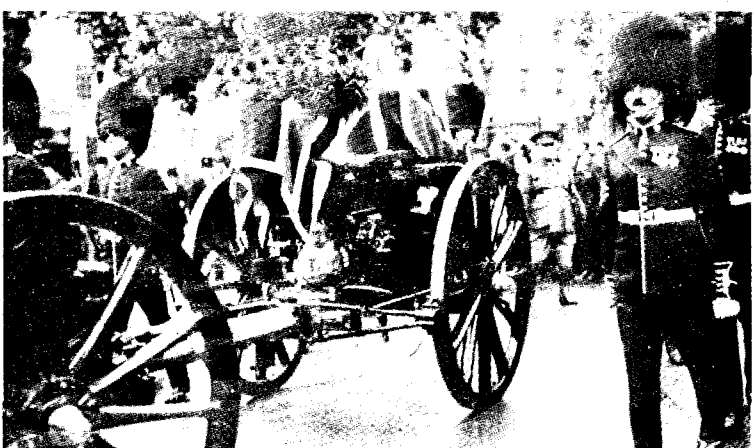
The prettifying of British imperialism in 'Gandhi' also serves to canonise Gandhi as a saint lifted above the conflict of class forces. Gandhi feared the violence of the oppressed above the violence of the oppressors; he was perfectly prepared to conciliate the latter to prevent the former. The film's early section, set in South Africa, shows how he led a campaign for the repeal of the South African pass laws which led to an interview and an agreement in General Smuts' office. It does not show that the agreement left the laws on the statute book, or that Gandhi told his followers (to their just outrage) that he would now be first in line to volunteer his fingerprints for registration. Nor does it show that he called off a second struggle in 1913 when it coincided with a white miners' strike on the Rand, leaving the government free to crush both movements.

Back in India Gandhi presented himself to the faction-ridden Congress elite in 1919 as the perfect instrument to contain the already powerful movement against imperialism (inspired by the Russian Revolution and the bourgeois-nationalist movement of Ataturk in Turkey). From the very beginning of his *satyagraha* ('peaceful resistance') campaigns he claimed that 'truth' could only be followed by 'refraining from violence to property'. With his 'personal sincerity' and wearing of the peasants' *khaddar* (homespun), Gandhi's peaceful resistance was the knot which tied the naivete and self-denying blindness of a peasantry he led in the first stages of their struggle to the treacherous manoeuvres of the Indian bourgeoisie. As Indian Communist leader M N Roy explained in 1922:

'Nonviolence, resignation, perfect love and the release from the pain of living -- this is the substance of Indian philosophy handed down through the ages by a powerful caste of kings, priests and philosophers who found it good to keep the people in subjection. Mr Gandhi is nothing but the heir of this long line of ghostly ancestors -- he is the perfect product of heredity and environment.' (*India in Transition*)

The film shows Gandhi, Nehru and other Congress leaders meeting, seemingly on the morrow of the Amritsar massacre, to plan their first passive resistance campaign. In reality, Gandhi languished for an entire year in Amritsar, proposing that the Montagu Reforms (to extend the franchise) be accepted with thanks. When the *satyagraha* was finally launched, it soon moved beyond Congress control. By 1922 the movement

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What 'Gandhi' doesn't show: (top) British soldiers forced Indians to crawl along the street where British missionary was attacked in Amritsar; (bottom) General Dyer, who ordered the Amritsar massacre, was given a state funeral for his services to Empire.

Ireland...

(Continued from page 1)

The British bourgeoisie seized on Ballykelly to fuel its chauvinist crusade at home against the Irish, racial minorities, socialists -- anyone not true-blue British and proud of it. Within 48 hours these imperialist guardians of democracy issued a Prevention of Terrorism Act edict barring three Sinn Fein leaders recently elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly from entering the mainland 'United Kingdom'. Fleet Street churned out reams of invective against 'mindless Irish terrorists', echoed in Parliament by Labour and Tory alike. Terror?! Since November alone the RUC has shot dead at least seven people, strafing their cars and bodies with gunfire like a 1930s gangster film. So blatant has the rampage been that even the venerable imperialist *Times* published a worried editorial.

We shed no tears for the eleven soldiers killed in the Droppin Well pub. But far from being a blow for Irish freedom, as both the INLA and various of its 'left' cheerleaders claimed, the Ballykelly bombing was an act of sectarian murder -- of a piece with Irish Republican Army bombings like the Abercorn Cafe in 1972 and La Mon house in 1978. Marxists defend against the capitalist state the perpetrators of such acts as the killing of British soldiers at Warrenpoint, the assassinations of Airey Neave and Earl Mountbatten, and the IRA's recent killing of county court judge William Doyle, a senior representative of the Six Counties judiciary with a reputation for severe sentencing. Even attacks on such targets which unfortunately injure or kill civilians, like the bombing of the Aldershot officers' mess in 1972, remain defensible.

But even such defensible Republican terrorism is in no sense part of our revolutionary-proletarian strategy. Marxists reject the strategy of terrorism. Petty-bourgeois terrorism, Trotsky pointed out, lowers the consciousness and activism of the masses, turning their hopes to some great avenger or emancipator who will eventually release them from the chains of oppression. More specifically, behind the terrorism of the Irish Republican movement lies a thoroughly counterposed programme of Irish Catholic national unity against not only British imperialism but the Northern Ireland Protestant community as well. And this leads straight to atrocities like Ballykelly.

The short history of the INLA and its political wing the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) is a living refutation of the lie that Republicanism is not counterposed to a programme of proletarian socialism. When the IRSP emerged from a split in the Official IRA in 1974-75, in rhetoric (and perhaps even in the subjective impulse of many of its founding members) it went further to the left within the framework of Republicanism than most past Irish nationalist groups. It claimed James Connolly as its historical mentor and vowed to combine the traditions of Republicanism and socialism. But, like oil and water, the two do not mix.

Within a few years of its foundation the IRSP had settled back into the Republican mainstream. If anything it presently exceeds the Provisional IRA in militarist sectarianism. Is it any accident that the spectacular Ballykelly atrocity came so hard on the heels of the Provisional Sinn Fein's turn towards electoral tactics, with its attendant internal debate? The IRSP merely underlines its Catholic-sectarian character when it calls on voters in the Irish Republic to support Fianna Fail, the main bourgeois ruling party of the clerical Southern state (itself beset by deep economic misery and social oppression). And the INLA's claim to attack only 'military targets' (in contrast to the IRA's 'economic warfare') is meaningless given its claim that pubs like the Droppin Well are such military targets. Having come full circle within the Republican tradition, and with the Provisionals increasingly engaged in empty 'socialist' rhetoric of their own, INLA spokesmen now openly project an eventual merger with at least part of the IRA.

Ballykelly: A sectarian crime

In a 10 January 1983 statement the INLA justified the Ballykelly bombing and threatened more: '... our soldiers will not hesitate to carry out such actions again' (quoted in *Guardian*, 11 January). It warned publicans not to serve army or RUC men lest their premises too become targets for attack. The various Republican-tailing British leftists, trying to concoct excuses for the INLA, claimed that the pub was just a sort of army social centre. It was, they wrote, 'known to be regularly used by the British army of occupation' (Revolutionary Communist Group) and 'the drinking haunt of the Cheshire

Regiment' (Workers Power). But far from being an extension of the barracks, either literally or metaphorically, this Catholic-owned town-centre pub was also 'the 'drinking haunt of' and 'known to be regularly used by' many Protestant and Catholic civilians, including on the night in question.

The fact that more soldiers than civilians died in the blast is not decisive in assessing this attack. The death tolls could easily have been reversed, or higher in general. And anyway the INLA openly claims that the civilian victims



Jim Larkin roused Catholic and Protestant workers alike to class struggle.

deserved to die. According to its statement, they were 'fraternising with members of the security forces' and thus 'collaborating' with the British army and 'helping to maintain the now defunct Mason-Prior policy of the Ulsterisation of our people'.

At bottom, these are arguments for nationalist genocide. Until last December Ballykelly, a town of 600 people (two-thirds Protestant and one-third Catholic) some 17 miles from Derry, had been comparatively untouched by the sectarian strife which ravages Northern Ireland. It possessed one of the few integrated primary schools in the entire Six Counties. The INLA's bombing was directed as much at destroying this situation (in their words, 'the Ulsterisation of our [ie Catholic] people') as at killing soldiers of the imperialist army. In this they rival Menachem Begin who also once claimed to be fighting imperialism. In the 1940s Begin's Zionist Irgun, another nationalist-terrorist group which fought British imperialism, often chose as its targets workplaces (like the Haifa oil refinery and docks) which had militant traditions of joint Arab-Jewish class struggle.

Further, the INLA openly contends that anyone (especially Protestants) who 'fraternises' with a soldier, or even happens to be in the same pub as one, is thereby a legitimate target for mass assassination. By their logic, anyone who practises or advocates any form of cross-communal contact, who does not acquiesce to their nationalist schema, not to mention any backward or reactionary-minded Protestant worker, deserves to be killed. Proletarian revolutionists fighting for class unity would be foremost on their hit-list. This is straight reactionary communalism, in essence every bit the equal of Protestant terror gangs like the Ulster Defence Association and Ulster Volunteer Force. The fact that many Republican sectarian atrocities are carried out in ostensible retaliation for UDA/UVF anti-Catholic attacks does not justify them one iota.

In our 'Theses on Ireland' (*Spartacist* no 24, Autumn 1977), we outlined the Leninist stance towards terrorism in Ireland:

'15. In military conflicts between Irish nationalist organisations and the British army/state authorities we defend the actions of the former since this is still a struggle of an oppressed nationality against imperialism, ... 'Outside this military struggle with British imperialism and its direct agents, in the conflict between the Irish Catholic and Protestant communities and their respective organisations, the national/communal aspect transcends any formal left/right differences. Such violence is frequently directed against symbols of non-sectarianism (for example, pubs where both Catholic and Protestant workers socialise) and is an obstacle to any form of integrated class struggle. Terrorist acts directed against the Protestant community by organisations of the oppressed Irish Catholic community are in no way a blow against imper-

ialism, not justifiable as the "violence of the oppressed" and are no more "progressive" or defensible than similar acts by Protestant paramilitary groups.'

Not Green against Orange but class against class!

A revolutionary programme for Ireland must start from the understanding that British imperialism has, and can have no progressive role to play. Its troops must be immediately and unconditionally removed. The working class and both communities must be guarded not only against the terror of the imperialist army and the RUC but against the sectarian rampages of the Orange gangs and the communal violence of the Republicans like Ballykelly. Thus we fight for the formation of integrated, anti-sectarian workers militias to combat sectarian terror, Orange and Green, as well as imperialist rampage.

But communal/national antagonisms will not simply disappear on the morrow of a British withdrawal. Northern Ireland, like the Near East or Cyprus, contains distinct national or communal populations with conflicting national interests. While the Protestant population are at present privileged oppressors in relation to the Catholics, a mere reversal of the terms of oppression would manifestly not be a democratic solution. More immediately, fear of such an outcome drives Protestant working people into the arms of imperialism and Orange reaction.

The only road to forging the necessary class unity between Protestant and Catholic proletarians is through a programme which attacks the oppression of the Catholic masses at the expense not of their Protestant class brothers, but of the capitalists. Today both the Sinn Fein Republicans and the Paisleyite Loyalists garner working-class support in their respective communities through exploiting fears of still deeper economic devastation. What will break down the communal barriers is joint class struggle against a ruling class out to crush and emiserate the workers of both communities. The massive unemployment and economic misery could, under a revolutionary leadership which does not seek to redivide an ever-smaller pie, provide the spark for joint class struggle. Against entrenched Orange privilege we advance a series of transitional demands which transcend the constraints of capitalism, including a sliding scale of wages and hours and an end to discrimination in housing and employment, in order to cut through the fear that more jobs for Catholics mean fewer for Protestants.

But revolutionary working-class unity cannot be forged simply around economic demands. We of course oppose the necessarily sectarian Six County Northern Ireland statelet. But to the call for the forcible reunification of Ireland, including in its seemingly more left-wing version of a 'united socialist Ireland' or '32-county workers republic', we counterpose the call for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. This slogan both emphasises the iron link between class struggle on the two islands -- reinforced by the number of Irish or Irish-descended workers in Britain -- and leaves open the question of the future place of the Protestants in such a socialist federation.

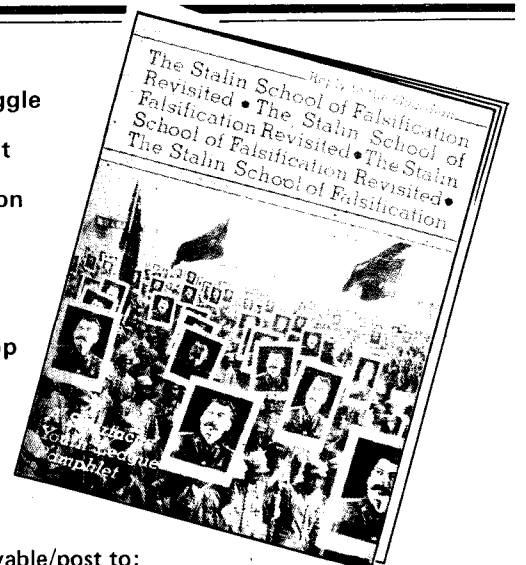
Fake left: Tailing Green nationalism, bowing to imperialism

The response of opportunist British leftists to Ballykelly demonstrates their utter failure to provide a revolutionary-proletarian perspective. The Communist Party and Militant tendency predictably denounced Ballykelly but as part of their utterly craven pro-imperialist position on Ireland. These reformists condemn out of hand all terrorist actions and refuse to defend the perpetrators of attacks on the British army and the likes of Mountbatten and Neave against the

The struggle of the Trotskyist Left Opposition against Stalinist betrayal

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bourgeois state. Militant in particular claims that the road to socialism in Ireland lies through uniting Catholic and Protestant workers in day-to-day trade union economic struggle and building a Labour Party like that in Britain. Such a perspective is a dead-end anywhere -- but in Northern Ireland it means a direct capitulation to British imperialism and Orange privilege, as Militant (and the CP) make clear through their disgraceful opposition to the call for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops.

Other smaller left groups greeted Ballykelly with cheers for its supposed 'anti-imperialism'. Accepting, even championing, the deepening of the existing Catholic/Protestant divisions, groups like the RCG claim that any criticism of the Republican movement is necessarily 'chauvinist', while Workers Power limits itself to calls for mobilising what they call 'nationalist workers'. Counterposing Green nationalism to capitulation to British imperialism is not Leninism. And in fact the two are not mutually exclusive. Today a host of left-wing organisations find themselves simultaneously apologising for Green nationalism and cosying up to 'liberal' British imperialism via the left wing of the Labour Party.

While mass demonstrations swept the world against British imperialism's intransigence towards Bobby Sands and his comrades in the H Block Republican hunger strikes two years ago, the dead hand of Labourism on the bulk of the British left was manifested in the comparatively few, pitifully small protest pickets and demonstrations. And to a man they dropped campaigning for the elementary 'Troops out now' slogan -- with the excuse that the IRA, itself appealing to liberal 'humanitarian' sentiment among a wing of the British bourgeoisie, was opposed to it. In contrast the Spartacist League continued to champion as a central demand in the hunger strike solidarity protests, the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army of terror.

Today the Tony Benn/Ken Livingstone wing of the Labour Party talks vaguely about a 'British withdrawal' from Ireland as a way for imperialism to cut its losses and salvage a few more quid for social services at home. (A wing of the Liberal Party takes a similar position.) Benn proposes to replace the British army with an imperialist police operation by the United Nations, along the lines of Korea, the Congo and the Middle East. And the various fake lefts who

have championed these Labour lefts now try to prettify these alternative schemes to maintain capitalist 'law and order'.

The former International Marxist Group (now renamed Socialist League -- an apt name change, since this was the name of the 1930s organisation led by Sir Stafford Cripps, front-man for British divide and rule in India) used to chant 'All the way with the IRA'. Now while continuing to pay rhetorical tribute to the Republicans they echo the Benn/Livingstone calls to 'end the violence', a Labourite version of the pro-imperialist Ulster women's peace campaign. Inside the Labour Committee on Ireland, the jaded ex-IMG and others repudiate the elementary call for 'Troops out now' in favour of a studiously vague 'commitment to withdrawal' by a future Labour-administered imperialist government. Meanwhile Workers Power as usual reserves its 'anti-imperialist' tough-talk on Ballykelly for its little-read monthly, while its industrial newsletter ('For BL Castle Bromwich and Long-bridge plants', 6 January) confines itself to a mealy-mouthed imperialism-is-responsible-for-the-violence line, including support for Livingstone's 'firm stand' in inviting Sinn Fein representatives to London.

Opportunities for class unity and Republic sabotage

Both the cheerleaders of Ballykelly and the open 'left' apologists for British imperialism who denounce even defensible acts of terror agree that Republicanism represents the historically legitimate leadership and ideology of the Irish Catholic masses. In contrast proletarian revolutionists understand that the present communal barriers between Protestant and Catholic workers are not immutable, that there have been many, albeit often transient, opportunities for revolutionary working-class unity against imperialism and both the Orange and Green bourgeoisies -- but that in the absence of a proletarian vanguard those opportunities were inevitably sabotaged by the sectarians on both sides.

In the early years of the century, as great proletarian class battles rocked Belfast and Dublin, groups like Sinn Fein were small and isolated, in the shadow of and openly against the revolutionary working-class movement led by Connolly and Jim Larkin. Sinn Fein denounced strikes and socialism as 'English diseases' (as abortion is described in the South today). Their hold strengthened only with the defeat of the 1913 Dublin general strike and the beheading of

the workers' leadership after the defeat of the 1916 Easter Rebellion and the execution of Connolly and other socialists. Three years later the defeat of the Belfast engineering strike and the purging of 10,000 Catholic and 3000 militant Protestant workers from the industry struck a body blow against the militant sections of the proletariat of industrial Ulster and tightened the grip of communalism and nationalism in both communities.

Even since the imperialist partition of 1920-21 ushered in, as Connolly predicted, a 'carnival of reaction', there have been significant opportunities for forging revolutionary class unity. In the early 1930s, Catholic and Protestant outdoor relief workers united in a major strike wave (many were under the influence of the nascent Irish Communist party, the Revolutionary Workers Groups). When groups of Protestant workers tried to join United Irishmen commemoration parades with banners reading 'Break the connection with Capitalism', the IRA ordered them thrown off the demonstrations.

Thirty-five years later, when the 1969-70 Derry civil rights movement exploded in the Catholic ghettos against entrenched Orange privilege, it initially gathered some support among Protestants. But in the absence of a proletarian-revolutionary leadership, the movement was quickly shifted back onto a Catholic v Protestant axis, as tit-for-tat murders began on both sides and the Republicans asserted their nationalist leadership.

Towards the socialist revolution

Until the revolutionary programme of Trotskyism takes hold among the working masses of the North and South, both Catholic and Protestant, the blood-drenched legacy of imperialist oppression and communal sectarianism will continue to haunt Ireland. It is to the tradition of militant class struggle of the Irish proletariat that today's revolutionists must look, forging Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties on both sides of the partition, on both sides of the Irish Sea. The Spartacist League says: Troops out now! Smash the RUC/Ulster Defence Regiment! Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act! Not Green against Orange but class against class! Against all variants of dead-end nationalism and decrepit social democracy, we counterpose the programme of revolutionary internationalism. Forward to an Irish section of the reborn Fourth International! ■

A proletarian perspective for Ireland

We reprint below excerpts from 'Theses on Ireland', adopted by the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency and published in Spartacist no 24 (autumn 1977). The complete theses are available from Spartacist Publications at 45p including p&p.

3. As Leninists we are opposed to all forms of national oppression and privilege and stand for the equality of nations. Writing in 1913 Lenin succinctly set forth as follows the fundamental principles underlying the revolutionary social-democratic position on the national question:

'As democrats, we are irreconcilably hostile to any, however slight, oppression of any nationality and to any privileges for any nationality. As democrats, we demand the right of nations to self-determination in the political sense of that term ... ie, the right to secede. We demand unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority. We demand broad self-government and autonomy for regions, which must be demarcated, among other terms of reference, in respect of nationality too.' (Draft Programme of the 4th Congress of Social Democrats of the Latvian Area', *Collected Works*, vol 19)

Thus, the right to self-determination means simply the right to establish a separate state, the right to secede. We reject the notion that it means 'freedom from all outside interference and control' or entails economic independence. In the general sense the right to self-determination is unconditional, independent of the state that emerges or its leadership.

However, for Leninists this right is not an absolute demand, a categorical imperative, to be implemented at all times and everywhere there is a nation. It is only one of a range of bourgeois-democratic demands; it is a part, subordinate to the whole, of the overall programmatic system. When the particular demand for national self-determination contradicts more crucial demands or the general needs of the class struggle, we oppose its exercise. As Lenin



Spartacist Britain

July 1981: Spartacist contingent demands 'Troops out now!' at hunger strike solidarity demonstration.

notes:

'The several demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but only a *small part* of the general-democratic (now: general-socialist) world movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected.' [emphasis in original] ('The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up', *Collected Works*, vol 22)

In particular, in the case of interpenetrated peoples sharing a common territory, we oppose the exercise of self-determination by one nation where this flatly conflicts with the same right for another nation. In this situation the same

general considerations apply, namely our opposition to all forms of national oppression and privilege, but in such circumstances the exercise of self-determination by one or the other people in the form of the establishment of their own bourgeois state can only be brought about by the denial of that right to the other. Under capitalism this would simply be a formula for reversing the terms of oppression, for forcible population transfers and expulsions and ultimately genocide. It is a 'solution' repeatedly demonstrated in history, for example in the cases of India/Pakistan, Israel/Palestine and Cyprus.

continued on page 8



US SWP denounce Trotskyism



Failing reformist party seeks Havana/Managua/Grenada franchise; Sandinista Daniel Ortega, New Jewel Movement's Maurice Bishop, Fidel Castro: call Jack Barnes (top).

On New Year's eve, at a US Socialist Workers Party (SWP) public meeting in Chicago, SWP head Jack Barnes finally declared outright what has been the reality for two decades: the SWP is not the Trotskyist party in the United States. Barnes announced that '80 per cent of those on a world scale who call themselves Trotskyists ... are hopeless, irreformable sectarians'. His two-and-a-half hour speech, delivered as the highlight of the annual convention of the SWP's youth group, centred on a barrage of attacks on the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution: 'The permanent revolution, if these things are true, is not a correct generalisation, or an adequate one, or one that doesn't open up more problems than it solves....' By 'these things', Barnes referred to his idea of a 'fusion' with the 'revolutionaries' of the Nicaraguan Sandistas, the Grenadan New Jewel Movement, the Salvadoran and Cuban Communist Parties (CPs). 'We are not Trotskyists...' Barnes revealed. Truer words have never passed his lips.

Until about twenty years ago, the SWP was the revolutionary party in the US, embodying the revolutionary heritage of founding American Trotskyist James P Cannon. More than that, it represented the continuity of the most significant section of Trotsky's Fourth International, most directly shaped by Trotsky's living guidance and collaboration. The SWP's qualitative break from the revolutionary programme of Trotskyism, centrally through its capitulation to Castroism in the period 1961-63, paved the way for the 'reunification' in the 'United Secretariat' (Usec) with the revisionist current of Pabloism which had destroyed the Fourth International a decade earlier. Today the revolutionary continuity of Trotskyism is represented by the international Spartacist tendency, which traces its origins to the struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) against the SWP's revisionist course.

The SWP of today is a thoroughly reformist, increasingly eccentric and rapidly shrinking political formation. Its ambitions to become America's preeminent reformist party have run smack up against something called the Democratic Socialists of America, an organisation several times its size, with more consistent reformist politics and the inside track on what reformists really aspire to: influence among the pro-Democratic Party union officials who run the American labour movement. Of late the Barnes clique has ravaged the party with a wave of bureaucratic purges, removing from any even ceremonial standing within the party the remaining old-timers whose dusty memories of the once-revolutionary, pre-Barnes SWP are deemed a threat to Barnes' absolute bureaucratic stranglehold, and striking out even at longtime Barnesite hack Peter Camejo. And right now there are two distinct substantial right-wing minorities looking for a way out of Barnestown.

Internationally, too, the almost constant state of war which has defined the twenty years of SWP/Usec fraternal relations is again at fever pitch. The Usec leadership around Ernest

Mandel has been fuming as the SWP tears up the ex-International Marxist Group (IMG -- newly-dubbed the 'Socialist League'); meanwhile the Mandelites are enjoying tweaking Barnes' tail by backing Camejo and monkeying around with the SWP minorities. Now Barnes explicitly writes the Usec off in declaring that 80 per cent of the world's 'Trotskyists' are hopeless sectarians. In truth 'Trotskyism' a la Mandel these days is defined by a hard drive towards liquidation into the mass social-democratic parties of West Europe, exemplified by the IMG's brazen appeal to the wretched reformist tradition of the 1930s Labour lefts in its name change.

It will not be news to regular readers of the Spartacist tendency press that the reformist SWP is not Trotskyist. But for any party the explicit renunciation of longstanding 'isms' is a significant event and an unusual one. Organisations whose lip-

service to Marxist tradition has long since been emptied of content nonetheless shy away from outright renunciation of their claims to 'continuity'. Take the furore of the last several years inside various West European CPs over the explicit dropping of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. In real political line, displayed a thousand ways, the craven reformist CPs have had for decades utterly nothing to do with the Leninist programme of proletarian class power. Yet the repudiation of 'd of the p' by the Spanish CP, for example, was still a real political event, brought on by the heightening of Cold War tensions which made pro-Moscow parties, no matter how slavishly reformist and social-patriotic in fact, unacceptable participants in capitalist 'coalition' governments. Even an organisation on a vastly smaller scale, like the SWP, ordinarily possesses a considerable stake in its historic 'labels', particularly since the SWP has been in



US SWP oppositionist Nat Weinstein with 'captive nations' anti-communists (top), IMG leadership (below): all united for counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc.

the Trotskyist business -- first in political fact and then as an empty label -- for upwards of fifty years.

Permanent Revolution: 'Sectarian and ultra-left'

Barnes' explicit attack on Trotskyism was foreshadowed by a recent series of articles by Barnesite hack Doug Jenness denouncing Trotsky's analysis of the 1917 Russian October Revolution, as well as some provocative symbolic acts. For example, the list of revolutionaries in the youth convention brochure was: Marx, Engels, Lenin -- no Trotsky. Or take Barnes' description (SWP *Internal Bulletin* no 1 in 1982, September 1982) of upcoming titles in Farrell Dobbs' series on 'Revolutionary Continuity': according to Barnes, Part III covering the years through 1959 is to be titled 'The Trotskyist Years', while the next volume will be 'The Transition Years'.

Transition to what, you may well ask. Barnes' modest proposal is for a 'common world Marxist movement' comprising the SWP and the Central American 'revolutionary' forces. The radical-nationalist Nicaraguan Sandinistas temporise with the 'patriotic' bourgeoisie and seek to placate the Pentagon by refusing to provide arms to the Salvadoran insurgents. The Salvadoran leaders' perspective is a negotiated 'political solution' which would rob the plebeian masses of the victory they are fighting and dying for. The Cuban leaders alibi their support to 'progressive' military juntas from Peru to Brazil with the argument that Latin America is not 'ready for socialism'. To be sure, American imperialist warmongering has the Central American left ideologues talking out of both sides of their mouths; along comes the SWP, selectively quoting like mad, and voila, new 'revolutionaries of action' are revealed.

Beginning with extensive paraphrases from the recent works of one Schafik Jorge Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran CP, Barnes' New Year's eve speech went through the familiar anti-Trotskyist recitation of the early Trotsky's errors as a left Menshevik in opposition to Bolshevism, for the purpose of dismissing Trotsky the Leninist revolutionary. Then he castigated the theory of permanent revolution as flawed in 1905, wrong in 1917 and flatly 'ultra-left' in China in 1928. Indeed Barnes went so far as to delicately accuse Trotsky of lying about Lenin's agreement with permanent revolution after April 1917: 'This is the only thing I can remember Trotsky ever writing which I believe is factually false.'

For authentic Trotskyists, the revolutionary struggles in Central America present a crucial opportunity to win subjective revolutionaries in the region to the perspective of working-class independence from all wings of the bourgeoisie, the only road to victory. Our strategy is the construction of Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat, at the head of the poor peasant masses, to the seizure of power (this is the core of the theory of 'permanent revolution'). For Barnes & Co, this is precisely the time to formally denounce permanent revolution, smear Trotsky and relegate the struggles of the Fourth International explicitly to the 'old days' before Castro.

The Revolutionary Tendency

It was the Revolutionary Tendency which fought against the SWP's capitulation to Castroism. In the Cuba dispute, the RT fought to uphold the SWP's revolutionary heritage against Pabloist centrism, which -- despairing of the working class -- seeks substitute 'vanguards' among whatever seems to be in motion. The RT also vigorously opposed the SWP's capitulation on the black question, which cast the SWP as a 'white party' which could play no role in the liberation of black people except as a patronising, passive cheerleader for black formations. The RT proposed that the SWP involve itself in the mass civil rights actions, fighting to provide a socialist alternative to the leadership of the

preachers and aspiring bourgeois politicians.

But the SWP was in full flight from Trotskyism and the RT had to be got rid of. The problem was that the SWP, thanks to its Trotskyist past, had no organisational provision for purging a disciplined minority. So after bureaucratically expelling our comrades in 1963, the SWP set about making it all 'legal' after the fact by propounding new rules codified in a resolution adopted at the 1965 convention. Its essential syllogism goes like this: (1) factions are permitted in the SWP, (2) factionalists are disloyal people, (3) disloyal people are expelled. This device has since been applied widely by other USec groups, particularly against Trotskyist oppositionists.

The massive \$8 September 1982 SWP internal bulletin which documents the recent purges and expulsions quotes the 1965 organisation resolution no less than 14 times. In his report to the August 1982 plenum, SWP leader Larry Siegle says: 'A myth exists that the 1965 resolution was written to be specifically applied to disloyal minorities, following the experience with the Robertsonites [RT] and Wohlforthites.' What is a myth is the apparent assumption of the present minorityites that they are somehow immune from the bureaucratic norms established in 1965 and used on subsequent left critics whenever any could be found. Certainly the funniest line in the bulletin is Peter Camejo's incredulous cry of outrage: 'They're treating me like a Spart!'

Poland and Cuba

By any standard of organisational success, the SWP seems to be going down the tubes, and not slowly. That the SWP is really pretty unconcerned about the plummeting circulation of its insipid, overpriced *Militant* is itself an indexation of social-democratic organisational conceptions. For a Leninist organisation, the circulation of one's 'collective organiser' in struggle is a crucial measure of an organisation's effectiveness. But if Barnes seems happy as the machine-boss leader of an eccentric and shrinking political formation, some among the previously faithful seem to dimly perceive the intimations of irrelevance.

For at least five years now, the *Militant* has published extensively from Castro's speeches; none of this provoked much reaction from the present crop of SWP critics. But in the past couple of years a vigorous discussion has raged in the SWP over Cuba. Why? Both of the present minorities share a gut impulse to get into the anti-Soviet mainstream of social democracy, baulking at characteristic Barnesite eccentricities like the infatuation with Castro (and Khomeini). They could feel in their bones that no softness on Stalinist-ruled workers



Left: Brian ('god is great') Grogan, Ernest ('Trotskyism is just a label') Mandel, Tariq ('love the Labour Party') Ali. Can they keep meeting like this? Right: Axed Barnes hatchetman Peter ('they're treating me like a Spart') Camejo.

states like Cuba (the bourgeoisie's new term is 'Soviet surrogates') would be permitted among the true devotees of 'free trade unionism' in Poland. One, a West Coast-based group around Nat Weinstein, seemed animated by a desire to be left alone to practise reformism in one's private 'arena', be it the unions or whatever. The other, led by poor old SWP veteran George Breitman, argued with particular urgency that the SWP should go all out behind Polish Solidarnosc, manifestly the best opening in years for 'anti-Stalinist socialists' seeking unity with the servile Cold Warriors who run the American unions. For his part Weinstein made the bourgeois papers by participating in a 'captive nations'-style pro-Solidarnosc demonstration alongside outright anti-Communist reactionaries.

They urged the SWP to back away from its 20-year infatuation with Castro, dredging up orthodox sounding arguments to give themselves a left cover. The SWP pretends to discern in the foreign policies of the Castro regime a 'revolutionary' and 'internationalist' content, while castigating the USSR's bureaucrats as Stalinist sellouts. The only problem is that the

Workers Vanguard



5000 protesters stopped the KKK in Washington, 27 November 1982. US SWP was nowhere to be seen, instead calls for free speech for fascists.

revolutionary Cubans and the sellout Russians agree about everything. Poland is a case in point -- Castro and the Kremlin display complete accord in condemning Solidarnosc for doing the work of the CIA. So it's Castro v Lech Walesa -- a dilemma for the SWP. The minorities want to choose Walesa, while Barnes sticks his head in the sand.

The SWP leadership has also done battle with the Mandelites over this question, manifested in a series of heated exchanges in *Intercontinental Press* last year as well as in the letters column of *Socialist Challenge*, the latter provoked by the sizeable pro-SWP grouping led by Brian Grogan in the ex-IMG. With Poland closer to home and the mass social-democratic parties attractive resting places for the erstwhile coffee-house guerrillaists of the European USec, the Mandelites naturally opted for Solidarnosc as their main chance.

Usec: No more cease-fire

The 'reunification' of 1963 was accomplished on the basis of a centrist convergence which was for the SWP a transient period in its plunge towards reformism; soon, the USec had become an inherently unstable rotten bloc between Mandel's European centrist impressionists and the hardened reformist SWP. The bloc underwent periods of sharp factional struggle, most notably during the early 1970s when the question of Portugal



Right: Axed Barnes hatchetman Peter ('they're treating me like a Spart') Camejo.

and the USec's continuing vicarious attachment to the 'guerrilla road' strained relations to the breaking point.

In the middle run, developments favoured the consistently reformist SWP which increased its weight in the USec as the leftism of the Europeans fell into disarray. The 'guerrilla road' didn't produce any more easy victories in Latin America, the heady memories of barricades in the streets of Paris faded, the Mandelites started to tail social democracy in earnest. The SWP rammed the 'turn to industry' down the Europeans' throats and things seemed to calm down for a while.

Not any longer. In January 1982 the USec entered the Camejo affair with a posture of studied ignorance after the SWP leadership had announced Camejo's mysterious 'resignation'. At a USec meeting on 10 January the Mandelites turned down the SWP's demand that Camejo, one of the SWP's fraternal representatives on the International Executive Committee (IEC), be replaced by another SWPer. At the end of May, the IEC agreed to let the SWP replace Camejo, then turned around and co-opted him onto the IEC as

an additional member. The SWP retaliated as best it could by contemptuously spitting on Camejo's contention that as a leading member of the 'Fourth International' he should be permitted to attend SWP functions like the annual Oberlin meeting (which last year was changed from a convention to an 'educational'). Meanwhile the SWP's cognate and erstwhile satellite in Australia, chasing after a more left-wing social democratic milieu has broken ranks with its former patrons (eg the Australians still defend the Soviet intervention to aid the 'Afghan revolution' long after the Barnesites condemned it). Last month the Australians provocatively invited Camejo out for a speaking tour (which was

aborted when the reactionary Australian government barred him entry into the country).

Politically, things have heated up a lot throughout the USec, with the most significant divergence being the Lebanon question. The SWP's 1982 Oberlin educational was marked by extreme uncritical enthusing over the nationalist Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO):

"Yassir Arafat, chairman of the PLO, is displaying capacities that any working-class fighter must recognize and identify with," [Malik] Miah continued. "... He is also placing the PLO in the strongest possible position for the next phase of the struggle". (*Militant*, 3 September 1982)

The shameless SWP sees no reason to modulate its position now that the 'strongest possible position' is shown to entail the Israeli/Phalangist massacre of 1800 Palestinians after the PLO had been disarmed and dispersed by the imperialist 'peace-keepers'.

But the USec in its 10 October statement on Lebanon (*International Viewpoint*, 1 November 1982) characterised the situation as a 'military defeat' and stated that 'The 1982 war and the battle of Beirut register a radical evolution in the relationship of forces in favour of imperialism in the region.' The statement is classically centrist in its born-yesterday quality, lecturing the PLO on the need to base itself on the class oppression of the Arab masses by their own bourgeoisies and on 'internationalism'; as if the USec had not been among the biggest cheerleaders for PLO nationalism right up until the defeat in Lebanon. The statement, which scandalously refused to demand imperialist troops out, is nonetheless miles away from the 'Palestinian victory' line of the SWP.

But the USec of today is miles away from what it was a decade ago. The rightward motion signalled by the capitulation to a series of popular fronts became a headlong rush under the impact of Cold War. The 'new mass vanguard' circa 1983 is the Vatican-led, CIA-backed counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc. In France the LCR has become the loyal tail of the Cold War Socialist Mitterrand government -- opposing strikes against Mitterrand's anti-working class austerity, calling on the government to keep its pledge of only (!) six months' conscription into the imperialist army, lauding the social democrats' 'principled' stand in favour of Solidarnosc. In Sweden the once left-wing KAF (Communist Workers League) changed its 'label' to the more sedate Socialist Party, arguing that 'Communist' had been discredited (doubtless in the social-democratic circles the KAF travelled in).

And in Britain, the once helmet-garbed 'street fighters' of the IMG now make their main priority 'securing a Labour victory' in the next election. For this task, the name Socialist League (lifted from Sir Stafford Cripps' left Labourites in the 1930s) is much better suited than anything smacking of Marxism or internationalism. Frustrated in its project of fusion with the anti-Soviet left social-democratic Cliffites, the then IMG leapt straight onto the bandwagon for Tony Benn. In recent months, they have been extending unity feelers, not unreciprocated, to the Labour-entrant Workers Socialist League of Alan Thornett and Sean Matgamna who, as *Socialist Challenge* (7 January) put it, have 'broadly the same approach' -- ie Labour loyalism and Stalinophobia. Indeed the only significant differences between the IMG

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US SWP...

(Continued from page 7)

and WSL over the past year have centred on organisational wrangles in the revanchist Polish Solidarity Campaign and more recently the Labour Committee on Palestine.

In the Bennite-inspired novel by Chris Mullin, *A Very British Coup*, a mythical IMG is sent to concentration camps in 1988 for 'terrorism'. The IMG didn't even make it to 1983. While the rightward-moving 'children of 68' seek to huddle together in a broad regroupment under the Cold War umbrella of Labourism, the Spartacist League/Britain has been forged in large part through a series of revolutionary regroupments with significant left splits from both the ex-IMG (Communist Faction) and its putative WSL bloc partners (Trotskyist Faction, Leninist Faction).

Yet again, that quintessential impressionist Tariq Ali proved to be a weathervane for the IMG: first the pro-Cliffite push, then the 'Soviet troops out of Afghanistan' line, now the deep plunge into the Labour Party. In the two years since the IMG bureaucratically purged the Communist Faction, which fought to counterpose the Trotskyist programme to the IMG's deepening capitulation to Bennism and anti-Sovietism, the main differences to surface within the perennially faction-ridden organisation have centred over whether to go the whole hog on the 'turn to industry', as the pro-SWP Groganites have demanded, or throw everybody into the CLPs. So now the IMG has embraced the 'label' of Stafford Cripps and the policies of the 1945 (Attlee!) Labour government. Even the 'turn' is couched in the language of the Cold War: 'building reform currents within the unions to introduce the type of principles of workers democracy espoused by the militants of Solidarnosc' (*Socialist Challenge*, 7 January). Daily prayer meetings, anybody?

There has not been much visible evidence of leftism in the IMG of late, but now even the illusion of SWP 'orthodoxy' a la Joe Hansen which once appealed to opponents of Mandel's opportunism has been burst. Given the factional hostilities in the USec, we can expect some erudite reams from Mandel in defence of 'Trotskyism' against the SWP. In 1976 Mandel, envisioning a manoeuvre with the social-democratic PSU group in France, declared:

'What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name we would get rid of it in 24 hours.'

What difference do labels make? Trotsky once replied simply to this question, 'In politics, the "name" is the banner' (*Writings*, 1935-36).

For those who have long since forsaken the Trotskyist programme, the 'label' is a meaningless vestige. The international Spartacist tendency, was born as the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, expelled in 1963 for defending the authentic revolutionary programme of Trotskyism. This is our label, and we wear it proudly, confident of its future decisive victory through international proletarian revolution.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* nos 320 and 321, 31 December 1982 and 14 January 1983

Perspective ...

(Continued from page 5)

In general, our support for the right to self-determination is negative: intransigent opposition to every manifestation of national

oppression as a means toward the unity of the working class, not as the fulfillment of the 'manifest destiny' or 'heritage' of a nation, nor as support for 'progressive' nations or nationalism. We support the right of self-determination and national liberation struggles in order to remove the national question from the historic agenda, not to create another such question. Within the framework of capitalism there can be no purely democratic solution (for example through universal suffrage) to the national question in cases of interpenetrated peoples.

The same general considerations apply not only to 'fully formed' nations, but also to nationalities and peoples which may still be something less than fully consolidated nations, for example the Eritreans in their struggle against Amharic domination or the Biafrans at the time of the Nigerian civil war. Indeed, not infrequently the historical formation of nations is tested and completed in the process of struggles for self-determination. Our opposition to the exercise of self-determination by an interpenetrated people would also apply where one or more of the groupings, though not a historically compacted nation, has sufficient relative size and cultural level that the exercise of self-determination could only mean a new form or reversal of the terms of oppression. 4. Concretely, in Ireland the question of Irish national self-determination was not fully resolved by the establishment of the Republic of Eire. But to demand 'Irish self-determination' today represents a denial of the Leninist position on the national question. It is incumbent on revolutionists to face up to exactly what the call for 'self-determination of the Irish people as a whole' means.

Obviously the call is not one for the simultaneous self-determination of both communities, an impossibility for interpenetrated peoples under capitalism. In another sense the demand is about as meaningful as calling for 'self-determination for the Lebanese people as a whole' in the middle of last year's communal bloodletting. In the case of Ireland such a demand utterly fails to come to terms with the question of the Protestant community of Ulster, comprising 60 percent of the statelet's and 25 percent of the whole island's population. Such a demand is a call for the formation of a unitary state of the whole island, including the *forcible unification of the whole island by the Irish bourgeois state irrespective of the wishes of the Protestant community*. It is a call for the Irish Catholics to self-determine at the expense of the Protestants. It is a call for the simple reversal of the terms of oppression, an implicit call for inter-communal slaughter, forced population transfers and ultimately genocide as the way forward to the Irish revolution. 5. The present six-county enclave in Northern Ireland is a 'sectarian, Orange statelet', the product of an imperialist partition. 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 partit-

ion, 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. We oppose the Orange state and the demand for an independent Ulster as forms of determination for the Protestants which necessarily maintain the oppression of the Irish Catholic population of Ulster, an extension of the Irish Catholic nation. Since they are the local bodies of the British repressive state apparatus and the training ground for the present Protestant paramilitary groups and a future reactionary Protestant army, we demand: Smash the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR)....

7. ... Though not yet a nation, the Protestants are certainly not a part of the Irish nation and are distinct from the Scottish and English nations. Presently their separate existence is defined in large part as against the Irish Catholic nation and at the ideological level is expressed in religious terms. With their own social and cultural fabric (epitomised in the Orange Order) and history of opposition to the Irish nationalist cause, they have therefore acted as the 'loyalist' allies of British imperialism. At the same time, in this century the allegiance has been more a means than an end, demonstrated, for example, by the willingness of Sir Edmund Carson to seek German aid if British imperialism would not fulfill the Ulster Protestants' demands and by the 1974 Ulster Workers Strike.

In all likelihood, a definite resolution of the exact character of the Ulster Protestant community will be reached with the withdrawal of the British army and will depend on the circumstances surrounding this. The particular conditions will pose point-blank their future and the 'solution' to the Irish question. The solution posed by A J P Taylor is but one possibility:

'The question is whether the Irish nationalist majority is strong enough to expel the Protestants. If they are, that is the best way out.' (quoted in the *Guardian*, 13 April 1976)

At the same time the social organisation, weaponry, military expertise and alliances of the Protestants, make a 'Zionist' solution entirely conceivable. On the other hand, if the withdrawal of the British army was in the context of massive class mobilisations, opportunities would undoubtedly arise for a class determination of the question....

11. We reject the argument that Protestant workers are so reactionary that only force will convince them and that the *precondition* for winning them is the destruction of the Orange statelet. The understanding that the current partition is inherently oppressive is perverted into a conception of a 'two-stage' revolution in which the socialist tasks can only follow the completion of Irish national unity on the whole island. Sometimes linked to this is the claim

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that it is 'naive' to expect the Protestant and Catholic workers to unite on 'economic' issues, since it is these that divide them. By analogy, no working class could ever transcend its sectional interests. Economism is the political expression of the failure of the working class in the absence of a revolutionary leadership to reject bourgeois ideology and place its revolutionary class interests above particular, sectional or apparent needs or desires. The above argument is based on the central premise of economism -- that the working class cannot transcend its immediate sectional interests and identify with all oppressed and the future of humanity. Such 'anti-economism' is in fact a denial of the pertinence of the Transitional Programme in the service of the nationalism of the oppressed.

12. The Protestants feel legitimately threatened by the proposal for a united (bourgeois) Ireland, that is, their forcible absorption into an enlarged version of the reactionary clericalist state of Eire. The communalism/nationalism of the Protestants has a defensive character and is not the chauvinism of a great power. A united bourgeois Ireland would not provide a democratic solution for their claims and we must therefore reject such a solution. Such a state would necessarily be sectarian, and the Protestants will not voluntarily enter such a union.

The difficulties of such a solution are indicated in the earlier experience of the Bolsheviks. At the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 the Ukrainian delegate Merejin observed in an amendment to the 'Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions':

'The attempt made to settle the relationship between the nations of the majority and the minority nationalities in territories of mixed population (Ukraine, Poland, White Russia), has shown that the transfer of the power of government from the hands of the big capitalists to the groups of petty bourgeoisie constituting the democratic republics

not only does not diminish but, on the contrary, aggravates the friction among the nationalities. The democratic republics oppose themselves to the proletariat and attempt to convert the class war into a national one. They become rapidly impregnated with nationalistic exclusiveness, and easily adapt themselves to the practices of the previous dominating nations, which fermented discord among the nationalities, and organised pogroms, with the assistance of the government apparatus, to combat the dictatorship of the proletariat....'

The present Irish bourgeois republic is a clerical reactionary state in which the Roman Catholic Church enjoys considerable real and latent powers. An essential aspect of this is not the current level of religious persecution or discrimination (though the current repressive measures directed mostly against the IRA are an indication of the Irish bourgeoisie's intentions), but the relationship of Roman Catholicism to Irish nationalism, especially as it helps to define the divisions between the two communities.

Leninism and nationalism are fundamentally counterposed political viewpoints. Thus, while revolutionists struggle against all forms of national oppression, they are also opposed to all forms of nationalist ideology. It is a revision of Leninism to claim that the 'nationalism of the oppressed' is progressive and can be supported by communist internationalists. In one of his major works on the national question Lenin stressed:

'Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the "most just", "purest", most refined and civilised brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism....' ('Critical Remarks on the National Question', *Collected Works*, vol 20)

To attempt to dismiss the above-mentioned features of Irish nationalism and the Irish

Republic, to suggest that somehow these matters are not important, is to imply that Irish nationalism and capitalism are in some way 'progressive' and (unlike all other nationalists and capitalists) will not promote racial, sexual and communal divisions in the working class, in particular will not discriminate and persecute non-members of their national grouping.

13. Ireland, like other situations of interpenetrated peoples as in the Middle East and Cyprus, is a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution. The inevitable conclusion is that while revolutionists must oppose all aspects of national oppression, they must also recognise that the conflicting claims of interpenetrated peoples can only be equitably resolved in the framework of a workers state. We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. While the establishment of a united workers state of the whole island may be preferable, the above demand is algebraic, leaving open the question of where the Protestants fall. This recognises that the nature of the Protestant community has not yet been determined in history. As such, it is counterposed to calls for a 'united workers republic' or for a 'united socialist Ireland' (where this demand is not simply an expression for left/nationalist or Stalinist two-stage theories). Placing the demand in the context of a socialist federation has the additional advantage of highlighting the essential relationship of the proletarian revolution in the whole area and the virtual impossibility of the resolution of the Irish question on a working-class basis outside this framework. This, and the strong representation of Irish workers in the working class in Britain, points to the demand for a British Isles-wide trade-union federation as a method of promoting joint struggle and cutting across the divisions in the working class in Ireland....■

Minorities, workers welcome anti-Klan victory

The chant 'We stopped the Klan' echoed through Washington DC on November 27 when the Spartacist League/US-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization brought out more than 5000 protesters, overwhelmingly black with many trade unionists, to chase the fascist Ku Klux Klan out of Reagan's capital city. In the Cold War climate of America today the working class and especially blacks and other minorities are front line targets for the attacks of a bankrupt capitalist system. And workers and minorities in Britain face the same stark reality, exacerbated by the chauvinist furor over the Falklands. To make the Washington victory and the communist programme which made it possible known to new readers, especially from the black and Asian communities, we focussed a December/January sales push of *Spartacist Britain* and *Workers Vanguard* in heavily minority areas as well as at factories and colleges with large concentrations of minority workers and students. In five weeks we got out over 4000 copies of the special *WV* supplement on the protest.

In Liverpool we distributed supplements and papers in pubs, and on the streets and housing estates in Toxteth. Five Asian shopkeepers on Granby Street took supplements to distribute to their customers. The Caribbean Centre had to restock the supplement after a short time because the first batch went so fast. In Bradford two comrades sold more than 45 papers on one street sale. Eight black youths pooled their pennies to buy the paper and several people volunteered addresses of pubs and clubs where we should go to sell more. Sheffield comrades reported that one out of every three black households in door-to-door sales in Burngreave bought the paper. One steel worker took several copies to sell inside his plant; a Liverpool building worker did the same when we sold outside his union meeting.

In Birmingham comrades had already sold 74 papers in four regular Friday morning sales at the Longbridge and Rover Solihull BL plants. Heavy door-to-door sales in Handsworth included 70 papers sold in one afternoon. Spartacist supporters spoke about the anti-Klan mobilisation in English and Punjabi at a local Sikh temple, collecting more than £28 in donations towards the cost of the demonstration.

In London two comrades sold 50 items in one afternoon at Middlesex Poly. We regularly sold 30-40 papers during Saturday afternoon Brixton market sales: altogether, between these and tube and estate sales we sold nearly 250 items in Brixton. One young black woman who had bought a copy of *Women and Revolution* in the market one week came up to our salesmen the next week to say how much she had enjoyed it, particularly the review of American Communist Party member Angela Davis' book *Women, Race and Class*. We also sold well to black workers at Ford Dagenham; CP supporters in the unions there have been misleading minority and other workers for years. Indeed the CP preaches reliance on the cops and government to stop the fascists, pushes nationalist import controls and tells minorities to look to the Labour Party of Roy ('I support immigration controls') Hattersley to solve their problems.

It's not just Labour and the CP who mislead

workers seeking to fight racism and fascism and the capitalist system that breeds them. The 'anti-racist' poseurs of the Revolutionary Communist Party dismissed the Washington demonstration with the comment, 'that was 3000 miles away'. One member of the Workers Power group in Sheffield simply dismissed the demonstration as a 'riot' -- the line of Reagan, the bourgeois press and other well-known friends of racial minorities! No such petty-bourgeois scepticism was encountered among the workers we sold to. As one black worker in Sheffield said, 'I know who the Klan are; this is a victory.'

Washington showed concretely how to stop the fascists -- through mass labour movement/minority mobilisations. And it showed that the programme and organisational capacities of a communist vanguard are vital necessities for workers and the oppressed. Through our recent sales push the Spartacist League has broadened the audience for our politics. Now we are following it up with a national video showing and speaking tour about the anti-Klan demonstrations. Among our new readers will be many who take the idea of building a multi-racial vanguard party in this country seriously -- they know their lives depend on it. We say get our press regularly, take out subscriptions to *Spartacist Britain*, *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*. And join us in the fight to build the Spartacist League, nucleus of the communist vanguard party in Britain!■



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Gandhi...

(Continued from page 3)

had intersected peasant revolts against taxation to take on revolutionary dimensions. After bloody clashes with the police in Chauri Chaudra, Gandhi beheaded the struggle by fasting until the 'violence' had stopped.

'He stopped a revolution'

At this point in the film, historical truth surfaces. The British arrive to arrest Gandhi as he finishes his fast. As he totters out to greet them (he admitted that he enjoyed imprisonment) Nehru runs ahead protesting: 'But you can't arrest him! He just stopped a revolution!' Trotsky paraphrased Nehru's predicament: "'We will prove to you", say the national bourgeoisie to the gentlemen on the Thames, "that we are indispensable for you, that without us you will not calm the masses. But for this we will present you with our own bill." Gandhi, unlike Nehru, was aware that imprisonment would be the most effective way to refurbish his anti-imperialist credentials with the masses.

Gandhi followed up his betrayal of 1922 by being the main spokesman for collaboration with the British in the 1930s and successfully led a purge of the left in Congress in 1938. Not surprisingly, his political career is not documented in the film, beyond his leadership of the Salt March (the non-payment of taxes on salt was the only measure of passive resistance which did frighten the British -- this was aborted by Gandhi, too) and his suspicion of Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League.

Jinnah is cast as the villain, awaiting his moment to plunge India into genocidal warfare. In fact, although Hindu and Muslim workers had fought the British together during the first satyagraha, Gandhi's orthodox Hindu nationalism had sharpened the communal divisions already promoted by the British 'divide and rule' policy. (This had instituted a system of separate communal elections based on religion and given the Muslims special privileged representation.) In 1934 Jinnah had proposed a coalition with Congress which was summarily rejected with the demand that the Muslim League should cease to function as a separate group, effectively suppressing the Muslims' democratic rights in the provinces where they formed a majority. By 1938 the Muslim leaders were discussing a separate federation for Indian Muslims. The rivalry between the Hindu and Muslim bourgeoisies for economic and political power was brought to a head by the intervention of the British early in the Second World War.

In order to win Indian support for the war Sir Stafford Cripps, Labour representative in Churchill's National Government, proposed 'full dominion status' to the Indian Union and the Muslim provinces independently, after the war. Although this was initially rejected by Congress the idea took hold, dominating Indian politics throughout the war, and led directly to the partition of 1946. The final scenes of Attenborough's film depict the mass population transfers and inter-communal carnage which followed, and Gandhi's impotent fasting in an attempt to stop it. Finally the 'Mahatma' is assassinated by a Hindu fanatic's bullet; he swears 'my god, my god' and the screen goes black. The 'new India' of continued desperate poverty and oppression is born.

The truth is that the national bourgeoisie for whom Gandhi played a vital role in simultaneously mobilising and controlling the masses, was incapable of ending exploitation and oppression. Tied by a thousand threads to imperialism and landlords, they were unwilling and unable to lead the struggle of the workers and peasants to full victory over imperialism.

The Indian bourgeoisie had appeared too late on the scene to carry out a bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the imperialist epoch the tasks of this revolution -- above all the domination of imperialism, liquidation of the semi-feudal land system, clearing away the Indian Native states, ending the chattel slavery of women --



Udham Singh, founder of the Indian Workers Association in Britain. Executed for killing O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab who condoned 1919 Amritsar massacre.

could only be achieved through the mobilisation of the proletariat at the head of the peasant masses for socialist revolution. As Trotsky commented: '... all those social peculiarities which made possible and unavoidable the October revolution are present in India in a still sharper form... So far there is only one condition missing: a Bolshevik party' (*Writings on Britain* vol 3).

CPGB: cheerleaders for Churchill

But the Communist Party of India (CPI), which might have provided this leadership, squandered the revolutionary opportunities in conformity with the programme of Stalin's bureaucratised Communist International after 1924, tacking and veering through 'Third Period' sectarianism and subsequent popular-frontist capitulation to the national bourgeoisie. When the USSR was invaded in 1941 Stalin magically transformed the war of British and French imperialism into a 'people's war against fascism'. Following Stalin's alliance with the imperialist Allies in 1941, the CPI, under pressure from Congress, continued to call for Indian independence while defending the Soviet Union against German imperialism. Stalin quickly instructed the leadership of the British CP to 'correct' the Indians' dangerous deviation. CPGB leader Harry Pollitt accordingly wrote to the CPI that:

'We deplore that the Congress resolution should even contemplate the adoption of civil disobedience in the event of its proposals being rejected. Such a course would be suicidal to the cause of Indian independence and in the present situation it could only play into the hands of the Axis powers.' (cited in Robert Black, *Stalinism in Britain*)

In other words, don't do anything to oppose British colonial rule, at least for the duration of the war.

The CPI was soon won over, and the British government rewarded the party for its loyal support by legalising it so that it could win adherents among the Indian masses in opposition to Congress, whose leaders had been imprisoned for refusing to drop the demand for dominion status. This was the one point at which Gandhi could truthfully be said to be to the left of the Communists. And even after the war the CPGB consistently and scandalously refused to demand Indian independence, calling instead for 'democracy [to] be extended to the colonies' ('How to win the peace').

The present-day CPGB's review of 'Gandhi' (*Morning Star*, 3 December 1982) is infused with this legacy of Stalinist betrayal. The review endorses the film's glorification of the 'Mahatma' and whitewash of British imperialism (Mountbatten is politely described as 'renowned worldwide'). It gives not the slightest intimation of the CPGB and CPI's roles in helping to betray the Indian revolution. Its only criticisms of the film are an aside about Gandhi 'not consulting his wife' about his vow of chastity,

and a factual clarification about the reaction of Lancashire millworkers to Gandhi's visit to Britain in the early 1930s. The millworkers suffered high unemployment, caused in part by the collapse of the Indian market for British cloth due to the Indian nationalists' insistence on 'homespun'; nonetheless, in the CPGB reviewer's words, 'the sullen crowds were completely won over by Gandhi's forceful explanation of the terrible conditions in India'. Today's CPGB spits in the faces of these internationalist millworkers with its campaigns for import controls -- directed against, among other things, imported clothing from Asia!

For permanent revolution in India!

1941 saw the formation of the Bolshevik-Leninists of India, the first Trotskyist movement in the country, thanks centrally to the work of Ceylonese Trotskyists who opposed the war and were forced to flee from British imperialist repression in Lanka. It is to the tradition of these comrades that revolutionists in India must look today. Attenborough's film cannot completely ignore the real driving force for Indian independence and social and economic emancipation: the workers and peasants. Some of the scenes which concentrate on the real heroes of the struggle are deeply moving. Today only the building of an Indian Trotskyist vanguard party rooted in the proletariat and mobilising the peasant masses, and steeled in the fight for the programme of permanent revolution can show the road to liberation. ■

Smash anti-Tamil terror in Sri Lanka!

'Smash Anti-Tamil Terror! Free Kuttimani and Jeganathan Now!' chanted a hundred demonstrators in Frankfurt, West Germany, in December. They were protesting the latest wave of repression against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka and demanding freedom for two young Tamil activists framed up as 'terrorists', forced to sign confessions under police torture and sentenced to death. Scores of Tamil militants have been arrested and 'disappeared' at the hands of the bloody Sinhala-chauvinist regime of JR Jayewardene under the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act and a permanent state of emergency.

The 19 December protest, organised by Tamil exile groups, was joined by a contingent of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency (ist). TLD placards demanded 'Immediate Release of Kuttimani, Jeganathan and Other Victims of Anti-Tamil Terror!', 'For the Right of Tamil Self-Determination!', 'For a Sinhala/Tamil Workers and Peasants Government!', 'Tamil Workers Key to Indian/Lankan Revolution!' Other TLD slogans included 'Political Asylum for Tamils! Stop the Deportations!' 'US Imperialism: Hands Off Trincomalee, Diego Garcia! Defend USSR/Vietnam!' and 'Workers -- Sinhala/Tamil, Men/Women: Build the Bolshevik Party!'

For the statement of the Spartacist League/Lanka denouncing the Jayewardene plebiscite of December 1982 to consolidate a dictatorial strong-man regime (translated from Sinhala-language *Lanka Spartacist* no 5/Tamil-language *Ilangai Spartacist* no 2, November 1982), read the 28 January issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

Water workers...

(Continued from page 1)

the pre-Victorian water system. Instead of carrying out 'emergency' repairs and waiting for the accumulation of unrepaired faults to take its toll, the skilled workers who operate the valves should be brought out now and the whole system brought to a halt through mass picketing. Any attempt by the union leaders to submit to binding arbitration must be rejected out of hand as a sure sellout. All out now!

While CBI head Terence Beckett tries to play off worker against worker with tirades about the strike forcing employers to close down factories and slash jobs, the trade union misleaders echo, and add their own 'British jobs for British workers' racist social-patriotism. Militant workers must raise the demand for jobs for all, seeking to extend the strike through such demands as a sliding scale of wages and hours -- a full pay rise to overcome years of real wage cuts, coupled to worksharing on full pay. What is needed today is a class-struggle strategy which relies not on parliamentary lobbies and 'neutral' arbitration but on the industrial muscle of the organised working class. Turn around the Tory offensive! Victory to the water workers! ■



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Healey calls for British CIA

After the failure of British intelligence in the Falklands war, Denis Healey reportedly moaned that 'Britain badly needed something similar to America's Central Intelligence Agency' (*Guardian*, 5 January). If 'the Firm' (MI6), whose bloodstained history rivals that of the CIA, doesn't measure up these days to their CIA 'cousins', it is primarily because of Britain's steep decline as a world power. Indeed, with almost every week bringing to light new scandals about 'Russian spies' and files wandering out of GCHQ in Cheltenham, the British 'intelligence' services do seem to be in a shambles. Those of us who want to destroy the decaying capitalist system can take some satisfaction from this.

Not so Denis Healey. As deputy leader of the Labour Party, which claims to give leadership to the working class, he wants to perfect British capitalism's own terror forces. Not only this -- he wants them modelled on the CIA, whose grisly assassinations of leftists and sinister infiltration of the labour movement internationally have made its name synonymous with counterrevolution. As a terrorist arm of the most powerful imperialist country, the CIA is notorious for its murder squads' attempts to overthrow the deformed workers state of Cuba, notably the (failed) Bay of Pigs invasion.

Healey of course knows all about this -- only too well! As head of the Labour Party's 'International Department' after World War II he helped the CIA rebuild the Second (Socialist) International on Cold War anti-Communism. He helped split the Italian Socialists in 1948. He worked closely with the most pro-imperialist East European social democrats in an attempt

to prevent the Communist consolidation of power. And he had numerous connections with groups such as the Institute for Strategic Studies, Bilderberg group etc whose activities were financed with covert CIA funds.

In reaction to Healey's call, Labour's house-trained fake-Trotskyist Militant tendency recommended that 'Resolutions should pour into the National Executive Committee of the



Body of Che Guevara, murdered by Healey's CIA friends.

Labour Party protesting about Healey's statement and demanding the setting up of an enquiry into Labour movement bodies financed by the CIA or its front organisations' (*Militant*, 7 January). As if enquiries would solve anything! Militant wants to sanitise the Labour Party, to make it a very *British* reformist party. Denis Healey and his wing of NATO/IMF-lovers represent the policies and practices of Labour governments since the Second World War, faithful partners of US imperialism. We demand that the CIA/NATO-lovers be driven out of the Labour Party. For this reason, the Spartacist League argued that Tony Benn be given critical support against Healey two years ago in the deputy leadership election:

'in order to exacerbate and follow through the split begun with the formation of the SDP, driving out the blatantly pro-imperialist CIA-connected right wing and place Benn in a position where his left-reformist politics could be more effectively exposed and combatted' (*Spartacist Britain*, April 1982).

But Labour can betray without the CIA connection! Labour governments have time and time again used their 'security' forces to protect the interests of British imperialism, just like social democrats have always done all over the world. In Australia the Labour Party in office actually set up the internal security force ASIO, the equivalent of MI5. These capitalist terror agencies and their despicable deeds will only be eliminated with the overthrow of the capitalist system -- and that requires a Trotskyist party to split Labour's working class base from the reformist leaders and lead a socialist revolution.

Raids...

(Continued from page 12)

welcoming South African officials in Washington. Indeed, the morning after Pretoria's raid on Maseru, the South African state radio broadcast a report about a 'joint commitment' between Pretoria and Washington for a 'Monroe doctrine for the region' which recognised South Africa's 'special responsibility' for maintaining 'stability' (*New York Times*, 10 December 1982).

For the sake of 'free world' unity aimed at restoring capitalism in the Soviet degenerated workers state, Washington is backing up Pretoria. Hence the recent \$1.2 billion IMF loan to South Africa. Not accidentally, the South African raid came only five days after Prime Minister Botha delivered a menacing warning to Mozambique against accepting Cuban troops, which are now stationed in Angola as a necessary protection against South African aggression. The crosshairs of the Washington/Pretoria axis are aimed squarely on the black African nationalist regimes backed by the Soviet Union and its Cuban allies.

Black proletariat must be mobilised

The Koeberg nuclear power plant, target of the ANC raid, indirectly points to the Achilles heel of the South African regime: the black proletariat which keeps the economic wheels going. Of the 4,000 people who had access to the high-security plant, security officials note, 2500 were black migrant workers brought in from the bantustans of Transkei and Ciskei. Last summer's strike wave of black miners, auto workers and dock workers, led by the militant new black trade unions, gave a hint of the tremendous potential power of the black working class for revolutionary change. What is needed is a revolutionary communist party ready to lead the struggle against apartheid and against capitalism itself -- for a socialist revolution.

But the programme of the nationalist ANC, closely allied to the South African Communist Party (SACP), is not one of working-class revolution to abolish capitalism. Rather the ANC/SACP seek to pressure supposedly 'progressive' elements of the white South African ruling class such as diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer. Last summer the American CP's *Daily World* (14 August 1982) noted approvingly Oppenheimer's call for 'cooperation between unions and management'. The Stalinists' long, one-sided courtship of Oppenheimer has not, of course, prevented him and his colleagues from supporting the basic laws maintaining the apartheid system, not least the draconian Suppression of Communism Act.

The ANC/CP bloc likewise appeals to Oppenheimer's counterparts in the US and West Europe,

calling upon them to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, divest their stock in multinationals operating in South Africa, etc. This campaign serves only to prettify American and European imperialism, bolstering its claim to be more humane, more civilised than its despised South African ally.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC, despite the unquestioned courage of its militants, offer no effective strategy to defeat apartheid. Moreover, their model for post-apartheid South Africa should they come to power is based on the anti-working-class middlemen for imperialism such as Mozambique's Samora Machel and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. If South Africa's oppressed black masses are to achieve full victory over the white racist regime they must look elsewhere for leadership. A key task in South Africa is the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party armed with a programme for workers revolution through smashing apartheid. South Africa, a regional imperialist power, is the key bulwark of racist reaction in all of sub-Saharan Africa. The millions-strong South African proletariat must be in the vanguard of socialist revolution for all of black Africa.

Free Mogoerane, Mosololi, Motaung, Tsotsobe, Shabangu, Moise and all victims of apartheid repression!

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 320, 31 December 1982

Cop terror...

(Continued from page 12)

Indiscriminate stop-and-search, harassment, arrest and beatings at the hands of the cops are daily facts of life for blacks and Asians in this heavily minority-populated area. For minorities everywhere, life in Thatcher's Britain today means never-ending dole queues, racist immigration laws, apartheid-style race checks in the social services. And with minorities on the front line of the Cold War, both the racist cops and the fascist thugs are attacking with increasing ferocity.

Even as the Hackney community was expressing its outrage against police racism, Metropolitan Police Commissioner and former head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary Kenneth Newman announced a series of police 'reforms' centred on a 'neighbourhood drive on crime' -- a codeword for increased cop terror in particular against London's racial minorities. Three months ago, Newman's newly introduced Immediate Response Units, targeted for minority ghettos, staged a provocative show of police power in Brixton. Newman's importation from Northern Ireland to head up London's police force is symptomatic of the sharp rise in the cops' arsenal of repression, particularly since the wave of inner-city ex-

plosions two years ago.

The same week that Roach died, Metropolitan police shot down Stephen Waldorf in a crowded street. But the cops made the mistake of shooting and then pistol-whipping the wrong man in broad daylight in front of many witnesses, especially since he happened to be English and white; so the shooting led to an immediate uproar and police apology.

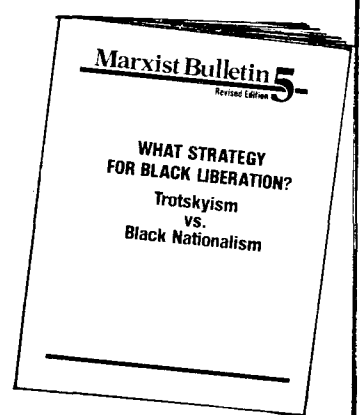
In response to the flagrant rise in naked cop terror, various social democrats, notably left GLC chairman Ken Livingstone, are pushing 'community control' as a way of cleaning up the cops' act. Ernie Roberts, left Labour MP for Hackney North and Stoke Newington, commented on the black outrage over Colin Roach: 'There is a complete breakdown of faith and credibility in the police.' The Labourites, with reformists like the Communist Party and more recently a panoply of fake-Trotskyist groups in tow, are out to restore this 'faith and credibility' in the racist cops. They are particularly intent on returning to the 'good old days' of the unarmed bobby. Marxists demand that the kill-crazy police be disarmed -- No guns for cops! But these thugs in blue have dished out vicious repression, particularly to blacks and Asians, even without guns for years.

Today they want increasing militarisation to deal with the breakdown in 'law and order' caused by capitalist decay and squalor -- and 'community control' schemes can often provide a good liberal cover for stepped-up repression. For racial minorities and working-class militants, the illusion that the racist armed guardians of the capitalist class can be brought into line through inquiries or tamed through 'democratic control' is suicidal. The only road forward is the mobilisation of the labour movement and oppressed minorities against racist and fascist attacks, and the building of a multi-racial vanguard party to put the cops' capitalist paymasters out of business through socialist revolution. Drop the charges against the Hackney protesters! ■

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South African murder raids

At 1 am on December 9 a hundred South African commandos crossed the border into Maseru, the capital city of the black client statelet of Lesotho, and fanned out into five different sections of town. They blasted their way into at least a dozen homes, and when it was over 42 people were dead. General Constand Viljoen, chief of the South African 'Defence Force', openly took responsibility for the massacre as part of the campaign to destroy the African National Congress (ANC). And with a Goebbels-like flourish, Viljoen claimed that the seven women and children who were murdered had been caught in a 'crossfire'.

But South African black militants didn't just mourn: while 3500 people led by ANC president Oliver Tambo attended a seven-hour funeral for 27 of the victims in Maseru, four bombs blew up at timed intervals over 12 hours at South Africa's Koeberg nuclear power station, under construction near Cape Town. The ANC said the bombing was a salute to 'all our fallen heroes and imprisoned comrades', and the action certainly represented an impressive penetration of a high-security nuclear complex.

The Lesotho raid was part of Pretoria's attempt to reverse the rising line of mass upheaval of the past few months: bold ANC guerrilla actions coinciding with a massive strike wave led by black trade unions. The murder raid was the signal for an even more vicious repression, and the nominally 'independent' Swaziland police took their cue by arresting about 100 people in dawn raids one week after the Maseru massacre. The escalating violence by the apartheid regime shows the bloody reality behind Reagan's 'constructive engagement' policy toward South Africa, which has been ballyhooed as an attempt to quietly encourage Prime Minister Botha's so-called 'reforms', such as the proposal for token voting rights for the country's three million 'coloureds' and Asians (while continuing to exclude the country's 20 million blacks from parliament entirely). The 'anti-apartheid reforms' are in part a public-relations fig leaf for the racist, anti-Soviet Washington/Pretoria axis.

By diplomatic standards, Pretoria's raid on Lesotho was an act of war on an independent state. But the Lesotho government is hardly independent. In reality it is a glorified bantustan, completely landlocked by South African

territory. The tiny kingdom regularly sends as much as one quarter of its workforce across the border to work in the Orange Free State, a South African province. The Lesotho government protested lamely that all of the victims were refugees from South African oppression. And the *Sowetan*, the only black-oriented daily in South Africa, elaborated that most of those murdered were student militants from Soweto who had fled for their lives from apartheid repression. The details of the raid -- such as the selective bombing of a car owned by the wife of an ANC leader -- demonstrated that it was a consciously planned act of mass terror.

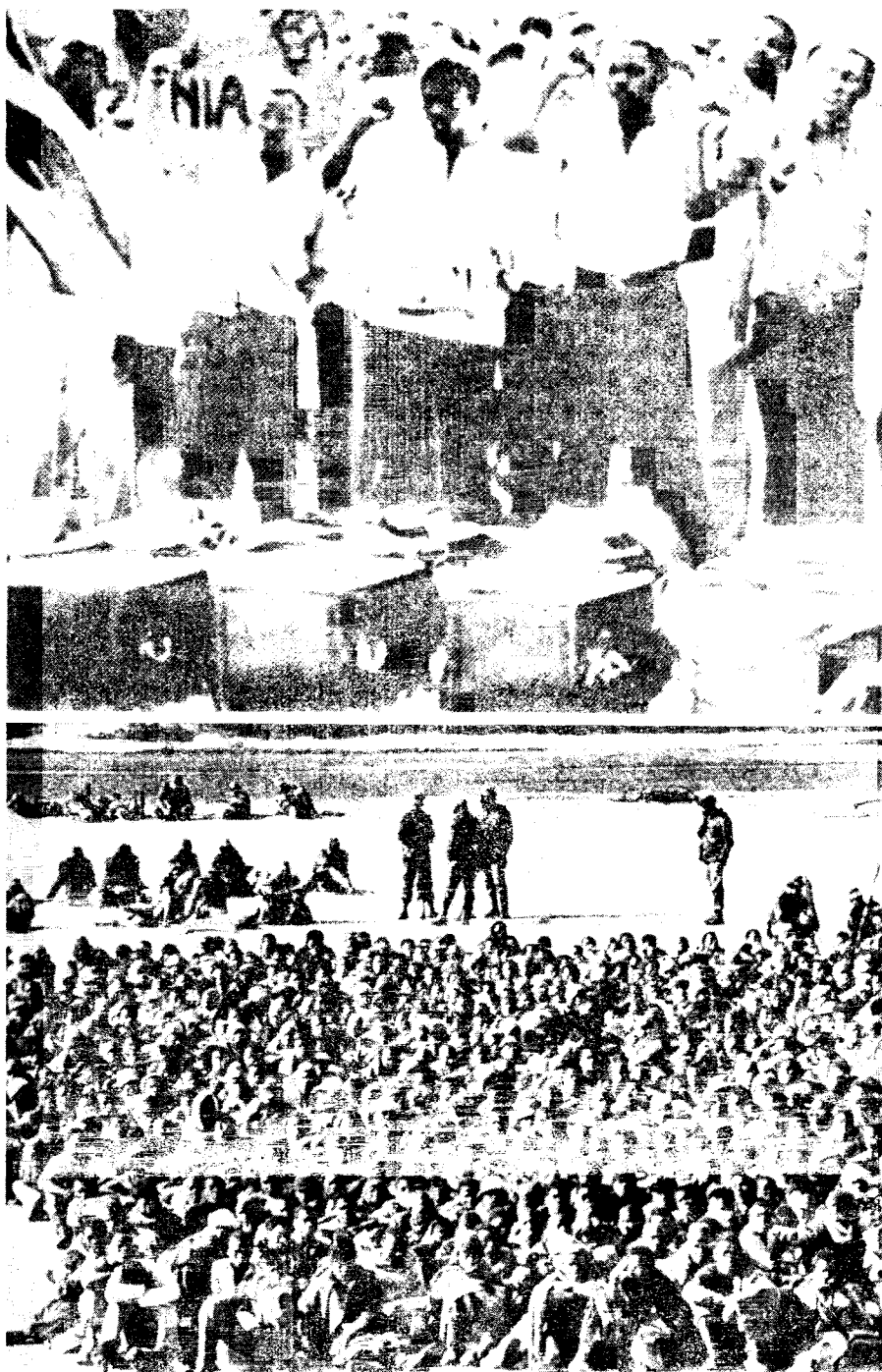
Indeed, if one is looking for an international terrorist conspiracy, the South African government's activities of late certainly fit the bill. In the past few months alone, South African agents tried to overthrow the government of the Seychelles islands, organised burglaries of anti-apartheid offices in London, and assassinated opponents in several countries. (Last August, for instance, the well-known journalist Ruth First, a leading ANCer and Communist, was murdered in Mozambique, an act which the government there attributed to the 'South African secret police'.) Meanwhile, the South African army openly and regularly invades Angolan territory, killing anybody it considers to be SWAPO sympathisers.

In South Africa itself, over 50 prisoners have officially died while under police custody -- in the case of Dr Neil Aggett, a white organiser for a black union, a magistrate recently once again exonerated the cops after a

whitewash official 'investigation'. And then there are the official executions -- South Africa executed about 100 people in 1982 alone, and six ANC fighters are now on death row. (The prisoners are Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise.)

In comparison, Lech Walesa's brief incarceration at a posh hunting lodge makes the Polish regime look absolutely humane. But Reagan of course continues to cry about the fate of the counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc 'union' while

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Top: ANC militants vow vengeance at funeral for comrades massacred at Maseru. Bottom: striking gold miners under police guard at Kloof mine.

Outrage against racist cop terror

The black community of Hackney in East London erupted in outrage last month following the supposed suicide of a young black worker in Stoke Newington police station. The suspicious death-by-shotgun of 21-year-old Colin Roach on 12 January triggered a wave of angry protest demonstrations demanding an independent inquiry. 'Police murder, cover-up -- we demand the truth', read the placards.

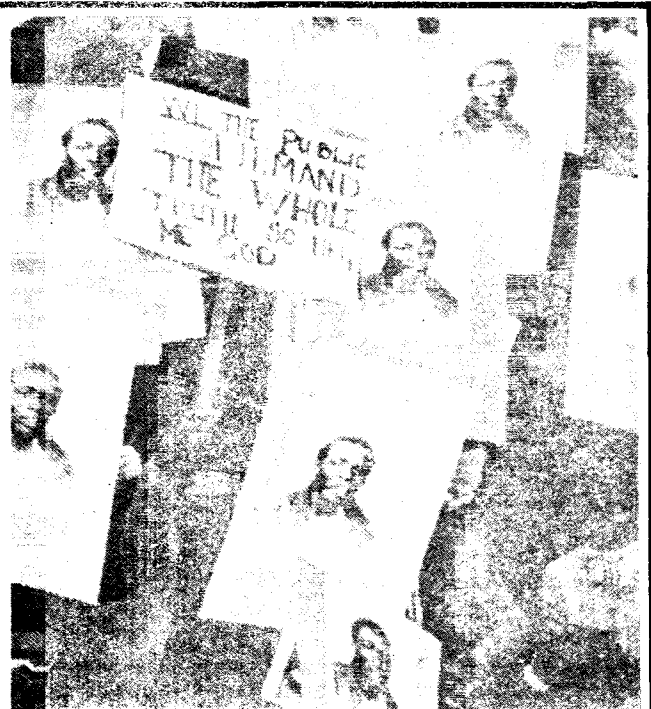
The cops deny they shot Roach, but they sure as hell act like they have something to hide. According to police spokesmen, Roach entered the foyer of the police station one night, pulled out a sawn-off shotgun and shot himself through the mouth. Even before they told the Roach family, Scotland Yard's press bureau put out a story that the youth had a history of mental illness. It was a lie; and Roach's father denied Colin had a shotgun. When the father was brought down to the police station by a worried friend of the youth, he was subjected to interrogation for more than two hours before being told that his son was dead.

Then the cops refused to let him see Colin's body, later claiming that on 'humanitarian grounds' they didn't want that to be the father's last memory of his son.

Blacks and Asians in Hackney and elsewhere know what the 'humanitarianism' of the notoriously racist cops means: the baton, the boot and the backroom bashing. Within a week of Roach's death, police had arrested some fifty people for demonstrating their anger outside Stoke Newington police station, charging into the demonstrators and dragging them off after vicious assaults. We demand all the charges be dropped immediately! The rising outrage in the community was manifested in a march of 1000 people on 22 January, led by the Roach family. One black cop had placards and taunts of 'traitor' thrown at him by the angry protestors.

Roach's mysterious death and the cops' treatment of the Roach family were 'the straw that broke the camel's back', said a spokesman for the Hackney Black People's Associ-

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22 January: demonstration of outrage against racist police in Hackney.