



## Rail, steel, power workers:

# Strike with the miners to win!

Spartacist Britain



Militant strikers lobby NUM delegate conference, Sheffield, 19 April.

After nine weeks of bitter struggle by the miners, the burning task remains to spread this strike. In Yorkshire a number of coal-fired power stations have been taken out of rotation. The April 19 NUM special delegate conference put paid to the scab/Tory attempt to break the strike from within through a national ballot. The Coal Board has been forced to admit that enough Nottinghamshire miners are on strike to prevent production at certain pits and to force cancellation of night shifts at others. But the miners cannot win on their own against the bosses' massive deployment of state power. On one day alone, 10,000 pickets converged on Harworth colliery to confront an army of strike-breaking cops, some flown in by chartered aircraft. The baton-wielding thugs-in-blue have arrested over 1500 strikers, hundreds in the last two weeks alone.

Were even the most elementary dictates of trade-union solidarity being observed, the miners strike would already have meant the shutting down of key sectors of British industry: the power stations, the steelworks, rail, transport and the docks. Yet right wingers like Frank Chapple and Bill Sirs openly order their men to scab on the miners, while the TUC 'lefts' sit on their hands in the face of hundreds of victimisations of militants in rail and elsewhere who respect miners' picket lines. Meanwhile Neil Kinnock and Roy Hattersley continue their campaign for a strikebreaking ballot. The duplicity and backstabbing of the leaders of the British trade unions and Labour Party are an attack not only on the miners but on every worker and oppressed minority in this country.

If Thatcher rolls over the miners, it will be open season to attack every unionist. Smash the bureaucratic sabotage! Spread the strike now! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees!

### Treachery at the top

Even as the Scottish TUC declared a 'day of action' -- not even a one-day general strike -- in solidarity with the miners, miners in Scotland were being disgracefully stabbed in the back. At the beginning of April, Scottish NUM president and prominent Communist Party supporter Mick McGahey agreed a deal with the Scottish ISTC leaders to allow enough coal into Ravenscraig steelworks to continue production at half normal capacity. In the face of angry protests by Scottish miners, McGahey finally ordered that only one trainload a day be allowed in (and each train suddenly began taking on double the number of carriages). ISTC officials are ordering their members to cross miners' picket lines, while at Ravenscraig TGWU members have been driving lorries through carrying coal handled by TGWU dockers at Hunterston. This blacklegging policy must be reversed. Shut down steel!

Even at the beginning of the strike, there were only two weeks of stockpiles at the major

steel factories. For all the strikebreaking justifications by the 'Cripple Alliance' bureaucrats that production must be kept going to prevent closures, scabbing does not stop closures. The scabbing by Hadfields and Sheerness workers on the heroic 1980 steel strike did not stop them from getting the axe after the strike was defeated. And many a miner now rues the fact that they went along with Scargill and Co at the time and failed to join the steelworkers in struggle. The Spartacist League said then, 'Bring out the miners -- and don't

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ASLEF drivers stopped train when miners turned railway bridge outside Aberthaw power station, South Wales, into picket line (16 March). Spartacist League banner at NUM delegate conference points the way forward: revolutionary leadership would be fighting to bring out rail, steel power workers now.

John Sturrock/Network

Spartacist Britain

# What does Morning Star offer the miners?

In taking on the Tories' provocative union-busting, the miners strike has posed the biggest opportunity in years of bringing this union-hating, anti-Soviet warmongering government to its knees. A daily paper in the hands of a revolutionary party now would be an invaluable weapon in the class struggle -- mercilessly denouncing the open strikebreaking of the Labour/TUC rights, exposing the half-hearted vacillations of the 'lefts', rallying the hundreds of thousands of workers who ache to see this government brought down to join the miners in strike action and seeking to break them from the openly anti-Soviet Labour Party misleaders in the midst of sharp social struggle.

And what does the Communist Party's (CP) *Morning Star* offer the miners? Scab 'unity'! When CPer Mick McGahey struck a blacklegging deal with ISTC leaders to keep funnelling scab coal into Ravenscraig, the *Morning Star* (7 April) headlined 'Miners' steelworks' deal forges unity' and reported, 'Scots miners and steelworkers yesterday clinched a deal to guarantee the coal lifeline to the vital Ravenscraig steel complex.'

Particularly under the impact of Cold War II the dominant Eurocommunist wing of the party has openly taken their place in the anti-Soviet camp, championing coalition with the Cold War union-hating SDP at home (little wonder ex-Euro Sue Slipman slid over to, the SDP so comfortably). But now the *Morning Star* is solidly in the hands of the purportedly pro-Soviet Chater/Costello crew -- and nothing's changed. With their control of the *Morning Star* Chater/Costello have become the central force in a conglomerate of pro-Moscow tendencies including the Labour-liquidationist *Straight Left* and the 'left' critics of the *Leninist*.

## Cold war polarisation

After the Euros and the Euro-leaning central leadership around Gordon McLennan gained a stranglehold over the leading party bodies (except the paper, controlled by the independent Peoples Press Printing Society) at the last CP congress in November, the CP has effectively functioned as two organisations. The party and the paper are running two parallel, competing £100,000 fund drives while all sides engage in a frantic race to grab shares in the PPPS before the upcoming annual meetings in June. Immediately after the congress four supporters of the



**Morning Star**

FACE TWO  
Shipbuilding  
jobs threat

Defiance of court to go on

## TUC throws weight behind printworkers

TUC LEADERS yesterday gave full backing to printworkers who are fighting anti-union victimisation and defying court orders.

The decision of the TUC's employment policy and organisation committee came after officials of the National Graphical Association appealed for help in their dispute at the

owners' premises. On Thursday NGA branch officials covering operations in Manchester and London met to discuss the situation. It is understood that the NGA will be asked to pay the £10,000 fine by court order.



**Morning Star**

Thatcher gave 'no alternative' to action at pits

## Kinnock gives complete backing to miners' fight

LABOUR'S leader Neil Kinnock yesterday completely identified himself with the miners' fight for jobs and against pit closures, drawing repeated applause and a standing ovation from Scottish TUC delegates here.

The 50 delegates and the packed public gallery gave an unreserved welcome to his speech.



What does 'tankie' *Morning Star* offer? Lies to cover Labour/TUC treachery. Trotskyists tell the truth: Murray stabbed NGA, Kinnock works for strikebreaking miners' national ballot.

pro-Moscow *Straight Left* were unceremoniously expelled, and more purges are on the cards -- 50 more expected at the May EC. (Euro YCL head Doug Chalmers even called in the notoriously racist Stoke Newington police to eject several oppositionists, including minority youth, from a YCL meeting.) Meanwhile the Kremlin bureaucracy has openly endorsed pro-Moscow breakaways in Holland and Spain and, given Chater's upcoming trip to Moscow, may be planning the same here.

But a Chaterite CPGB would still be nothing more than a second-rate Labour Party. *Straight Left* is already about as slavishly Moscow-loyal as you can get. Its line is to drive every decent militant into Kinnock/Hattersley's Labour Party! *Straight Left* and *Morning Star* are just as enthusiastic as the Euros over the petty-bourgeois Greenham women and CND, which rails against Soviet SS-20s while retailing pacifist claptrap the likes of which would have sickened Lenin. While the pro-Moscow 'tankies' reject the Euros' anti-Soviet, anti-working class conclusions, they share the same class-collaborationist premises.

Many worker-militants in the CP were rightly outraged when their party joined the imperialist outcry against the Polish regime's imposition of martial law to spike Solidarnosc' bid for power. But it's no wonder that Euro spokesman Gerry Pocock justified this strike-breaking line with:

'We support Solidarity in Poland and are totally opposed to Tory anti-union legis-

lation here. Our programme, The British Road to Socialism [BRS] asserts the primacy of Parliament. The same should apply for Poland.' (*Morning Star*, 19 December 1981)

We Trotskyists said 'Stop Solidarnosc counter-revolution!' and raised a programme to break the Polish workers from CIA-backed clericalism and to extract Poland from the mess its Stalinist misleaders had created. We fight to mobilise the Polish workers behind their true class interests through workers political revolution: for the strict separation of church and state, for Soviet/Polish workers' unity in defence of the Soviet bloc against capitalism-imperialism, for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on defence of socialised property, for cancellation of the imperialist debt, for collectivisation of agriculture, for soviet democracy. What does Chater's *Morning Star* offer? When Reagan's pope visited Poland last year on his counterrevolutionary crusade, the *Morning Star* (21 June 1983) prattled about the pope's 'strong affirmation of the freedom and national identity of Poland' and benignly explained the church's 'case' against abortion rights. Pursuing this same treacherous line of building 'socialism in one country' and promoting 'peaceful coexistence', the Polish Stalinist regime is openly scabbing on the miners strike (as it did in 1974) through continued coal exports in order to help sort out the mess it's made of the Polish economy. Thus, reports the *Times* (7 May), the Jaruzelski regime is

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# Free Michael Bettaney! Cold War Star Chamber outrage

On 16 April Michael Bettaney, a nine-year veteran of MI5, was sentenced to 23 years in prison for attempting, unsuccessfully, to pass information to the Soviets. The verdict on Bettaney had been decided well before this Cold War Star Chamber came to an end. The trial was held *in camera* almost from start to finish, the jury subjected to political vetting, the defence lawyers allowed virtually no cross-examination. Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane, railed at the courageous Bettaney as he had him locked away in solitary confinement: 'You know

you have got to be punished, and punished severely.'

Bettaney's conviction came a month after the vindictive six-month sentence against Sarah Tisdall. But while liberals and social democrats shed some crocodile tears for Sarah Tisdall, it is altogether a different matter with Michael Bettaney. Labour MP Ted Leadbitter railed that 'MI5 might well have been far more vigilant' (*Sun*, 17 April). The social chauvinists honour nothing more than the 'security' of their imperialist ruling class; we Trotskyists, who defend the Soviet Union against imperialism despite its Stalinist degeneration, applaud Bettaney's courage. He committed the crime the ruling class and its lackeys will not countenance in Cold War II: 'The MI5 loner who decided the Russians were right' headlined the *Times* (17 April) as it cheered on Bettaney's imprisonment. In an editorial titled 'Another Stalin's Englishman', this organ of blood-drenched British imperialism expressed 'bafflement':

'Bafflement arises from the continuing ideological pull of the Soviet Union. It is just possible to believe that Stalin's Englishmen in the 1930s had no real knowledge of the Soviet tyranny. But, in an age when the details of the Gulag are well known and the institutionalised brutalities of the Soviet system beyond question how it is possible for an intelligent civil servant to treat

Moscow as the repository of his idealism beggars belief. Geoffrey Prime, the GCHQ linguist convicted in 1982, was another who betrayed Britain for love of Russia, Mrs Thatcher was utterly wrong in the Commons in May 1982 to have assumed such spiritual blight had afflicted only a single generation of tainted, upper-class Englishmen'.

From Burgess, Maclean and Philby in the thirties to Leo Long and Geoffrey Prime this decadent ruling class keeps on discovering 'Soviet moles' in its midst. No wonder the CIA holds its British 'cousins' in contempt. Today Britain marches lockstep with US imperialism's drive to 'nuke' the Soviet Union while entire layers of the population are reduced to impoverishment. Yet this clapped-out imperialist bourgeoisie is 'baffled' that anyone in its hire would look to Soviet Russia, where the elderly don't die of 'hypothermia' and the young are not sent off to kill on behalf of various 'free world' death squad dictatorships.

When MI5 recruited Bettaney, he was a young Oxford graduate, a conservative Catholic with an interest in German Nazism. He was assigned for two years to Northern Ireland, where MI5 customarily send their new agents for some 'on-the-job' training in imperialist butchery. In Bettaney's case, the gruesome experience led to doubts. He subsequently began reading Marxism, joined the Labour Party and, particularly with

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**SPARTACIST  
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# Racist Confederate banner won't rise again in San Francisco!

# We tore down the flag of slavery!

San Francisco, April 22 -- Clad in the uniform of a (Northern) Union soldier in the Civil War, Richard Bradley climbed the 50-foot flagpole in the Civic Center here twice last week to cut down the Confederate flag of slavery which had flown over this city for too many years. It flies no more. Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League/US and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, tore down and burned the flag for the first time on April 15. The crowd of blacks, unionists and socialists broke into jubilant cheers as the hated symbol of racism and Ku Klux Klan terror was set ablaze. The Spartacists handed out a 'proclamation' and sang 'John Brown's Body' and chanted 'The Confederate flag flies no more! Time to finish the Civil War!'

Bradley, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors in 1982, was arrested along with Peter Woolston, General Executive Board member of ILWU Local 6, and charged with 'vandalism'. At the police station, Bradley and Woolston were handcuffed to a bench. But even a couple of black cops, hearing that the alleged 'vandalism' was taking down the Confederate flag, said, 'Let 'em go'. Some white racist cops started humming 'Dixie'.

As soon as the news of the Confederate flag hit, Bay Area blacks welcomed the victory as their own. In fact, the whole city was glad to be rid of the racist insult. But not union-busting mayor Dianne Feinstein. In a calculated act of political racism, her administration decided to put the Confederate flag back up the next day -- one day after the outrageous Greensboro verdict which gave a green light to the KKK and Nazi murderers who gunned down blacks and labor activists in broad daylight.

The battle with the mayor wasn't over only symbols and history, but was a question of the fight against racist terror. So, vowing that 'this flag will not fly', Bradley and the SL went back and cut this flag to pieces on April 16, just a few hours after Feinstein put it up. Again, Bradley was arrested, this time by 13 white cops who had called for the fire department to try to remove him from the flagpole. The cops tightly handcuffed Bradley's hands behind his back and manhandled him into a police car. This time there were no black cops in the station, and they held him for seven hours. At the press conference on April 17, Bradley said, 'I did not commit malicious mischief. I tore down the enemy's flag. That stands for slavery and racism. I'm originally from the South and I know what that flag means'.

In the eyes of Feinstein and the cops, Bradley was some kind of criminal for tearing down the emblem of the slave South, but in the Bay Area he was a local hero. Bradley couldn't walk into a bar or restaurant without having a drink or meal bought for him. At his job, Bradley's co-workers are compiling a book of press clippings to present to Feinstein. All across the city TV, radio and press coverage made this a truly popular issue. Telegrams and phone calls poured into the mayor's office in



Richard Bradley scales civic Centre flagpole, April 15. Dixie flag will not rise again over San Francisco.

support of the action, quite a few reportedly from local union leaders demanding the charges be dropped along with the flag. The Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity at the Berkeley Cal campus rushed to take down their Confederate flag. Symbols of slavery were no longer safe in San Francisco.

The widespread popularity forced even the haughty 'Lady Di' to back down. And that does not happen every day in 'her' city. 'Dixie Flag Won't Rise Again, Feinstein Decides' was the headline in the *San Francisco Examiner*, 18 April. Dixie flag won't rise, because the SL and the Labor Black League had made it a real mass issue in the city. But Feinstein tried to hide behind black Supervisor [Councillor] Doris M Ward's request that the Confederate flag stay down because it 'was carried as the banner of slavery, and is still used today to represent movements such as the Ku Klux Klan'. Feinstein backed down whining, 'I want to make it very clear that my decision is based only on Supervisor Ward's request ... I'm not impressed because some group shinnies up a flag pole and tears down a flag.' Oh, no? Then try to put it up again! Just the day before, Feinstein's head of the Parks

Department, Tom Malloy had declared: 'We have no intention of removing that flag.'

At the press conference to celebrate the victory, SL spokesman Al Nelson said, 'Mayor Feinstein claims she doesn't want to do anything offensive to black people in San Francisco, but that flag of slavery has been up there for two years and would still be up there if we hadn't pulled it down twice and made an issue out of it.' On April 19, the black-edited *Oakland Tribune* wrote an editorial in which it gives about as much credit to the Spartacist League as any group of 'socialist activists' is likely to receive from a major newspaper this side of proletarian power.

There was also some backlash, emanating from pro-Feinstein quarters where on this issue a defeat involved more than wound-licking. Besides the usual racist hate calls and provocations, the letters in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in praise of the 'genteel' ways of the 'Gone With the Wind' South, the *Chronicle* ran a dangerous smear of the Spartacist League with the accusation that the SL intended to violently disrupt the Democratic Convention this summer. As the Spartacist League wrote in response to the *Chronicle*, the

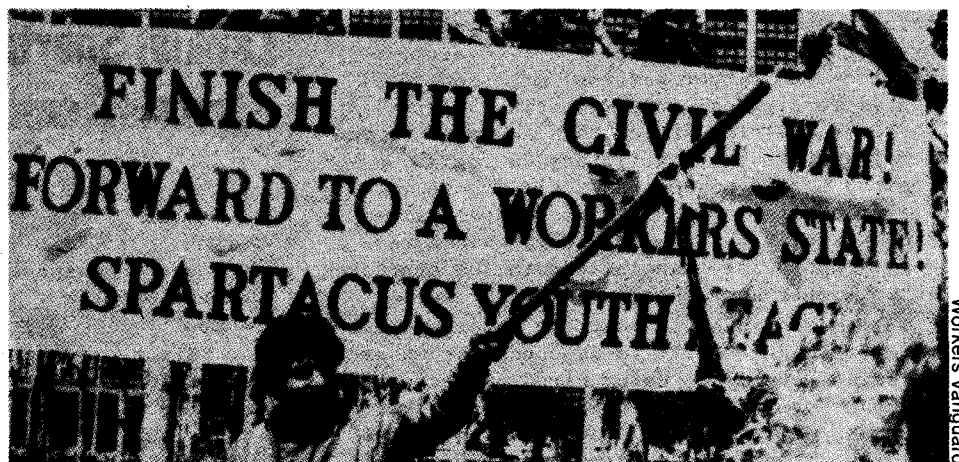
article was 'a transparent attempt to discredit the Spartacist League following our widely welcomed success....'

That the flag will fly no more is not only a victory for blacks and all decent people of San Francisco, it is a defeat for the Klan and the rest of the racists.

The issue of slavery, symbolized by the Confederate flag, was settled by blood and iron in the Civil War. Today that flag is the symbol of resurgent racist terror from the Deep South to Contra Costa County. It has become a plebiscite on slavery and racism. And how did Jesse Jackson vote when he sat down to tea with George 'Segregation Forever' Wallace in Montgomery, Alabama last year? In the cradle of the slavocracy where the Confederate flag was first unfurled -- and still waves today -- Jackson sang out, 'The South can rise again'. Thus Jackson pledges allegiance to the Democratic Party's Dixiecrats.

It will take a Third American Revolution to finish the Civil War. As the 'proclamation' distributed April 15 in San Francisco by Spartacist comrades said:

'The Confederate flag is the banner of racist terror. It is the flag of the slaveowner's whip and the Ku Klux Klan's years of lynching, burning, shooting and bombing. From the night patrols which went after the Negro freedman as Black Reconstruction was being destroyed, to the lynchings of blacks in 1920s, to the bombings and brutal murders of the '60s civil rights movements, to the hideous resurgence of racist violence in the present Cold War climate, the Confederate flag is an incitement to racist violence. Five labor and civil rights organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina were massacred by Klan/Nazi killers in 1979. The KKK lynched a black youth in Mobile, Alabama last year. Black families in Contra Costa County are terrorized by night-riding racists and the 'Cowboys' in Richmond [California] mete out racist 'street justice'. And everywhere, the banner of the race terrorists is the Confederate flag....' 'Just last year at the University of Mississippi -- "Ole Miss" -- heroic black students waged a successful fight to ban official use of the Confederate flag. The students faced down a backlash of Ku Klux Klan death threats, daily harassment and a march of



SL/SYL and Labor Black League burn the Confederate flag.

2,000 white racists who besieged a black dormitory, singing "Dixie" and screaming racist slurs. If these courageous students can stop the official flying of the Confederate flag in the very heart of the old Confederacy, it damn well will not fly here! 'To put an end to the lynchings once and for all time, it is necessary to mobilize militant labor/black action to crush the fascist slime and to draw the masses of workers and oppressed minorities into political struggle against all the capitalist politicians -- from the liberal Northern Democrats who killed busing to the Dixiecrats and "New South" Republicans. The Spartacist League initiated such a mobilization in April 1980 that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in Civic Center. On November 27, 1982, the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of some 5,000 mainly black unionists and youth stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, DC. The Klansmen were forced to stuff their robes and Confederate flags into paper bags and slink out of town. The Labor Black League

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# Lankan Weekend mouthpiece for bloody repression

# Sri Lanka: Deadly lies target Spartacists

The international Spartacist tendency has been targeted in a scurrilous and deadly smear attack by the *Weekend*, published by one of the two major bourgeois English-language papers in Sri Lanka. The article, an apology for the genocidal violence directed against the Tamil minority on the island, no doubt reflects the views of the security police, whose murderous threats against our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka are aimed at silencing their courageous defence of Tamil rights (see 'Hands Off Lanka Spartacists!' *WV* no 351, 30 March). The international Spartacist tendency is branded as part of 'the International Terrorists Network', while the *Weekend* alibis the real terrorists, the rightist government of JR Jayewardene and his American imperialist sponsors. We reprint on the facing page, with minor changes to the English, a reply by our Lankan comrades to the *Weekend* lies.

The terror against the Tamils in Lanka continues. To justify draconian measures of repression and a massive influx of troops to the North, rumours have been circulated of thousands of Tamil guerrillas armed with AK-47s preparing to invade from India. In recent weeks the Air Force rampaged in the North, murdering some 30 Tamils -- among the victims were said to be children and pregnant women (*Times*, 31 March). At least nine more were killed by Sinhalese troops in a new wave of state-sponsored violence which began on April 10. As we go to press, a UPI dispatch reports that Tamil separatists seized control of sections of Jaffna and burned down government buildings. Jaffna is again under martial law, a military curfew has been imposed, and phone links to the city have reportedly been cut. The systematic organised state terror against the Tamil people poses more than ever the question of Tamil self-determination, as JR's communalist massacres and the flight of terrorised Tamils forcibly separates the island's peoples. Stop killing Lankan Tamils! For the right of Tamil self-determination in the North and East!

On April 2 a strike of 600,000 Tamil plantation workers, demanding equal pay with other government workers, crippled the government-owned tea and rubber estates, main source of Lanka's foreign earnings (*Guardian*, 4 April). The massive strike pitted this key proletarian sector against the reactionary JR regime, demonstrating the power that could topple the rule of capitalism and Sinhala chauvinism -- of both the JR and Mrs B (Bandaranaike)-variety -- and bring emancipation to the oppressed Lankan Tamils and Sinhala workers alike.

The *Weekend* asserts that the international protests we have built to denounce the massacres of Tamils were fake, using hired pickets. They figure no one outside the island really cares if thousands of Tamils are slaughtered, that we would be silent unless we were being paid off. In this they reveal only their own corrupt and servile values. We observe that the Reagan administration gave JR \$71 million in economic and military aid last June -- shortly before the massacres of Tamils began last summer in the vicinity of Trincomalee -- and has begun sending helicopter gunships for the Lankan armed forces to use against the Tamils. We also note the odd misspelling of our name in the *Weekend* article as 'Sparticist', a misspelling which crops up often in documents of US intelligence agencies and planted press stories falsely portraying our Marxist tendency as 'terrorist'.

We wonder if this is altogether unrelated to the visits to Sri Lanka in late 1983 of US Defense Secretary Weinberger and former Deputy CIA Director Vernon Walters to meet with JR and discuss the possibility of US naval forces using Trincomalee harbour, pivotal to military control of the Indian Ocean, and key to the Reagan administration's rabid drive toward nuclear war with the Soviet Union (*CounterSpy*, March-May). The London-based *Tamil Times* (January) reports that a recent agreement allowing the US to set up a 'Voice of America' relay station near Colombo includes a secret clause to permit use of the station as a communication centre linking US naval forces and military bases in the

region, and the stationing of US troops in Lanka.

We have seen the *Weekend* slanders before: in a pamphlet published by the Lankan Ministry of State last September, we are attacked for protests 'simultaneously supporting separatism in Sri Lanka and condemning "American capitalism".' A Spartacist protest last August in Los Angeles is singled out, and this is no accident: in LA we received numerous threats of violence and our demonstration was physically attacked by rightist Sinhalese thugs. Libellous violence-baiting propaganda has as its function to justify real-life murderous violence, against Tamils, against strikers, against Marxists. As the last vestiges of parliamentary democracy are stripped away under JR's bonapartist rule, the epithet 'terrorist' has become tantamount to a death warrant.

JR and his press agents would like to pretend that Trotskyism has not existed for over 50 years as an established political current on the island. Yet our international movement has a long and proud history of commitment to the Ceylonese revolutionary struggle. From 1971 the IST had fraternal relations with the tendency of Edmund Samarakody, Meryl Fernando and Tulsiri Andradi, which while gravely flawed had represented the best of the Old Trotskyist tradition. As internationalists, for many years we have championed the rights of Ceylonese unionists, insurgent Sinhala youth, Tamil nationalists and Marxist militants. The *Weekend*'s vicious libels, intended to justify murderous state repression against our tendency internationally, will not go unchallenged. Down with *Weekend*'s deadly libel! Hands off Lanka Spartacists! Stop anti-Tamil terror! Forward to a socialist federation of Eelam and Lanka!

## Lankan Spartacists blast 'terrorist' smear

Spartacist League/Lanka  
15th March, 1984

The Editor  
*Weekend*  
Independent Newspapers Ltd.  
Gunasena Mawatha  
Colombo

Dear Editor,

We refer to the article 'The Shadow of Terror Stalks Beneath Roundtable of Peace' by Don Mithuna published in your paper on Sunday, March 4, 1984. We take the reference made to the Spartacist League/USA, under the subtitle 'Helping Hand', to be maliciously written with the intention of attacking this organisation; the article's contents are deformed and filled with wrong details.

Referring to the Spartacists in this section the writer mainly attempts to create in the



Tamil victims of racist pogrom, July 1983. *Weekend*'s 'terrorist' smear against Spartacists aims to justify the mass murder orchestrated by JR Jayewardene

## THE SHADOW OF TERROR STALKS BENEATH ROUNDTABLE OF PEACE

BY DON MITHUNA  
HELPING HAND

Besides sundry sympathisers and "contacts" in the International Terrorists Network there are other foreign organisations which render a helping hand to the propagandists. Most of it is however done for a fee. For instance the Spartacist League of USA is believed to be a very active outfit in this regard.

The Spartacist League which has branches in many parts of the world has claimed that it has organised anti-Lankan demos in various parts of USA, Britain, West Germany, France, Canada, Australia and India.

Their anti-Lankan publicity campaigns are several years old and did hardly coincide with the July '83 incidents. In fact when the Lankan Prime Minister visited USA it was the Spartacists who organised the demos in New York and Washington. Most of the demonstrators are 'hired' for a fee. And the volunteers are dime a dozen corralled in from ghettos of Bronx or among the layabouts on 42nd Street in New York.

But Spartacists are not a bunch of quacks. They have links with international terrorists. Admittedly their main objective is supporting the northern terrorists to ensure a struggle for a Socialist federation of South East Asia which can liberate all 'oppressed' people in the region. According to a document issued by the Sri Lanka Union of USA, the Spartacists are resurrecting the domino theory.



AND THE TIGER DEVELOPS A HEADACHE IN TAMILNADU

As mouthpiece for reactionary JR regime, *Weekend* (4 March 1984) seeks to incite and justify state terror against Tamils and leftists, singles out the international Spartacist tendency which waged a worldwide protest campaign against anti-Tamil pogroms.

mind of the reader the impression that this organisation has links with 'terrorists' and many who join the Spartacists in their various projects do so for payment, or on hire.

We challenge the writer's facile statement that the international Spartacist tendency is an organisation with 'terrorist' links. On what basis does he say so? From which source did he gather this information? We believe that in developed society no journalist would be permitted to provide wrong information to his readers, created in the mind of the journalist. It should also be the duty of a responsible newspaper not to mislead its readers by providing false information. Therefore we request that you publish this letter and safeguard the right of the reader.

There were others who had the backbone to directly accuse the international Spartacist tendency of being a terrorist organisation. It was the secret police of the leader of the imperialist war machine, the powerful American Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice of the State of California that declared in 1981 what the writer in *Weekend* was blustering to say. However, after it was proved that *labour parties* which firmly believe in socialism, or communist parties for that matter, are not terrorist parties, they too were compelled to withdraw the charges. We are sending you a photocopy of the letter by the Attorney General to all police stations in California stating that an 'error' was made in this regard. On another occasion, when President Carter attended a Trade Union meeting, a Spartacist member was dragged out of the hall by the Secret Service agents. After a lawsuit and campaign against this action the secret police apologised and paid up a sum of \$3500 as compensation. This member contributed the total

sum towards the Union fund. A photocopy of a document relating to this incident is also sent herewith. All this, in powerful America. It looks as if the Lankan friends of the imperialists have joined together to suppress and destroy the true revolutionary mass organisations that amplify the cry of the proletariat. Such accusations are still made only by people like Don Mithuna, who are afraid to see the difference between communism and terrorism. Here it is best to quote Leon Trotsky in *Terrorism and Communism* (1920):

'What we are concerned with is not at all the defence





April 16, 1984. Demonstration outside Lankan mission to UN, New York

Workers Vanguard

about Don Mithuna's article. However we should write about the slanderous statement he makes about the participants at Spartacist demonstrations. According to him the Spartacists have organised only anti-Lankan rallies regarding the Tamil people's problems. Moreover he states that demonstrators are hired, and volunteers are found from ghettos. Here Don Mithuna exhibits his racist policies!

The international Spartacist tendency has demonstrated not only on behalf of the Lankan Tamil people, but also on behalf of the Lankan working class and the other oppressed masses. When the UNP government suppressed the July 1980 strikers, the international Spartacist tendency organised international protest

rallies. We wish to state here that front page news reports covering these demonstrations were published in your daily newspapers *Davasa* and *Sun* on September 16, 1980 along with photographs. If, as Don Mithuna says, thousands of people join these demonstrations for a fee, then how much would this organisation have had to pay to that estimated crowd of over 5000 that participated in the November 27 Labour/Black Mobilisation in 1982? This demonstration stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, DC. The fact is that in a period when capitalist states day by day diminish the right of the working class to organise, to demonstrate, and withdraw the right of expression, people in hundreds and thousands form them-

of "terrorism" as such. Methods of compulsion and terrorisation down to the physical extirpation of its opponents have up to now advantaged, and continue to advantage in an infinitely higher degree the cause of reaction, as represented by the outworn exploiting classes, than they do the cause of historical progress, as represented by the proletariat. The jury of moralists who condemn "terrorism" of whatever kind have their gaze fixed really on the revolutionary deeds of the persecuted who are seeking to set themselves free...

'Today the pious enemy of terrorism is keeping up by the help of organised violence a "peaceful" system of unemployment, colonial oppression, armed forces and preparation for fresh wars.

'The present work, therefore, is far away from any thought of defending terrorism in general. It champions the historical justification of the proletarian revolution. The root idea of the book is this: that history down to now has not thought out any other way of carrying mankind forward than that of setting up always the revolutionary violence of the progressive class against the conservative violence of the outworn classes.'

The international Spartacist tendency is not nameless, faceless or defenceless. It has a proud labour history. It is a propagandist organisation devoted to organising the international working class into power. Terrorism does not arise from a working class movement. On the other hand, why do Spartacists hail the Red Army in Afghanistan and call for victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador and the militants in Nicaragua and Cuba? Because they are essential in expanding the labour victories of the October Revolution. The international Spartacist tendency is an organisation with newspapers, magazines, periodicals -- published in various languages in various parts of the world and sold openly.

In this letter we do not intend to write

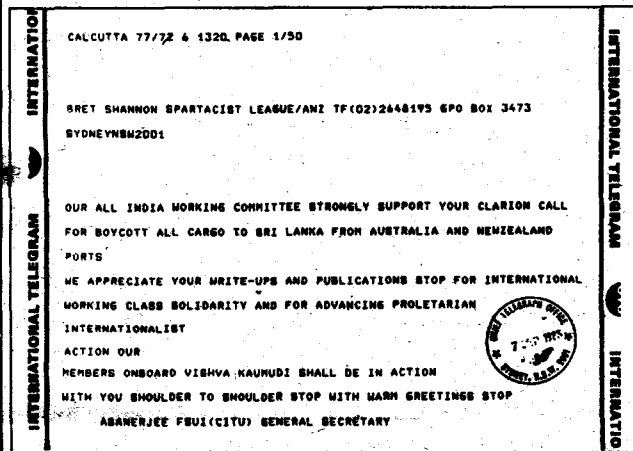
ation. Many black people in America participate in these rallies because they are also subject to oppression just as the Lankan Tamil people. 'For hire' is a very old capitalist accusation. Long before Don Mithuna, capitalist agents used this to attack working class organisations. Why do Blacks from New York or any other city in America now begin to line up behind Spartacists? It is because gradually they have begun to understand that the American Revolution needs black leadership! True labour organisations do not have money to throw about because they are not a part in the management of the economy. However for people in this country it will not be necessary at all to explain which organisations hire people for a ten rupee note, or a packet of lunch or a bottle of arrack, a buriyani or free musical shows. People in this country know quite well which class attacked the peasants, the workers, the students using money and thuggery, who destroyed their picket lines, crushed their strikes and even murdered those people who gathered to use their rights.

How comforting it would be if peace to bleeding Lebanon, wounded by religious, sectarian, racist, communalist conflicts, or peace to the whole of Europe, armed to the teeth with American imperialists' Pershing and cruise missiles and yet trembling in fear of war, could be brought after stabilising these countries tries by ending terrorism. How nice if these things could be achieved at Don Mithuna's roundtable conference. But the working class understands that it cannot happen so. They understand that liberation for oppressed masses in various parts of the world rests upon the true socialist states that will be constituted in those various countries. Only thereby will the suppression of the Tamils from Sinhala communalists be halted, and the fear within the Sinhala people over the 40 million Tamils in India and the hatred towards the Tamils in the North for attempting to divide the country be eased. How can one stop the countries in this region joining with imperialists to crush the first workers state on Earth -- the USSR? That is only by making the socialist revolution possible in Lanka, India and in the whole of South Asia. To this the international Spartacist tendency and all its other sections are devoted; and it is no secret for Don Mithuna. Intentionally he hides this from the masses. The international Spartacist tendency is an organisation with a perspective for a world Socialist Federation.

Finally, one thing should be said. Don Mithuna has dutifully served the purpose as an agent for the entire capitalist class to viciously attack, slander and destroy working class movements.

Patrick Fernando  
Spartacist League/Lanka

Copies to:  
All left organisations  
Human rights organisations  
All newspaper publishers in Sri Lanka and abroad



Telegram of support from Forward Seaman's Union in India in response to our call to Australian dockworkers and Indian seamen to boycott all Sri Lankan cargo in protest against anti-Tamil massacres last July.

several behind a fearless proletarian organisation like the international Spartacist tendency which moves forward, to picket and organise labour demonstrations. For example, look at the appended names of various political, labour and social organisations that supported the November 27 Labour/Black Mobilis-

# Hundreds massacred in Indian port strike

The following article was written before the bloody 26-day dock workers strike, the longest port shutdown in India's history, ended on April 11.

On March 19, in a savage assault on a 300,000-strong national port workers strike, Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi loosed her thugs in and out of khaki on an entire colony of strikers in Paradip, Orissa (eastern India). Even the bourgeois mouthpiece, the *Hindustan*

*Times*, reported that more than 300 defenceless people were massacred in this frenzy, their bodies thrown into the sea or into the flames of their burning houses. An opposition parliamentarian of the conservative Janata Party reported that up to 1200 people were killed by the murderous police assault in Orissa, and many times that number left homeless as more than 3000 huts were set ablaze.

Meanwhile, the Indian government moved to streamline its strikebreaking apparatus, declaring a state of emergency, setting up a special cell at the cabinet secretariat, activating control rooms at all major ports to monitor the job, placing the navy on full alert and pressing scabs into service in at least three southern ports -- Tuticonn and Madras (in Tamil Nadu) and Cochin (in Kerala). The clear and brutal message from the 'peace-loving' leader of this 'democratic showcase' of Asia: if you fool with 'Mother' Indira, her 'non-aligned' mask will soon fall revealing the hideous face of bourgeois terror.

The violence descended on the Paradip strikers when they tried to stop an unspecified number of policemen from shoving through 1000 scabs drafted by the hastily concocted 'Forwarding and Clearing Workers Pool'. Bombs are said to have been hurled, leaving some police dead. In 'reply', the cops rampaged, firing indiscriminately into the strikers and soon returning to beat up the residents, burn their dwellings and arrest those trying to escape.

Responding to these atrocities, reminiscent of the recent anti-Tamil pogrom in Sri Lanka and the anti-Bengali massacre in Assam, Orissa Congress (Indira faction) chief minister Patnaik asserted, 'not a single person is listed missing in Paradip'. But, commented a reporter for the *Hindustan Times*, 'every person I met had at least one relative or friend missing'.

The strike itself began on March 9, with the workers calling for a 32 percent wage increase as their main demand. Tens of thousands of civilian employees of the navy and also railwaymen have backed the strike. Gandhi has indicated her method of 'negotiations' by quickly pronouncing the strike illegal, militarising the docks a la Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. In a gesture of solidarity with the strikers, the International Transport Workers Federation has threatened to boycott Indian ships. The Trotskyists say: the entire Indian working class must defeat this attack. Elect workers councils that will fight to spread and win the strike! For armed workers militias to defend strikers' families from Gandhi's gangsters! For an international labour boycott of Indian ships!

This strike is particularly important because it has united a key section of India's vast proletariat across the myriad national/ethnic/religious divisions of the subcontinent. Tamils in the south, Bengalis in the east, northern and western Indians in the great port of Bombay are all battling the bloody bourgeois-

continued on page 10

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# For a general strike against Steel workers

In late March, the government of France's 'socialist' president Francois Mitterrand announced plans for 'restructuring' the steel industry which will produce some 25,000 redundancies in the next two years. In the steel and coal producing region of Lorraine, where most of the redundancies are concentrated, factory sirens sounded in protest and workers took to the streets. In the town of Longwy, the tax collector's office was sacked, doors and windows smashed at the courthouse, and protesters battled with the riot police. In Paris, the Communist Party was squirming as many members asked how long the CP would continue to remain in the popular-front government -- a coalition of Communists, Socialists and bourgeois technocrats -- which is tearing up French industry in the interests of maintaining French capitalism.

For over a year there has been a kaleidoscopic succession of protests against Mitterrand's brutal austerity plans. Many petty-bourgeois sectors, from travel agents to lorry drivers, have been manipulated by ultra-rightist forces. Worker resistance, such as the bitter strike by immigrant workers at the Talbot car factory near Paris, has been isolated and ground down due to the treachery of the union bureaucracy. But now the steel workers have taken the lead and their angry protests are reverberating through France. On March 31, steel militants in Metz sacked the Socialist Party headquarters, then burned seized documents on the square in front of the building; in the south at Marseilles, angry workers smashed bus stops. Steel workers began ripping up the rails on the Paris-Luxembourg line, leading to the derailment of a shipment of iron ore.

On April 4 a regional general strike was held in the Lorraine. Tens of thousands marched, transport was shut down, priests ordered church bells to ring throughout the region. That night steel workers again undertook 'coup de poing' (punch) actions aimed particularly at symbols of state power and the bourgeoisie. In Longwy, militants assaulted the commissariat (now transformed into a police barracks) with a deluge of bolts, ball bearings, Molotov cocktails and bottles of acid. A goon squad of the Communist-led CGT union federation protected city hall from an attack, but a chateau belonging to the Usinor steel company was burned to the ground. The workers' anger is also having political repercussions: already two Socialist deputies have resigned from the SP parliamentary delegation and a CP mayor resigned from the party in protest against its participation in the Mitterrand regime (several other CP mayors in the region have demanded an end to the coalition).

But to mobilise the big battalions of French labour to defeat Mitterrand's 'austerity' requires a political fight against the reformist misleaders. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the international Spartacist tendency, last month sent a team to the Lorraine. The pro-SP Paris newspaper *Le Matin* (4 April) quoted our comrades' call (at a workers' rally) for a national steel strike and referred to their slogan for 'a new May '68 that goes all the way!' Class-struggle unionists at Renault's Cleon plant near Rouen issued a call for carworkers to join the steelworkers' April 13 march on Paris protesting against the government's austerity 'restructuring' plans and turn it into the kick-off for a general strike. The LTF distributed 8000 copies of a special supplement to *Le Bolchevik* at this first mass working-class demonstration against Mitterrand's popular front -- primarily to members of the CGT and PCF. In Paris, we received the same open and serious response as

in Lorraine. Several steelworkers asked: 'What now?'. 'How would a workers government operate? I don't think it will be much longer till we have one.' The article below is translated and adapted from the LTF special supplement.

The Mitterrand government has declared war on the working class. Openly. For three years, this class-collaborationist government has served as the administrators of French capitalism, unleashing increasingly brutal attacks against the working class. Coal, shipyards, steel (and soon, automobile) -- entire layers of the productive apparatus -- are condemned, and entire regions, like Lorraine, along with them. Mitterrand is trampling on even those pale reforms promised by the Union of the Left to hoist himself above and independent of his own electoral majority. He is presenting himself as a candidate for the bonapartist strongman a la de Gaulle. Thus his debate with the bourgeois opposition only concerns the best methods for smashing the workers. This government is attacking its own base. But key sectors of the workers are fighting back.

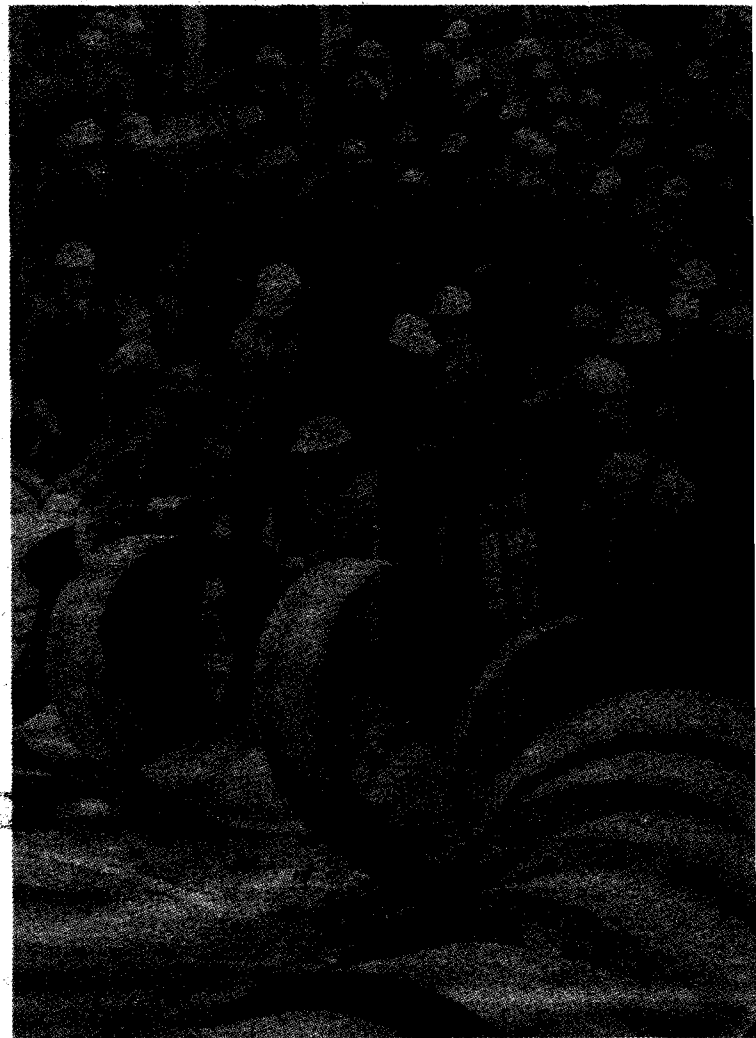
Lorraine is a particularly flagrant case, since in a certain sense Mitterrand owes his presidential armchair to the battles of the steel workers in 1979, which were the beginning of the end for the right-wing bourgeois Giscard regime. It's not surprising that Mitterrand is increasingly hated in this region, as witnessed by the appearance of banners like 'Mitterrand: bought by capital', or by the burning down of the Socialist Party headquarters at Metz (which was quite clearly carried out by the workers). These 'minority' actions are greeted with approval by thousands of workers.

Fresh from his visit to the United States, Mitterrand seems starry-eyed over Reagan's 'free enterprise': bloody smashing of strikes, hunger and misery for millions of unemployed. But in all the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie attacks the workers -- slashing of wages, massive layoffs, closing of factories and the chauvinist witchhunt against immigrant workers -- in order to save their profits and accelerate their preparations for war against the Soviet Union. In Britain, it's the miners strike against Thatcher's austerity; in Germany, massive layoffs provoked the occupation of the shipyards; in Italy, the 'socialist' government of Craxi is trying to eliminate cost-of-living indexes and is encountering a massive revolt based on the factory councils.

Today, Mitterrand has made the liquidation of the steel industry in Lorraine his personal business. Even earlier he sent his CRS riot police against factory occupations, giving the green light to a campaign of police terror against our immigrant class brothers. Sticking with Mitterrand is suicide!

In 1981 the Ligue Trotskyste said, 'Giscard, never; No to Mitterrand!' Elected with the implicit support of the Gaullist nationalists, on the basis of a flamboyant anti-Soviet campaign, Mitterrand never promised anything other than the restructuring of French capitalism. His policy of 'revival' fell to pieces like a house of cards, leaving a mountain of international debts. Thus, to demand that Mitterrand 'keep his promises' is grotesque; he never promised anything to the steel workers except a phony 're-conversion'.

This government has created an economic mess and has brought down everybody's wrath on its head: the peasants, small shopkeepers, lorry drivers -- and important sectors of the working class. In face

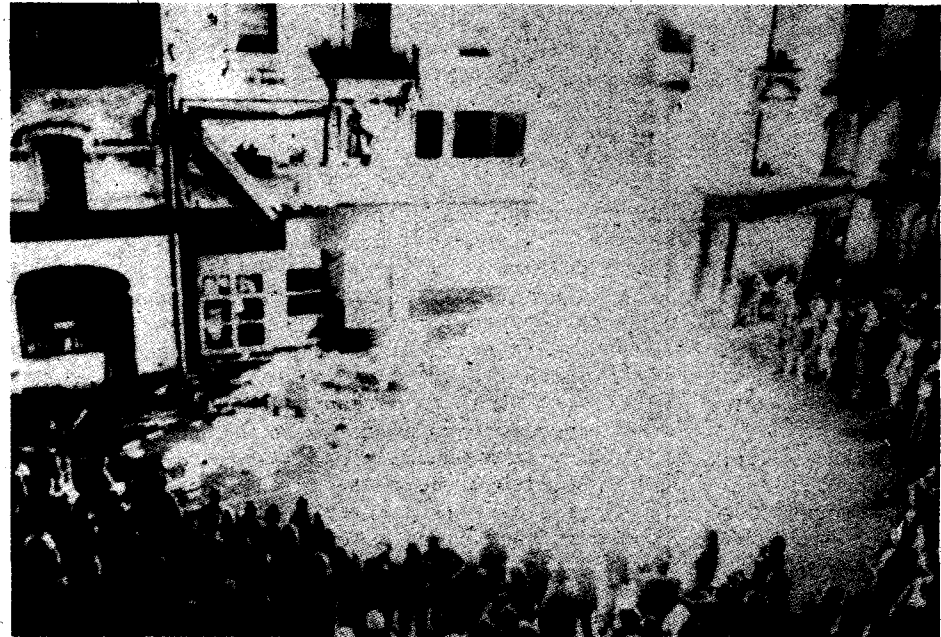


French steelworkers in the lead against Mitterrand austerity.

of the mobilisations by the enraged petty bourgeoisie, which have been led by reactionaries of all stripes, the solution is not to stick with Mitterrand. If the working class shows its power in struggle it will be possible to split the middle classes and rally broad layers to the side of the working class. On 4 April at Longwy, the entire population was behind the steel workers, down to the last shopkeeper. Now is the time to unify those industrial sectors which are under the gun -- coal, shipyards, steel, automobile -- and to muster them around the only measure which can make this brutally anti-working-class government bend -- a general strike against Mitterrand's austerity policies.

'Normal' trade-union struggle is not sufficient in the face of such far-reaching government attacks. To try to fight workplace by workplace like the bureaucrats tell us to do is a real recipe for defeat. All the more so since in many cases strikes would not do much to threaten bosses who are in any case seeking to reduce production. A general strike should be combined with the militant tactic of factory occupations. The dismantling of the steel industry in France and throughout West Europe has been ordered by the capitalist Common Market. The entire European bourgeoisie will support Mitterrand against the workers' resistance. Therefore it will be indispensable for dockers and the railway workers to boycott all attempts to import coal, ore, steel, etc. This is how the British miners have sought to extend their strike.

April 13 must become a jumping-off point, not for a protest action that merely blows off steam, but a general strike to smash Mitterrand's austerity, a real general strike which stops the factories, ports, airports and transport throughout France. This general strike which directly challenges the popular-front gov-



Socialist Party headquarters in Longwy sacked and documents burned by enraged steelworkers.

**LE BOLCHEVIK**

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# At Mitterrand's austerity! rip up France

ernment cannot rely on the reformist misleaders and must overcome the bureaucratic divisions in the union movement, reaching beyond organised labour to the unorganised worker: For strike committees and committees of action -- embryos of working-class political power. Such a strike will pose inevitably the question of power and the necessity to finish with the economic chaos of capitalism by installing a real workers government. And this perspective not only goes beyond regional and sectoral limits, but also beyond national borders.

## Karl Marx was right

Nearly 150 years ago, the *Communist Manifesto* explained: 'The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them.' The results: cyclical crises which periodically destroy the productive forces. 'Modernise or perish', they tell us. Every year for the last ten years the rate of productive investment in France has gone down by 2 per cent. It is the bourgeoisie, and it alone, which is responsible for the dilapidation of its own productive apparatus. This is the result of the system of production for profit.

In earlier times, doctors 'cured' people with leeches, by repeated bleedings. Their patients often died. Our 'socialist' witch doctors of sick capitalism will not obtain better results. Their austerity programme bleeds the working class, pillaging or eliminating social welfare programmes. However, this massive transfer of resources will not restart capitalist investment, which is still blocked by the fall in the rate of profit.

Soon we will have 3 million unemployed at a rate of 86,000 jobs eliminated a year; zero growth. And all they give us is blah-blah about reconversion. Last year at Longwy, of the 280 new jobs created, seven went to ex-steel workers. Years of experience and high level skills are threatened with extinction.

The disastrous situation of the steel industry today is the result of years of capitalist anarchy. There is massive overproduction and overcapacity of steel on the world market. To maintain the steel mills of France would mean ferocious protectionism and/or one hell of an armaments programme producing a vast number of tanks. To get out of the impasse we need a real planned economy. Millions of workers know today that nationalisations by the bourgeois state change nothing. Nationalised enterprises are still run according to the profit criteria, and they speed up and lay off tens of thousands of workers.

As long as capitalism, lasts, it is impossible to talk about the steel industry producing for the needs of society. All the 'counterplans' offered by the reformists are utopian (as utopian as Mitterrand's plan to transform France into one gigantic 'Silicon Valley'); they run up against the insurmountable barrier of the rate of profit.

'Produce French' is a deadly trap for the workers. We lose on all sides: protectionist measures provoke a reply in kind and what is gained on the domestic market is lost in exports. This is to choose 'solidarity' with the employers association, our class enemies, against our class brothers in other countries, who face the exact same problems as we do. It is to turn one's back on the only real solution -- rational, socialist planning on the European level. Reactionary and utopian, economic nationalism kindles the fires of chauvinism, cutting French workers off from those who have been in the vanguard of struggle for the last two years: the immigrant workers, in particular those in the car industry. Defending them against deportations and racist terror is a defence of the spearhead of the struggle against Mitterrand's austerity.

## For a new revolutionary leadership!

Ever since 1979 the steel workers of Lorraine have demonstrated an unequalled combativity. Where is the leadership worthy of their struggles? For the three years of Mitterrand's government, the Communist Party and the CP-led

CGT labour federation have smothered working-class discontent, thus rendering an incalculable service to the 'Republic', that is to big capital. Today, they may well find themselves kicked out the door, and precisely for having done these favours for the bourgeoisie! Mitterrand is attacking the working-class base of the CP (what good are parliamentary posts if their bastions in heavy industry are liquidated), because the reformist bureaucrats have taken so many kicks in the teeth and have gone so far as to break strikes themselves, like at Talbot this year, to cling to their ministerial back seats.

Dumping the whole responsibility for the crisis of the steel industry on German capitalism, the CP has objectively blocked with the Gaullists on the basis of 'anti-Krautism'. The reformists have set the steel workers of Usinor-Dunkerque, of Longwy, of Fos against each other. Even worse, their disgusting chauvinism prevented a common struggle with the Belgian and German workers (who have been fighting for a 35-hour workweek).

What we need is a leadership which takes decisions based on the fact that this government is a sworn enemy of the workers and which, armed with a class-struggle programme, can lead to victory. We must fight like hell to take back the unions on the basis of a revolutionary programme, and create through this struggle strike committees and factory committees, which will regroup broader layers of workers. The key is a new revolutionary leadership -- a Leninist party, a Trotskyist vanguard party. We Trotskyists base ourselves on the lessons of the past -- the bankruptcy of the Blum Popular Front which ordered the shooting down of anti-fascist demonstrators at Clichy in 1937. We warned the workers against the popular front of Mitterrand. CP leader Marchais prostrated himself before Mitterrand, while the 'far left' transformed itself into cheerleaders for the popular front.

Today there is no recognised revolutionary leadership capable of giving resolute leadership in this class war. Yet as Mitterrand dismantles French industry, throwing tens of thousands of workers on the slag heap, the proletariat is pushed towards a general strike against the capitalist austerity programme in order to ensure its very survival. To paraphrase Leon Trotsky on the 1926 British general strike, the working class cannot permit the bankruptcy of French capitalism to mean the bankruptcy of the French people. And the more far-reaching and militant the struggle, to the degree the stranglehold of the traditional, reformist misleaders of the proletariat is broken, the revolutionary energies of the workers can be unleashed for the decisive battles ahead.

Le Bolchevik



Banners of Ligue Trotskyiste de France, French section of international Spartacist tendency on Talbot workers demonstration, January 1984: 'French workers, immigrant workers: break with Mitterrand!'



The unpopular popular front: Mitterrand and CP head Marchais.

The question of economic recovery is posed as the necessity for the conquest of power by the proletariat. The organs of dual power -- strike committees, factory committees, mass pickets which will become workers self-defence detachments and ultimately workers militias -- will be the bases for a real workers government.

Mitterrand's savage attacks upon the French working class cannot be separated from his aggressive support to Western imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. This French social democrat has served as Reagan's sergeant-major in NATO Europe. More rabidly than any other West European regime, Mitterrand sought to whip up anti-Communist hysteria over Polish Solidarnosc, that 'free trade union' for the CIA, world bankers and Vatican. The struggle of the French working class against Mitterrand's austerity is inseparable from the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union.

A progressive solution to the economic crisis of Common Market Europe, most acute in Mitterrand's France, cannot be separated from the 'other' Europe: the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. We need a communist revolution against capitalist exploitation and anarchy in West Europe and a proletarian political revolution against Stalinist bureaucratic oppression and economic mismanagement in East Europe. This is the road to a Socialist United States of Europe. Neither a popular front nor overt rightists nor reformist workers parties, but only a workers government can make the adjustments and rationalisations of industry without wilfully and grievously injuring the working people.

Adapted from Workers Vanguard no 352, 13 April 1984

# Miners...

(Continued from page 1)

stop there!' And today we say a deal is desperately needed between steelworkers and miners -- for unity in struggle, not scab 'unity'. For joint strike action by both unions against all redundancies in steel and coal!

ASLEF and the NUR, under 'lefts' Ray Buckton and Jimmy Knapp, are now in the midst of a pay claim against British Rail. BR is demanding 4000 redundancies in payment for a paltry 4 per cent pay rise, with 27,000 jobs already slashed in the rails in the last five years and another 9000 threatened in BR Engineering. Over a hundred ASLEF and NUR members have already been disciplined by BR for refusing to handle scab coal. Yet all Buckton and Knapp propose is an overtime ban, when every railworker should already have been on strike weeks ago. The NUR/ASLEF leaders are doing everything possible to avoid joint strike action with the miners, hoping to strike a separate deal with the Tories. Meanwhile dockers face a threat to the National Dock Labour Scheme. Both the necessity and the opportunity are there for linking up key sectors of the British proletariat in a united counteroffensive against the Tory union-bashers. Mass pickets are needed outside key power stations, steel factories and docks. But the miners must not stand alone! Class-conscious militants in rail, steel, power and the docks must fight to bring their unions out alongside the miners. For a national strike council in the NUM! For joint elected strike committees to coordinate strike action and guard against bureaucratic sabotage! For joint strike action with the miners now!

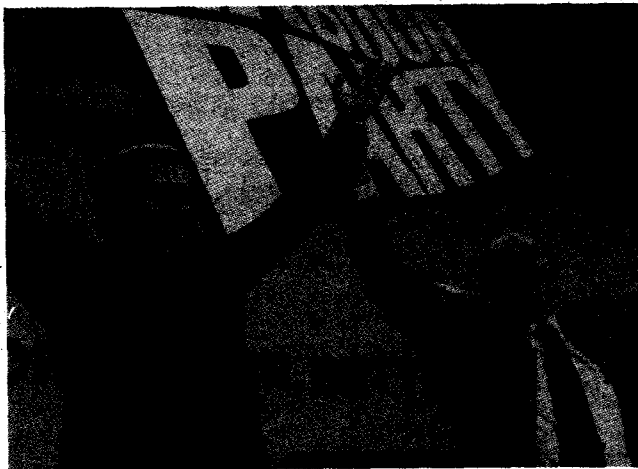
## Cold War means war on workers and minorities

What is objectively posed today is the need for a general strike to smash the Tory onslaught and open the road to the revolutionary expropriation of British capitalism. Thatcher's attempt to crack the powerful miners union and avenge the humiliating defeat of the last Tory government has precipitated the sharpest and most deep-going conflict of British labour since the turn of the century. The Tories and the international capitalist class as a whole have staked their future existence on a strategy of destroying the organisations of the working class and preparing for war against the Soviet Union. These questions are integrally linked.

This was shown with crystal clarity at the Blackpool TUC last September. Len Murray (whose recently announced retirement will be mourned by no militant) and his cohorts launched a Cold War witchhunt against Arthur Scargill for his opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive and especially to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc, the only 'union' Thatcher and Reagan support. This attack was key to pushing through the TUC's 'new realism' treachery -- directly leading to the betrayal of the NGA and the capitulation to Tory union busting at Cheltenham -- and to isolating the NUM in the face of the clearly impending Tory assault on the miners. Defence of the workers unions against Tory attack and defence of the USSR and deformed workers states against counter-revolution/imperialism cannot be separated.

But the Labour/TUC misleaders counterpose

to class struggle divisive nationalist schemes to bolster the British bosses, the class enemy. The current explosion of class struggle throughout Western Europe poses enormous opportunities for international labour solidarity. French steelworkers have been ripping the country apart in response to the redundancies and closures being imposed by Mitterrand's 'Socialist' government. But having betrayed the jobs of his own members four years ago, Bill Sirs now calls on the other EEC capitalists to live up to their agreement with the British bosses and savage their own steel industries. The import controls



pushed by both the TUC right and 'left', including Arthur Scargill, pit workers in one country against those in another, poisonously undercutting, for example, the essential calls for blacking of coal shipments by workers in America and Australia. And the poisonous strategy of 'British jobs for British workers' fuels the growth of racist reaction, further dividing workers at home. It's no accident that the fascists were able to march through Corby behind that slogan following the defeat of the 1980 strike after the closure of the steelworks devastated the town.

A revolutionary leadership would be fighting to break down all the bosses' 'divide and rule' ploys -- from strikebreaking ballots to racism. For example, the thousands of West Indian and Asian youth in Bradford who have no prospect of a job and no future under capitalism should be recruited to swell the mass pickets from Yorkshire. The trade unions should be organising child care facilities to allow the thousands of women from the coalfields who have demonstrated their determination to stand with the miners to play their full role in the strike, including on the picket lines. The labour movement must fight to smash the barriers of race and sex discrimination.

## The crisis of leadership

The Labour Party leaders have not only proven their absolute bankruptcy in the course of this strike, but have in fact functioned as outright political strikebreakers. Kinnock and Hattersley continue to call for a national ballot even after the NUM delegate conference. Kinnock put his weight behind the blacklegging in the steel industry by authorising his spokesman for Scottish affairs, Donald Dewar, to demand the NUM 'reconsider' the blacking of coal shipments to

Ravenscraig. Then came Hattersley's statement of 'support', which denounced 'lawbreaking', called yet again for a national ballot and opposed bringing down the Tories through strike action. This protege of the hated Denis Healey spits in the face of every arrested striker as well as countless militants who yearn to sweep Thatcher out of office. Yorkshire NUM vice-president Sammy Thompson expressed the anger of many strikers when he publicly denounced Kinnock for refusing to share a platform with him. We look forward to the day when militant Yorkshire miners refuse to share their platform with the likes of Kinnock.

While many militants see through the Hattersleys and even the Kinnocks, illusions

Cop strikebreaking at Grunwick, 1977, under last Labour government. Today Kinnock/Hattersley push strikebreaking national ballot. Workers need a revolutionary party!

persist in the Labour 'lefts'. But Tony Benn's sole role in the strike has been to appear on an occasional picket line and back the Labour Party's voluntary 50p strike support levy -- an insultingly paltry concession to the enormous pressure from the base to stand with the miners. Such meagre 'moral and financial' gestures are fully acceptable to the Labour/TUC rights, who thereby seek to cover up their very real acts of strikebreaking. It is significant that Benn has never denounced Kinnock's support for the scab ballot, let alone agitated for the union ranks to be mobilised to spread the strike. Benn's excuse for this treachery is the same he gave for remaining in the last Labour Cabinet as it enforced Social Contract austerity and called in the army to break the firemen's strike -- to maintain the 'unity' of the Labour Party. As Callaghan's energy minister Benn presided over his fair share of pit closures and pushed the divisive productivity deal Joe Gormley rammed through the NUM.

Under the impact of the renewed Cold War a distorted and uneven class line has been cleaved inside the Labour Party, reflected in the TUC, between the NATO/CIA-loving rights and the 'little England' 'socialists' of the Bennite 'left'. The Spartacist League calls for driving the SDP fifth column of Healey/Hattersley out of the Labour Party, placing the Bennite 'left' in a position where their 'socialist' rhetoric would be put to the test and leaving at the base thousands of workers broken from the stranglehold of the Labour/TUC rights. Benn has been doing everything in his power to bow to the strikebreaking Cold War Labour leaders. The Chesterfield by-election was a dress rehearsal for Benn's role in the miners strike. In his victory speech in Chesterfield, Benn said he looked forward to putting Neil Kinnock into 10 Downing Street, Roy Hattersley into Number 11, and Denis Healey into the Foreign Office.

The unity preached by the Bennite 'left' -- and the Communist Party, Militant Tendency and assorted Labour-loyal fake revolutionaries -- is a unity of treachery. True unity of workers and the oppressed requires a break with all variants of pro-capitalist opportunists, based on a revolutionary programme. What's needed is a mass revolutionary party forged through splitting Labour's working-class base, centrally organised in the trade unions, away from its pro-capitalist misleaders, 'left' as well as right -- a party in which there is no room for strikebreakers, racists and Cold War pro-imperialist warmongers.

Such a party will act as the general staff of all workers and the oppressed in struggle. Within the context of our limited resources, our supporters in the trade unions -- in the NUR and TGWU among others -- have been fighting to mobilise their unions in industrial action alongside the miners. This is part of a struggle to build a revolutionary alternative to the reformist misleaders within the trade unions, organised in communist fractions, committed to a programme of class struggle.

The absence of anything resembling a revolutionary leadership with a mass base in the working class is the glaring weakness in this militant struggle. In the midst of the 1926 General Strike, when British workers were similarly saddled with a treacherous leadership, Leon Trotsky wrote:

'Had the British proletariat been under a leadership which to some extent was in keeping with its class strength and the maturity of the conditions, power would have passed from the hands of the Conservatives into



Arthur Scargill at pro-strike rally in Nottingham, 14 April.



# Tripped up by the class line

From the beginning of the miners strike the Spartacist League (SL) has become known for our insistence that, 'The miners must not stand alone!' From our defence of Scargill and the NUM against the Cold War pro-Solidarnosc witchhunters at Blackpool to our fight for a strategy to spread the strike through solid picketing and bringing out ancillary industries, we have stood sharply counterposed to the ballot-mongering, scab-apologist, anti-Soviet fake revolutionaries. And we have not stood alone.

As we reported last month, the bizarrely anti-Soviet petty-bourgeois cult which calls itself the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) have been strutting around the coalfields campaigning for a scab national ballot and even trying to organise conferences for scabbing miners. Outraged by the RCP's national ballot line, angry miners at the April 14 NUM-sponsored rally in Nottingham physically ejected RCP sellers (including Kirk Williams, a notorious thug) from the march. When a Spartacist supporter and NUR class-struggle militant taunted RCP honcho Frank Richards about this, Richards tried to knee him to the ground. The comrade defended himself -- aided by five miners, two of whom felled Richards to the ground with a couple of hefty blows to the head. In the process, Richards' expensive-looking tinted glasses took a walk. This lesson on scabbing has driven the RCP even further into an anti-union frenzy. At a public meeting in London April 18, Richards argued that if the picketing in Notts hadn't started, it was 'possible' that the Notts miners would have already joined the strike. The next step from this increasingly anti-working-class cult will doubtless be to say that the strike itself shouldn't have started.

It is no accident that the Workers Power (WP) group is running around expressing bleeding-heart sympathy for 'poor' Frank Richards' treatment at the hands of angry militants -- for they too campaign for a national ballot. With typical centrist double-talk they at first tried to cover their arses by hiding their call behind the headline 'For a national strike -- not a bosses' ballot!' (*Workers Power*, 5 April), only then to argue for a bal-

lot as the only way to get a national strike. Sound like Ray Chadburn? Outrageously, even after the ballot was rejected by the NUM delegate conference, *Workers Power* (2 May) declaims:

'In refusing point blank to call for any form of national vote for or against a national strike, Scargill, Taylor and Co have left themselves without any weapon for winning over Nottingham miners except mass picketing and demonstrations.

'It has handed the scabs and waverers in Nottingham a "democratic" excuse for not joining in.' (emphasis in original)

So bosses' ballots are more effective weapons in the class struggle than mass pickets! For which class, *Workers Power*?

Then there is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose vile anti-Sovietism in the face of the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive leaves them with nothing more to offer the working class except their defeatist perspective of 'downturn'. When the SWP attempted to exclude several supporters of the SL from their April 18 'public' meeting on the miners

strike in Colchester, more than a dozen Welsh flying pickets who had turned up for the meeting solidarised with our comrades. Needless to say, when the SWP chairman realised that the miners were refusing to come to the meeting if we were excluded, he soon discovered there had been 'a mistake'. Once inside the meeting, the miners' outrage surfaced again when one SWPer argued, in counterposition to our comrades' intervention raising a strategy for spreading the strike through bringing out other unions, that the way to politicise workers was to get them down to the picket lines in order to be 'kicked around' and 'arrested' by the cops. The miners quickly made it clear to the SWP they do not need advice on how to build picket lines. The SWP's get-your-head-kicked-in crap is the substitute for a revolutionary strategy. But how can the SWP advance a programme to fight the Tories when they have the same line on the Cold War, the driving force behind the anti-working-class offensive? Scabbing, whether on a trade-union struggle or the Soviet Union, doesn't pay.



Contingent of Notts strikers at head of Nottingham miners rally, 14 April.

the hands of the proletariat in the course of a few weeks. As it is, we can hardly reckon on an outcome of this kind. This again does not mean that the strike is hopeless. The more widely it develops, the more violently it shakes the foundations of capitalism, the more completely it sheds the treacherous and opportunist leaders, the more difficult will it be for bourgeois reaction to go over to the counter-offensive, the less will the proletarian organizations suffer, the sooner shall we reach the next, more decisive stage of the fight.' (*Where is Britain Going?*)

This strike has already counterposed in practice the felt needs of hundreds of thousands of workers to the parliamentary reformism of their misleaders, who preach that workers' gains can be defended and extended through 'legal' parliamentary means. Picket lines, not ballots, will determine the outcome of this struggle. Victory to the miners! Spread the strike! Rail,

steel, power workers: Strike with the miners now! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees!

## CP...

(Continued from page 2)

sending over 'a top-level trade delegation ... to break into the long-term domestic market'.

And 'peaceful coexistence' abroad leads to 'peaceful coexistence' with the ruling class at home. Chater/Costello wholeheartedly endorse 'the cretinously parliamentarist BRS, which stands flatly counterposed to the early CPGB's revolutionary practice under the guidance of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International. The 'British Road' in practice is nothing other than the PCF's participation today in Mitterrand's virulently Cold War austerity 'government of the left'. Political parties are the embodiment of political programmes -- and the CPGB made its peace with its own ruling class decades ago, long before the first edition of the BRS -- exemplified by its crude strike-breaking services to Churchill's imperialist war effort in World War II.

Thus it is that leading pro-Moscow CP trade unionists like Ken Gill sat silent while the TUC Cold Warriors vilified Arthur Scargill for his correct denunciation of Solidarnosc as anti-socialist as part of their drive towards strikebreaking 'new realism' at Blackpool. It is no accident that all the leading TUC 'left' bureaucrats back the *Morning Star*: politically it is their paper, promoting their policies while at the same time taking care, like them, not to alienate the Labour/TUC rights. You will find no harsh criticisms of the Frank Chapples and Ray Chadburns in the *Morning Star*, no matter how blatant their strikebreaking.

When AUEW anti-communist Terry Duffy stabbed BL workers in the back with his scab 'inquiry' following BL's victimisation of CP Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson in 1979, the CP went along with it. When Len Murray stabbed the NGA in the back by denouncing the printers' 'illegal' actions in the face of strikebreaking

Tory anti-union legislation, the *Morning Star* (22 November 1983) lied through its teeth: 'TUC throws weight behind printworkers'. When Tony Benn bowed before Cold Warriors Denis Healey and Roy Hattersley in Chesterfield, the *Morning Star* (11 February) crowed 'Spirit of unity boosts Benn campaign'. While the bosses' press hailed Neil Kinnock's strikebreaking call for a national miners ballot at last month's Scottish TUC, the *Morning Star* headlined: 'Kinnock gives complete backing to miners' fight'. Then there is ASLEF head Ray Buckton, a favoured 'friend of the Soviet Union' (and member of the *Straight Left* advisory panel), who sits in the 'Cripple Alliance' while refusing to bring his men out in strike action alongside the miners despite repeated victimisations for blacking scab coal. And hand-in-hand with this goes support to protectionist import controls, falling in behind the bosses' nationalism and racism.

## From 'socialism in one country' to Eurocommunism

Some CP militants who have grown disillusioned with the outright opportunism of the *Morning Star* and *Straight Left* might see in the small *Leninist* tendency an alternative. For all their reams of abstract 'leftism' and 'anti-opportunist' claptrap, it sums up these petty-bourgeois 'idle chatters' to note that the first issue of their new monthly came out a full two weeks into the most decisive class battle in decades, without even a mention of the strike! Finally the May issue of the *Leninist* led off with an article on the miners with a left-sounding line including even a call for Len Murray's TUC to organise a general strike against the anti-union laws. Yet these self-proclaimed fighters against 'all opportunist trends' in the CP fail to make one single attack on the role of such leading 'comrades' as McGahey who, one would presume, have something to do with the question of transforming the miners strike into a general strike. Whatever left-sounding criticisms the

continued on page 10

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(Continued from page 9)

Leninist does make (usually bastardised from Trotsky) are aimed at providing a left cover for Stalinist betrayal. Their self-appointed role is to convince CP militants disillusioned with Stalinist treachery that 'The place of all genuine communists is in the Communist Party of Great Britain'.

Against such impotent 'critics', Trotskyists fight for the reforging of the Fourth International, the continuator of the revolutionary tradition of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, based on a programme for socialist revolution against capitalism and for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies whose policies of 'peaceful coexistence' undermine the defence of the deformed/degenerated workers states. In his fight for Bolshevism against Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies, Trotsky long ago explained and predicted the reformist degeneration of the CPs which led logically to the open anti-Sovietism of Eurocommunism:

'If it is at all possible to realise socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory not only after but also before the conquest of power. If socialism can be realised within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is all the more reason to believe that it can be realised in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will undertake to propound this theory. The draft programme empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism. The communist party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the "necessary and sufficient" prerequisites for independent construction of a "complete socialist society", will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914 over this very same question.' (Third International After Lenin, 1928)

Defence of the Soviet Union and the tasks of the world revolution are inseparable. Those who deny it end up neither defending the Soviet Union nor pursuing the class struggle against capitalism at home. Mick McGahey, who refused to stand up against the pro-Solidarnosc anti-Soviet witch-hunters at Blackpool, attacks the Spartacist League for 'disgracing the name of Rosa Luxemburg', from whose revolutionary group in World War I Germany we proudly draw our name. Rosa Luxemburg was murdered by the social democrats whom all wings of the CP today tail. Our struggle to turn the miners strike into a class-wide offensive against the capitalists' union-bashing attacks, our unique stand for unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state against all the pacifist phrasemongering endorsed by the CP and Labour 'lefts' amply demonstrates our claim to the heritage of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik party. CP militants who would rather be fighting the class struggle than selling shares in the PPPS should look to the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League: it is the only way forward to workers revolution.■

## Indian workers...

(Continued from page 5)

nationalist regime of Indira Gandhi. This example of class unity in struggle points the way forward toward a socialist federation of South Asia, the only progressive solution to the endless pogroms and communalist massacres which mark the history of the Indian sub-continent.

The Tamil workers of south India must seize this opportunity to demand effective aid to Lankan Tamils facing racist slaughter engineered from within the government of Gandhi's consort in communalist terror, JR Jayewardene. For the right of Tamil Eelam -- Forward to a socialist federation on the island of Ceylon! Throughout the subcontinent, workers councils must champion the cause of the landless peasant tillers and fight for a workers and peasants' government. While the Stalinists tie the masses to their Congress rulers, forever spinning *khadi* (homespun) lies of a 'progressive' native bourgeoisie, the Trotskyists fight against all the exploiters, against the Gandhis past and present. Only the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution opens the road for the liberation of the deeply oppressed toilers of the

Indian subcontinent.

Victory to the dock workers of India! Smash the bourgeois butchers! Liberate the Indian prison house of peoples -- sweep away national and caste oppression through proletarian revolution to establish a socialist Federation of South Asia!■

## Bettaney...

(Continued from page 2)

the onset of Cold War II, came to decide the best service he could carry out would be to thwart NATO's espionage war against the Soviet Union from within MI5's 'K Branch', anti-Soviet counterintelligence. So they got Bettaney for being a 'traitor' -- traitor to their mad drive to anti-Soviet nuclear annihilation. In an eloquent statement, Bettaney replied:

'Those members of the Establishment who will condemn me as a traitor to our country speak falsely. Our country is not their monopoly; it is an embodiment of the rights, interests and aspirations of the broad mass of our people, without whose labour by hand and by brain the nation could not continue to exist. Their supreme right is to enjoy the full fruits of their toil in peace; this right is indeed being betrayed at home and abroad, openly and in secret by the Government elected to serve the people....

'In the sphere of foreign policy and international relations, this government, by its slavish adherence to the aggressive and maverick policy of the Reagan administration, has contributed to an alarming heightening of tension to a point where the danger of war and the threat of nuclear extinction, surely the gravest crime against humanity, is closer than it has ever been.

'... The real foreign policy goals of the U.S./U.K. alliance can be seen in the work of their secret services, some of whose sections are permeated by an atmosphere of lurid anti-Soviet hysteria. By subversive actions, and other more sinister and immoral methods which have no place in the conduct of inter-state relations, these special services aim not merely to remove the Soviet Government and Party, but also to destroy the entire fabric of society in the U.S.S.R. and in other Socialist countries....

'... in the struggle for peace and social progress there are many who are ready to sacrifice not merely their liberty but even their lives. As my last political act I call on comrades everywhere to renew their determination and redouble their efforts in pursuit of a victory which is historically inevitable'.

In 1953 the American ruling class framed up and legally murdered the Rosenbergs with the aim of marking anyone who identified with Communism as a 'spy' and a 'traitor'. It is not just the Bettaneys they are after, but anyone whom they perceive to stand in the way of their anti-Soviet war machine: from the eviction of the Greenham women to the proposed vetting of civil servants for any political views opposed to government policy to the smashing of trade union rights at GCHQ Cheltenham. And Soviet-defencist revolutionists they seek to smear as 'terrorists' or 'Soviet surrogates'.

Meanwhile the social democrats and their 'left' hangers-on queue up to affirm their loyalty to their government's anti-Soviet policy. Despite its purportedly pro-Soviet editors, the wretchedly reformist Communist Party's *Morning Star* (17 April) could not even manage to quote Bettaney's powerful political statement on the imperialist vendetta against the Soviet Union, much less denounce the anti-Soviet war drive itself. The cravenly Labour-loyal Solidarnosc-loving *Socialist Organiser* (18 April) denounced Bettaney's 'great mistake'

in 'identify[ing] the cause of peace and socialism with the USSR'. And Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party vied with Fleet Street in crude anti-Sovietism:

'The Kremlin just didn't trust him. "How could anyone help a cynical bunch like us for love and not money?" they must have, quite reasonably, asked themselves.... 'Congratulations to Bettaney for seeing through the polices [sic] of his masters. But it's a great pity he was fooled into believing the Russians were any better.'

For the social democrats Russian espionage is a crime not only on the law books but in their own social-patriotic eyes. Tony Cliff's truly cynical bunch, having capitulated to their masters' anti-Sovietism over thirty years ago, cannot imagine anyone defending the social gains of the October Revolution. As Trotskyists, we hold admirable the heroic feats of those like Leopold Trepper, Richard Sorge and Kim Philby, authentically great Soviet spies who in their own ways dedicated themselves to the cause of world revolution and the defence of the first workers state.

We understand however that the victory of world socialist revolution and, ultimately the defence of the Soviet Union, hinges on the construction of Trotskyist parties internationally which can lead the workers to power through socialist revolution in the capitalist West and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist practitioners of 'peaceful coexistence' in the degenerated/deformed workers states. The victorious proletariat will doubtless find a place of honour for Michael Bettaney, whose 'treachery' is only to an out-moded system of institutionalised murder and oppression.■

## Flag...

(Continued from page 3)

for Social Defense was formed in the wake of that anti-Klan victory and stands for mobilising the masses of black working people along with their white class brothers and sisters in militant, integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. 'We stand in the revolutionary tradition of the anti-slavery fighters John Brown and Frederick Douglass. To complete the unfinished democratic tasks of the Civil War, we look to the multiracial American working class. In this period of imperialist decay, there is no longer a radical or "progressive" wing of the capitalist ruling class; the whole system stands squarely counterposed to black freedom. Forward to the third American Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by a Trotskyist vanguard party with a strong black leadership component. Finish the Civil War -- For black liberation in a workers' America!■

## Police...

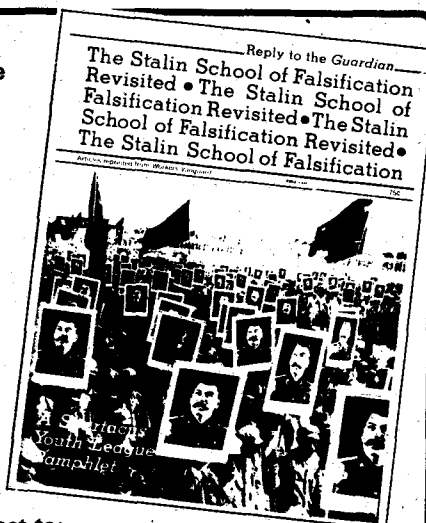
(Continued from page 12)

'No Police Bill! No police state!' But the Labour Party is just as committed as the Tories, albeit with some criticisms of Thatcher's 'excesses', to maintaining the racist machinery of capitalist state repression. It was Labour that implemented the PTA; it was Labour that sent the troops to break the firemen's strike in 1977, and used massive police force to smash the Grunwick strike. And the increasingly Labour-loyal fake-revolutionary left, from the Communist Party to the fake Trotskyists, echo the social-democratic illusion that the state is 'class-neutral' with their calls for 'democratic accountability' of the cops who bash the heads of strikers and minorities. Against the increasing armament of the cops they foster illusions in gun control -- which is aimed at keeping the general population and particularly minorities and working-class militants disarmed.

The thoroughly parliamentarist *Militant* (10 December 1982) bemoans the police for their 'complete lack of concern in tackling racism' and even calls for the racist cops ('workers in uniform') to be unionised. These reformists, who occasionally mutter about being 'Trotskyist', spit on Trotsky, who said: 'The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker' ('What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat', 1932). The cops are part of the armed core of the capitalist state and are accountable only to their ruling class bosses -- not their victims. Better working conditions for cops mean more victims like Colin Roach and David Jones! Against strike-breakers and racist attacks, it is necessary to mobilise union/minority defence squads, not

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# Thatcher: war criminal!

Margaret Thatcher, the nastiest thing to hit England since Winston Churchill, appears to be an outright war criminal. During the Falkland/Malvinas war, that bizarre conflict between two crazed reactionary regimes, Thatcher's Tories and the Argentine military dictatorship, the one unambiguous atrocity was the gratuitous sinking of the ancient cruiser *General Belgrano* (formerly USS *Phoenix*). The British submarine *Conqueror* located the *Belgrano* about 35 miles outside the 200-mile 'war zone' declared by London. Disregarding this fact, the British launched two long-range torpedoes. Within hours the second largest ship in the Argentine navy went down. Over 300 sailors were killed. The British naval officers, who carefully cultivate a reputation for honour and 'fair play', made no effort at all to rescue the survivors huddled together in lifeboats trying to avoid freezing to death.

Now it has come out that Thatcher's war cabinet and the high command apparently knew in advance the *Belgrano* was returning to port. An April 1 letter in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* cited a *Labour Weekly* account (3 February) as revealing that a radio message from the Argentine high command ordering the *Belgrano* to leave the area was intercepted by the GCHQ Cheltenham intelligence centre. It was decoded in two minutes, forwarded to the Brit-



Coffins of sailors killed in sinking of Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano*. Victims of war criminal Margaret Thatcher.

ish Naval Intelligence Centre and thence to the war cabinet. In other words, Thatcher & Co presumably knew hours before the *Belgrano* was sunk that it was heading away from the 'war zone'. If this story is true, the sub commander may not have been so informed, but Iron

Lady Thatcher surely knew; apparently she had the Argentine ship sunk for the sheer mass-murdering hell of it.

Since then the Government have revealed almost nothing about the sinking of the *Belgrano*. What, for example, was its speed and direction when attacked? (The Argentine junta was unlikely to admit it ordered the ship to leave the war zone, though the present Buenos Aires regime might verify such an order). The name of the commander of the submarine *Conqueror*, who would normally be heaped with medals, has not to our knowledge even been made known to the public. This secretiveness strongly suggests guilt at the top. If the British commander knew the *Belgrano* was leaving the area, he, too, is guilty of mass murder and deserves to be hanged.

Evidently one of the reasons that Thatcher has tried union-bashing at GCHQ Cheltenham -- along with her normal bloodlust against the labour movement -- was that one of its employees leaked this evidence that she is a certified war criminal.

The account in the *Guardian* suggests an inquiry into the sinking of the *Belgrano*. But it would be hard to find a jury of Thatcher's peers -- except possibly the torturers and executioners of the former Argentine junta. If Thatcher dispatched those Argentine boys to the bottom of the sea, she richly deserves hanging.

rely on the cops.

As tribune of all the oppressed, communists are opposed to measures like the Police Bill which make the cops more effective in carrying out attacks on workers and minorities and allows them to act in a more independent/bonapartist manner. Those democratic rights that workers and the oppressed exercise under capitalism were won through struggle, and it is only through hard class struggle in the coalfields and the factories that they will be defended against the reactionary ruling-class offensive. We fight for proletarian revolution as the only perspective which can permanently sweep away the hired thugs of the capitalist class from the racist cops through to MI5. Smash the Police Bill!

## Embassy siege ...

(Continued from page 12)

Fleet Street weighed the value of revenge versus the loss of 300 million pounds of British trade and the possible danger to British subjects. You can't say the British capitalists are not hard-headed materialists.

Whoever fired those shots committed a criminal act. And under these circumstances, we can hardly be fond of the killing of a young woman, even if she was a member of the racist and nastily vicious London police force. But we do not want to let British imperialism hone its own terrorist skills by storming the Libyan embassy, let alone invading Libya. Moreover, as revolutionary communists who struggle for state power and fully intend to have our own embassies, we uphold the principle of 'extraterritoriality'. As we wrote at the time of the seizure of the US embassy in Iran:

'Diplomatic immunity and territorial sovereignty of embassies are seldom violated even by nations at war, though every diplomatic office conducts its share of spying and intelligence gathering. These diplomatic rules of the game are necessary to maintain international relations between nation-states, until the nation-state itself has disappeared in a socialist world.' ('Iran Embassy Crisis', *Workers Vanguard* no 244, 23 November 1979)

If the Libyans were honourable, they would turn over the perpetrator rather than shielding him with embassy extraterritoriality. But of course there is no honour among thieves.

Meanwhile the US government, fresh from dropping mines into Nicaragua's harbours, hypocritically denounced the Libyan action as a violation of 'international norms' and a continuation of 'state-supported terrorism'. The *New York Times* (19 April), reflecting Reagan's appetites, warned that Qaddafi 'is asking for punishment'. If ever there were a case of the pot calling the kettle black, this is it. The US routinely tramples on Soviet diplomatic immunity, eg, the humiliating prisoner-of-war treatment of Soviet embassy personnel on Grenada during the recent US pirate invasion, wherein the Soviet staff were held for hours and searched with their hands behind their heads. And in fact it was

'former' CIA agents Wilson and Terpil who helped arm Qaddafi, apparently as part of a CIA attempt to use Qaddafi as an anti-communist prop in the Arab world.

Now Qaddafi is targetted by the Reaganites as a Soviet surrogate, and hence even imaginary crimes are blamed on him: the phantom Libyan 'hit squad' which supposedly was sent to get Reagan in late 1981 but never materialised; or the bombing raid in Sudan which was supposedly done by a Libyan plane but which even the *Times* (21 March) admits was probably done by the Sudanese government in order to kill an oppositionist under house arrest! In the mad, mad world of Reaganite anti-communism, the crazy plots of the Moslem fanatic Qaddafi could become the trigger for World War III like the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in 1914.

Outside of Libya, only the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy tries to paint the Qaddafi regime as some kind of people's 'revolution'. A 21 April editorial in the *Healyite News Line* demands the lifting of the police siege because 'It is an act of intimidation and aggression against the oppressed Libyan people and their revolution.' At the same time *News Line* takes legal care to 'declare our total opposition to the shooting incident', while carefully remaining silent about the trail of bodies spread across Europe by the messengers

of Qaddafi. Did they all deserve to die (including the two students recently hanged at Tripoli University, triggering the London demonstration)? The chairman of the Libyan People's Committee on 'education', Abdulhafid Zallitali, has explained that an 'anti-revolutionary' 'could be [defined as] communist, extreme Moslem fundamentalist or others' (*Washington Post*, 23 April) -- quite a broad spectrum! The Healyites have long been apologists of murderous Moslem anti-communism, from Qaddafi to Khomeini. And their latest crowing that the Tory government is now backing down looks like nutty wishful thinking -- precipitous diplomatic breaks are usually intended only to remove the diplomatic barrier to unrestrained violence.

Despite Qaddafi's 'socialist' and 'anti-imperialist' rhetoric Libya is a backward capitalist state run by a megalomaniac according to the feudalist, anti-woman, anti-democratic laws of the Koran. But on any scale of terrorism it is a puny factor compared with the capabilities of decaying British imperialism, or especially with the nuclear madmen in Washington. When the working class sweeps away Thatcher's army of cops now terrorising the coal fields, then the terrorism of Qaddafi will become a very minor historical footnote.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 353, 27 April 1984



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# SPARTACIST

## BRITAIN

### Tory bill targets workers, minorities

# Smash the Police Bill!

The longstanding Police and Criminal Evidence Bill, now set to become law, represents a sinister assault on basic democratic rights. That this sharp escalation in police powers is about to enter the statute books at the same time as thousands of cops scour the coalfields in a martial law-style operation underscores the intent of the Police Bill: to codify in law the experience of repression against Northern Ireland Catholics already brought ruthlessly to bear against oppressed minorities in Britain and now in the unprecedented use of police power against the embattled miners.

The British ruling class well understand that the deep-going decay of this decrepit capitalist society brings with it the likelihood of massive social explosions. Like Thatcher's attacks on the trade unions, the proposed vetting of political opposition in the civil service, the draconian new 'video nasties' censorship code and the new Prevention of Terrorism Bill (which ominously broadens the purview of the PTA to include 'international terrorism'), the Police Bill is part and parcel of regimenting society in preparation for anti-Soviet World War III.

The provisions of the Police Bill are aimed against those whom the ruling class sees as its real enemies: racial minorities, the labour movement, the left and any potential source of social discontent. Police powers to 'stop and search' both individuals and vehicles are significantly expanded. Police will be able to forcibly enter homes -- in many cases without any warrant -- in search of 'evidence', even where the occupant is under no suspicion of criminal activity. They will be able to mount indiscriminate roadblocks around entire regions on suspicion that 'a serious arrestable offence is likely to be committed in that area' (emphasis added). Police will be empowered to arrest people on the most trivial offence (like dropping litter) and detain them without charge for up to four days of interrogation, forcible fingerprinting and intimate body search -- without right to legal counsel or contact with relatives for up to 36 hours. These measures obviously have nothing to do with 'street crime' but effectively amount to 'preventive detention' to be used in 'emergency situations'. Indeed they are currently being implemented in large measure against the miners -- and without the emergency powers Heath called on in 1974. The



Police at work: racist attack during 'long hot summer' of 1981.

labour movement must sweep this nefarious legislation away -- and the way to do it is through turning the current miners strike into a class-wide mobilisation that can bring this government to its knees.

The police establishment has been agitating openly for this legislation for a long time, particularly in the wake of the 'long hot summer' of 1981. As we wrote when Brixton exploded

in anger against a racist cop occupation that spring:

'As proficient as anybody in dishing out a vicious beating in a nice, quiet police station cell, British cops are neither armed nor trained for the type of situation that arose in Brixton. The army, however, has developed ruthless professionalism in "police action" in the former empire and today in Northern Ireland. What the cops would like to do in Brixton is bring home the sort of treatment Britain's gendarmerie has traditionally meted out to blacks and Asians in the colonies -- not only for use against blacks, but in the expectation that there are bigger social explosions ahead.' (*Spartacist Britain* no 32, May 1981)

After that summer's ghetto upsurges, stockpiles of police weapons doubled overnight and a delegation of senior officers was despatched to Belfast to study the methods and weaponry of the RUC. The national coordination of police forces against minority youth in 1981 was a dress rehearsal for the effective centralisation of police forces operating against the striking miners today, reflecting an ominous tendency towards a unified national police.

For Britain's former colonial slaves, for the Irish, for blacks and Asians in Britain, many of the aspects of the Police Bill have long been a fact of life. Despite the supposed abolition of the notoriously racist 'sus' laws, more than half of London's West Indian population expect to be stopped without cause by cops in a year. Little more than a year ago, black youth Colin Roach was found dead from shotgun wounds in a London police station; racist murders are regularly dubbed 'death by misadventure'; and NUM picket David Jones was murdered by a strike-breaker under the watchful gaze of massive police presence. In one of the more publicised cases of police brutality, a middle-aged couple was recently awarded substantial damages by the courts after cops kicked down their door, tore up their house (in a London suburb) and severely beat them. Not to mention all the other outrages against democratic rights under the name of the Public Order Act, the Official Secrets Act or the PTA.

The Labourite organisers of the 'Campaign Against the Police Bill', raise the slogan

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## Crazy Qaddafi v 'Iron Lady' Thatcher

# Libyan embassy siege

Nobody can accuse Libya's Colonel Qaddafi of paying lip service to bourgeois democracy: as soon as a few dozen anti-Qaddafi Libyan students started picketing the Libyan embassy on April 17, they were answered by a hail of submachine gun bullets from the so-called 'People's Bureau', which was taken over by a 'student' committee in February as part of Qaddafi's latest campaign against dissidents abroad. Eleven demonstrators were wounded and a policewoman was killed. It was a taste of life in the Libyan 'Jamahiriyah' (Congregation).

But this is London, home of British imperialism, and more importantly, it was in St James's Square, where the upper crust walk, not to mention tourists. As the *Times* (18 April) snottily lectured, 'Britain cannot permit foreign wars to be fought on its soil.' Such violence is reserved by the British ruling class for places like, say, Northern Ireland, where the British army can do what it likes with the

local 'non-persons'. Labour leader Neil Kinnock, fresh from paying his condolences to the policeman's family, chimed in behind the *Times*: 'our country is not to be regarded as a battleground for anybody's factions'.

With this spontaneous popular front of classes cheering him on, Home Secretary Leon Brittan convened his terrorist group at 'Cobra', the Whitehall nerve centre in such crises. London police were quickly reinforced by a helicopter and blue-bereted members of D-11, Scotland Yard's firearms marksmen, and 'technicians' from MI5, while the 22nd Special Air Services (SAS) were reportedly placed on standby. What stopped the enraged British government from launching a massive assault was not so much diplomatic convention as the Libyan warning about 'the consequences', as Libyan troops surrounded the British embassy in Tripoli. A situation of mutual terror developed, and

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Police siege outside Libyan embassy.