

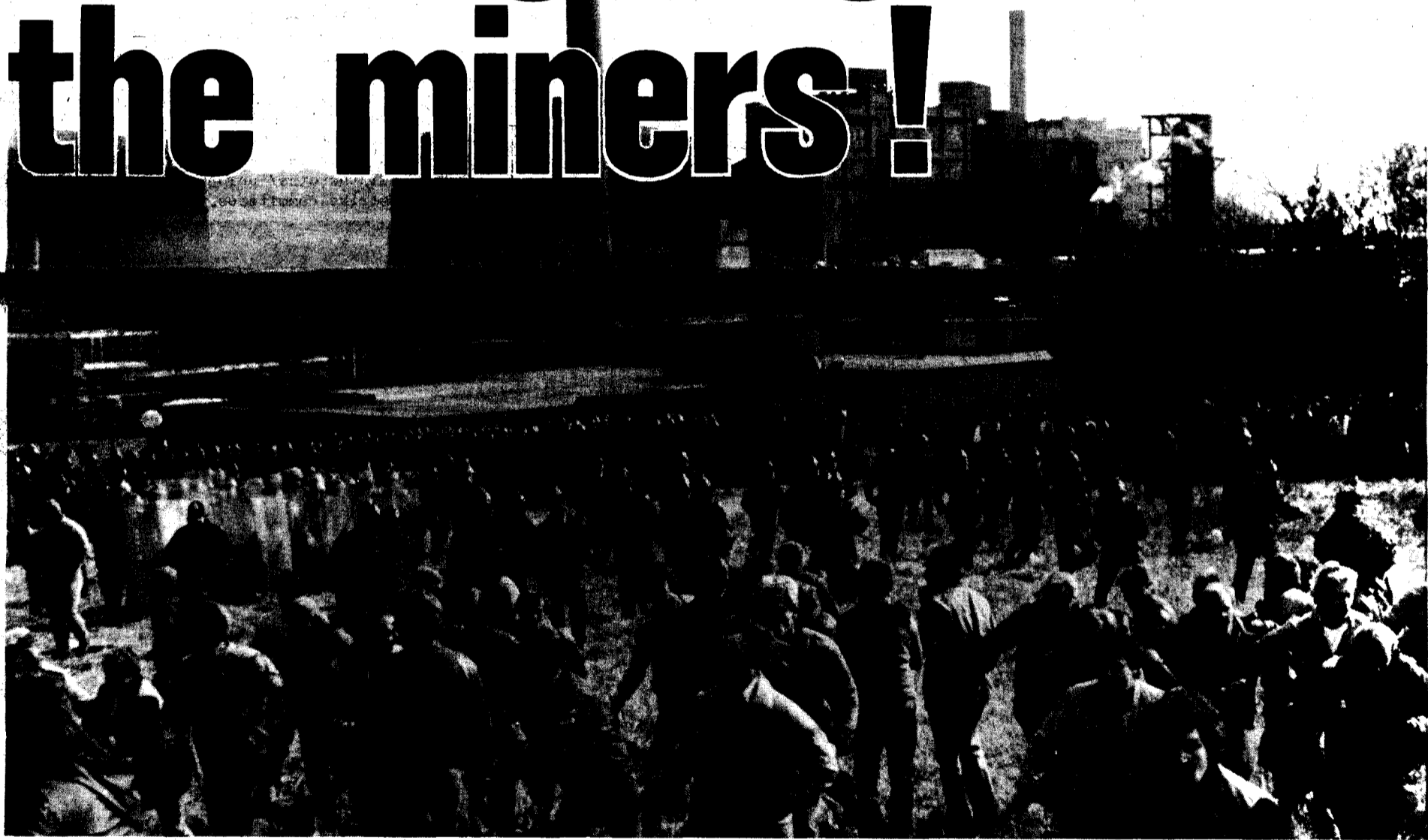


For immediate joint strike action!

Smash Tory

rampage against

the miners!



Riot police charge into picketing miners at Orgreave, 29 May. Tories are out for miners blood but TUC traitors sit on their hands.

The following is a reprint of a Spartacist League leaflet issued on May 31.

They're out to *kill* the miners! From the picket line murder of young militant David Jones the first week of this bitter three-month-old strike to the bloodthirsty Cossack charges at Orgreave in South Yorkshire, Thatcher and MacGregor have made their stand clear. They don't just want to close down some pits, they want to close down this whole goddamn union, and they want some militant miners' scalps as souvenirs. The Tories are waging full-scale civil war against Britain's workers with the same bloodlust the Iron Lady displayed against the 500 young men on the Belgrano.

No union, however militant, can take on the power of the capitalist state alone. The bosses' press is crowing about the miners' isolation. It is the treachery of the trade union misleaders, who have allowed the miners to fight alone, which emboldens the Tories and their cops to ever more provocative assaults on the NUM: the charges of riotous assembly after Mansfield, the imprisonment of

For mass labour mobilisations to smash cop terror in the coalfields!

Kent area president Malcolm Pitt, the arrest of Arthur Scargill and the scarcely veiled promise of more picket line killings by the Police Federation chairman. All it took was a dozen signalmen to shut down rail service in South Yorks on the day of action. It was the mobilisation of tens of thousands of engineering and other workers who downed tools that made Saltley Gates a success against massive police presence.

And right now, tens upon tens of thousands of workers from every union should be converging upon Orgreave in a mass labour mobilisation to shut down Orgreave, stop coke going to

Scunthorpe and to put a stop to the cop rampage *before* another miner dies. Scunthorpe -- and every other steel factory -- should be shut down through strike action. Bill Sirs' scabbing hasn't saved one steel job, either in 1980 or since. Scab deals which allow continued steel production in Ravenscraig, Port Talbot and Scunthorpe, are stabbing miners in the back. The Yorkshire and Humberside Regional TUC should be calling every union in the region out on strike -- and not just for a day. Militant strikers must not be allowed to get picked off in isolation by a vicious, well-armed police force. It is absolutely necessary to organise disciplined trade union defence guards as part of the mass mobilisations of union power. Militant miners must seek to initiate elected strike committees in every locality and at every level -- drawing in militants who want to spread the strike from other unions, from the women's support committees, from the minority communities which have years of brutal experience at the hands of racist police terror.

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Union militants speak at Spartacist meetings Fighting for a miners' victory

From week one of this strike, the Spartacist League and our trade union supporters have thrown our resources into fighting for a strategy that can win. We've got out close to 25,000 *Spartacist Britain* strike supplements and sold thousands more papers on picket lines and miners' rallies and demonstrations, despite the extreme financial hardship imposed on the strikers. Under the banner 'Miners must not stand alone!', Spartacist public meetings in Birmingham, London, Sheffield and several centres in the Yorkshire coalfield have featured guest speakers from the NUM as well as militants from other unions. Dick Hall, an official in the North Derbyshire NUM speaking in a personal capacity, told a May 1 meeting in Sheffield:

'The reason I'm here today is a promise I gave to a comrade at a meeting last week. And I made it quite plain that there were two meetings that I would not do. One was for the Revolutionary Communist Party, the RCP... I got a leaflet off them two weeks back which called the same as the scabs do today, for the ballot. I thought, well, that seems very, very funny, so I didn't want anything to do with them. And the other one was for the WRP who published the *News Line* with the scurrilous attack on Arthur Scargill at the TUC conference, which I thought was worse red-baiting than anything that was done in the *Sun*....'

Two miners from the Betteshanger Colliery, Kent NUM, spoke at a well-attended meeting 15 May in North London. Trade union militants from the NUR and NGA (again speaking in a personal capacity) intervened in a lively and interesting discussion period, and we reprint below extracts from three of these contributions as well as the meeting summary by the main speaker, comrade Eibhlin MacDonald of the Spartacist League.

* * * * *

NUR militants: 'Strike with the miners!'

What's the situation? We're ten weeks into the miners strike now, and Bob Reid, the British Rail chairman, turns around then tells British Rail that they can expect 3.5 per cent with strings attached. That's job losses. London Transport told its members it's 3.1 per cent with no strings and 4.5 per cent with strings. The strings are 6000 jobs. And in steel, at least one of the big plants is threatened, if not more.

If ever there was a time to save steel jobs, to save rail jobs and defend union conditions and get Thatcher, this is it. For some time now I've been arguing in the union with other brothers, some are here tonight, that the rail unions, the NUR and ASLEF, get out on strike

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Miners need a fighting programme to match their militancy and determination.

alongside the miners, a national strike. That is real solidarity. I put a motion to that effect about eight weeks ago now, nine weeks, stating that if our members are victimised for not moving coal ... then we should be on strike. And I've continued to argue for that as things have developed.

The way I see it in this country is that if you're a trade unionist, if you're black, Indian, if you're gay, if you're a woman, Thatcher hates you. She hates everybody in this country. The reason why she's doing all this now is because she's for having war against Russia. That's her aim. And she wants to beat the workforce back and all opposition to that world war against Russia. So we have to stand against that, in defence of our unions as well....

There is so much to be unleashed in Britain today, so much frustration and anger with five years of Thatcher, from Brixton to the mining industry, railways, everywhere, everybody in the working class hates Thatcher. And there's a real power to be unleashed. If only a half-decent leader would get up and say, swell the ranks with the unemployed, there's 4 or 5 million of them, on the picket lines; get these other unions there; call out the others. Then she could be beaten to her knees....

* * * * *

Yesterday I was in Mansfield with our union contingent, it was about 20 to 25 people. The demonstration marched quite peacefully; you didn't see so many cops around. After the demonstration we went to a pub. Certainly all the guys were pretty cheery, all those people coming out [to demonstrate]. Then we see the cops outside. Once you step out they come on you; they charge, provoke, and then arrest, till about half past five.... On the main road, where the coaches were held, we saw three miners unconscious, lying down. Meanwhile lots of arrests had been made. One of them was about a twelve year old kid. He was arrested. And miners were trying to pull the guy back, saying this is only a kid. For the cops it does not matter.

We took a cab, there was a black guy who was driving. I say, 'You get a lot of hassle from the cops?' 'Oh boy, I don't smile to them, I don't talk to them. We all have hassles from them, it's not only the miners.' The things the cops are implementing today are continuously practised in this country against the blacks, Asians, and in Northern Ireland. And the cops are learning from their bigger brothers in the army who fought in India and elsewhere. British imperialism and the British ruling class know this very well, how to divide and rule. They did it over centuries.

I have one slogan for all the working people, all the left-wing people, all the oppressed in this country: the bosses' cops are no friends of the workers, minorities. And right now they should be getting the fuck out of the coal-fields. Full stop! Everybody is talking of a police state and so forth. Well, the police are there and they are doing their dutiful work

right now. They're not doing something else. Right now the guns are not fully out, but I tell you they will, when push really comes to shove.

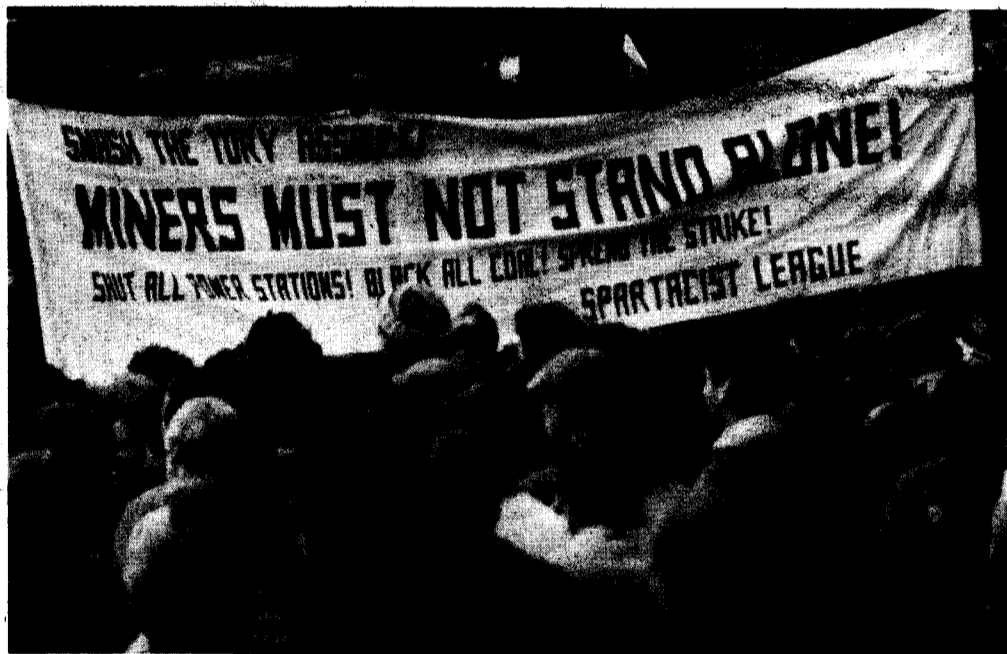
Meanwhile I want to make one point. It doesn't simply bleed your heart, but it really brings the whole hatred out in you. There is a tendency within the Labour Party called the Militant tendency, which calls for those cops to be unionised so they can have better fucking truncheons. And this is the Labour Party! The same Labour Party stood in the election [in 1983] for war against the Soviet Union, and I wouldn't be voting for that party and rightly the Spartacists said no vote to them. Because war on the Soviet Union, that is the workers state, is no different than the war on us all.

They have this spy centre in Cheltenham. They cannot afford to have unions down there. Reagan and Thatcher cannot go along with it. There are no unions now.... And then we have the NGA coming along. Well thanks very much Len Murray. It's too bad, I feel real bad that he's retiring. I wanted to sack the bastard [applause]. We've got to get rid of these traitors. They actually fight against the working class's objective interests.

And today the miners struggle. Brother, you say that the miners cannot win alone. That's true. And you praise the support you are getting. I'll tell you. 'Moral support', they say. Look, I said it in Kent and everywhere, our moral support is always with you. All the time. Money? You need money, I need money, we can exchange it, that's easy. But to win....

I talked to an NUR brother in Nottinghamshire. Our brothers are getting victimised for blacking coal. And he's continuously phoning to Unity House [NUR headquarters] in London. No response. Nothing is happening like it happened in the Wirral, [where you had] the whole workforce walking out. That, widely spreading nationwide, bringing out the NUR, that actually means something, you win something with that. But the leadership won't do it.

You know why? Because it is on the one hand the defence of the NUM, the whole trade union movement. But at the same time it poses dangers. When we establish with the NUR, ASLEF, NUM, all the other unions, our joint pickets, joint strike committees, these become alterna-



Spartacist League has been fighting for a strategy to win.

tive organs of power. They are all shit scared of that. And they won't be going along with it. Because they cannot go further than what they are today as union bureaucrats, confined to the limitations of this goddamned capitalist society, they are not prepared to defend the trade unions today. This is the central thing.

And now Arthur Scargill. Well, Arthur Scargill, he's wonderful, he walks on water. Everybody sings, 'Arthur Scargill, we support you ever more'. Now Arthur Scargill promises you guys a strike till autumn, a struggle till December. Whereas if we had come out, that strike wouldn't be lasting that long. In two weeks time it could be over. Like the steel strike, when you lads had to be coming out in the second damn week, so there wouldn't be a thirteen-week steel strike lost and 95,000 jobs gone. So Arthur Scargill concludes his speech yesterday saying that we will elect a Labour government. Put Neil Kinnock in Number Ten and carry on his 'ballot' business. That's right. People were chanting yesterday, 'Stick your ballot up your arse!' Like the Yorkshire miners said, 'Bollocks to the ballot!' Thereby comes the whole question -- bollocks to the Labour Party's overall strategy. What we need is a revolutionary party, which can lead the proletariat towards its own state power! [applause]

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The miners strike and the crisis of leadership

How to break the strikebreakers

Twelve weeks of bitter struggle, thousands of arrests, one murder -- and still the miners stand alone. After a week of the bloodiest strikebreaking violence in recent memory outside Orgreave coke plant, one picket had suffered a fractured skull, dozens more had been injured and hundreds arrested. Against waves of vicious police charges, strikers fought back with anything they could lay their hands on -- stones, fence posts, poles -- at one point overturning and setting fire to a portable police field headquarters. Even as Arthur Scargill pronounced 'optimism' following secret talks with the NCB, ruling-class mouthpieces like the *Sunday Times* were screaming for more blood at Orgreave. And that vile excuse for a Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, could only heap calumny on the 'violence' of the strikers!

The Tories' vindictive attempt to starve women and children as ransom against the miners' militancy has steeled entire communities behind the strike. Thousands of women from the coalfields demonstrated in Barnsley on May 12. Hundreds have taken their rightful place on the picket lines, facing down strikebreakers and police truncheons, as symbolised by the arrest of Anne Scargill. But no union, however militant, can take on capitalist state power alone. This strike must spread to win. And the missing ingredient is a leadership committed to a revolutionary strategy of class struggle.

What is Scargill's answer?

The fundamental line-up that exists today in the miners strike was laid down last September at Blackpool. When the Cold War TUC rights went after Scargill for his condemnation of counter-revolutionary Polish Solidarnosc and no one, including TUC 'lefts' like Moscow-line Communist Party member Ken Gill, rose to his defence, it set the stage for Thatcher's union-busting assault and the NUM's current isolation. Scargill puts the rest of this lot to shame. At least he is prepared to stand up to the anti-Soviet war drive, take on Thatcher and stand with his men on the picket line. But to break out of the isolation and mobilise the ranks of other unions would require a political struggle and split with the Labour/TUC misleaders. This Scargill cannot do, because he shares their fundamental programme of Labourism and narrow trade unionism.

Addressing thousands of militants who turned out in Mansfield May 14, the NUM president said:

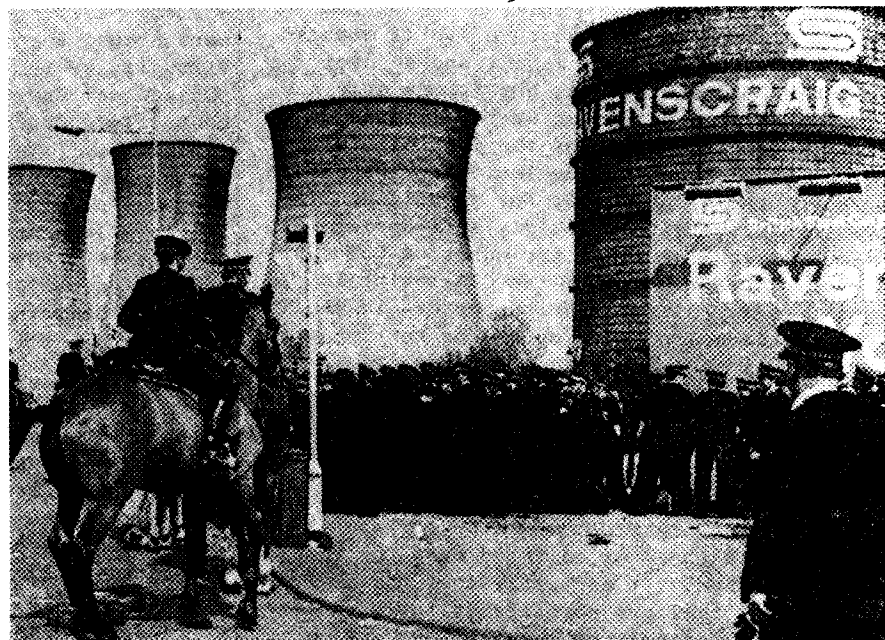
'We will turn the tide and turn unemployment into employment. We will turn economic ruin into economic recovery. Above all, we will pave the way for a general election to elect a Labour government.'

And that, above all, means to subordinate the needs of the class struggle to a unity of treachery with the Labour/TUC misleaders. Thus in his

15 May reply to the scurrilous anti-union rubbish in the *Daily Express*, Scargill whitewashes the role of his fellow TUC 'lefts': 'We have witnessed tremendous solidarity from other unions, and in particular the transport unions, which have been absolutely magnificent.' Absolutely magnificent? Turning a blind eye to blacklegging, letting coal shipments through, suppressing solidarity strike action. One Yorkshire miner expressed the bitter disappointment of many over the sellout wage settlement pushed through by the NUR/ASLEF 'lefts': 'It could have been the spark that started something.' To mobilise the tens of thousands of militants who want to join the miners on strike means mobilising them against the treachery of their misleaders.

And what will a Labour government do to turn the tide? Scargill waves around the 'Plan for Coal' as the road to 'saving British industry' under capitalism, through import quotas and more government subsidies for nationalised industries. What it boils down to is pitting coal miners against other workers, British against foreign workers in a dog-eat-dog scramble for a dwindling number of jobs; and taxing the hell out of the working population to support the bankers and former pit owners who leech off the nationalised industries. And it fuels nationalism and racism.

This policy is being played out with disastrous effect in the current strike, as Ravenscraig, Port Talbot and Scunthorpe scab to the hilt to avoid being the one factory BSC intends to close down. It won't -- and can't -- work, because the cutback in steel production is taking place internationally. So instead of steelworkers joining the miners on the picket lines in a fight against all redundancies around the demand for worksharing on full pay and jobs



Ravenscraig steelworks: Polish Stalinists supply scab coal while Solidarnosc-loving anti-Communist Bill Sirs orders his members to break miners strike.

for all, instead of linking up with French steelworkers and West German metalworkers fighting over the same issues, this nationalist protectionism feeds right into the bosses' schemes to 'divide and rule' -- and ruin. When Scargill boasts that Britain produces the cheapest deep-mined coal in the world, he neglects one factor: Britain vies with southern Italy for having among the lowest paid labour in Western Europe.

The tactics needed to win this strike aren't hard to figure. But seriously implementing them requires a revolutionary perspective. Because if railworkers and lorry drivers stop delivering coal, if dockers stop unloading it, if power and steelworkers stop handling it, the whole country stops. And then the question is posed: who runs the country, the government or the unions? It is that spectre of revolution which the reformist labour leaders, 'left' and right, hate and fear. Remember: A J Cook, whom Scargill admires, was instrumental in providing a left cover for the betrayers of the 1926 General Strike.

'Left' reformism at a dead end

What was and is objectively necessary today is a general strike. But given the Cold War line-up in the Labour Party/TUC drawn in blood over the NGA and GCHQ, to call on Murray & Co to implement that demand at this point is absurd. As one Yorkshire miner, Dave Miller, put it, handing over the miners strike to the TUC would be like giving it to an anaconda. The Spartacist League has fought for a strategy to spread the strike, particularly to the key and powerful ancillary industries. SL supporters in the T&G at BL Rover Solihull and in London Transport NUR have fought for solid blacking and joint strike action. At a May 31 mass meeting of T&G bus drivers in Sheffield to discuss a wage dispute, an SL supporter fought for immediate strike action to link up with the miners and organise mass labour mobilisation to Orgreave to stop the cop rampage.

As for the numerous groups who masquerade as 'Communists' or 'Trotskyists', far from offering a revolutionary alternative to Scargill they have attacked him from the right -- on anything from support to the scab ballot to reliance on Murray to their near-universal adulation for the Polish scab 'union' Solidarnosc. *Militant* (10 May) advises miners to organise 'flying squads' to Notts 'armed' with leaflets, posters, pamphlets, facts and figures'. Trotsky called strike pickets the nucleus of the workers militia; they want a travelling WEA.

Then there is *Socialist Action*, whose crowning demand eight weeks into the strike was 'The labour movement must force a general election!' (*Socialist Action*, May 4). This outfit increasingly has one answer to every question -- get Neil into Number 10. And the CP, which actually has significant weight in the trade unions, has its leading trade union supporters like Jack Adams presiding over the use of scab coal. (And we're not just talking about the majority Euros who want nothing more than to jump into bed with the Russia-hating, union-hating SDP.) As miners' skulls were being cracked in Orgreave, the 31 May *Morning Star* advised 'take pit fight to Parliament', enthusing over the proposed parliamentary lobby.

Two groups which are occasionally more critical of the bureaucrats are the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers Power (WP). The SWP's phoney rank-and-file militancy amounts to pressuring the bureaucrats like all the rest. The May *Socialist Review* tells us 'Even Joe

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NGA member: 'Shut down Fleet Street!'

You had an action by the print unions today not to print on the front page of the *Sun* this gross picture of Scargill, which was an obvious provocation, and the headline, 'Mine Fuehrer'. I'm a member of the NGA and a supporter of the Spartacist League, and I found out this week that my union gave £10,000 to the NUM for this strike. It's commendable. But it's blood money from the NGA, because they were on strike. I was in Warrington and the grossest thing I saw in Warrington was the leadership standing on one side not showing the lead and cheering on the arrests. And once again the question of leadership is raised.

So you have this one action today, where you don't print this picture and a headline; the article, however, goes in, and the editorial. Their action should be to shut down Fleet Street. They have the power to do that. And to put out a strike daily for the miners.... [applause]

* * * * *

Summary: Miners fought the bosses in WWII as well

I have just one point to make, because there has been quite a lot of discussion about war, war on the Soviet Union and so forth. It's quite clear that is what the ruling class is preparing for. And there has been a lot of discussion about the Labour Party and its strategy of nationalism, protectionism and so forth. It's quite clear where it leads is supporting your own ruling class in a war. They did it in August

1914, when they sent, they went along with the capitalists sending, hundreds of thousands out to die in the trenches. And they did it in the Second World War.

Now it would be very easy to believe, particularly in Britain, from the social-democratic leaders, that the entire working class in this country went along whole hog with the dictates of the capitalist class. This is not so. In the war of intervention against the Soviet Union there was a campaign that was launched particularly by the London dockers, the Hands Off Russia campaign, which is part of the working-class history in this country which is consistently buried, but is something we like to stand on. Because it made it impossible for the British imperialists to continue to wage war on the Soviet Union.

Also during the Second World War, when it was established that the working class was supposed to go along with its own ruling class. It's particularly gratifying that we have here tonight miners from Betteshanger. They have a proud tradition. They went on strike during the Second World War in recognition that their interests did not lie with Churchill, that their interests did not lie with their own ruling class in war. And that comes from the recognition that their interests do not lie with their own ruling class in peacetime. Those kind of traditions we like to have remembered in the British working class. Those kind of traditions we like to stand on. Sometimes it is necessary to swim against the stream. But if it's necessary, then that's what we do, like the Betteshanger miners did in the Second World War. [applause]

Strikebreakers...

(Continued from page 3)

Gormley was forced to lead an official miners' strike' and, better yet, 'the response over Cheltenham was marvellous, but it was only a minority united behind Len Murray'. These defeatists openly despair of the possibility of forging an alternative revolutionary leadership in the course of struggle. Not surprising. The 'downturn' theory this rabidly anti-Soviet lot has been preaching since the onset of Cold War dovetails remarkably with the CIA-loving TUC rights' 'new realism'. SWP supporters in steel, rail and elsewhere have fought for nothing more than what is acceptable to the bureaucracy -- financial support to the miners.

Trying to posture more 'left', WP calls on Murray to call a general strike, which it then tries to justify in its 16 May front page:

'Some may argue that to call on the TUC to call a general strike would be to "sow illusions in them" or to "hand over the leadership to them." It certainly does not sow any illusions that are not already there.

'If we do not call on them to take action then the TUC will feel free to use the marvellous alibi that "the miners have not asked for this sort of help."

In the wake of Blackpool, the NGA and GCHQ, about the only people who do have illusions in Murray are WP and its fellow fake revolutionaries. A month earlier, WP used a similar line of reasoning to justify its support for the scab ballot. For WP, the call on Murray to organise a general strike is a fake-militant substitute for fighting to spread the strike on the ground. While they're waiting on the likes of Len Murray to act, it's no wonder that SWP and WP supporters at BL Longbridge have no time to demand an end to the handling of scab coal there.

The road to power

The vile scabbing by the Polish Stalinist regime has handed all these Cold War 'socialists' just the issue they need to reaffirm their fundamental loyalty to the anti-Communist labour lieutenants of British imperialism. They fawn

over the class traitors at the head of the British workers movement but, oh, the perfidy of the Poles! One and all (with the exception of the embarrassed Moscow-line editors of the *Morning Star*), they moan if only Solidarnosc were around things would be alright. Like hell! Virtually every trade union in the world expressed solidarity with the American air traffic controllers crushed by Reagan ... except Polish 'Solidarity'! The virulently Stalinophobic *Socialist Organiser* (24 May) of Sean Matgamna even calls for a retaliatory boycott 'on the Polish government if they continue to ship coal to Britain'. Why not all-out war -- to spread to the Polish proletariat the fine benefits of English 'democratic socialism'?

The planned economy in Poland and the other deformed/degenerated workers states is an historic gain for the international proletariat which must be unconditionally defended. Thatcher's war against the unions and minorities is integrally linked to the war drive against the Soviet bloc states. Thus we Trotskyists say: Stop Solidarnosc counterrevolution in Poland! Defend the workers unions! Defend the workers states! The Stalinists' nationalist perspective of 'socialism in one country' which leads them to scab on workers' struggles undermines that defence. What is needed in Poland and the other deformed/degenerated workers states is proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. A revolutionary workers government in Poland would cancel the bloodsucking debt to the West German bankers whilst aiding British and German workers against their common class enemies, as Soviet Russia did before it definitively succumbed to Stalinist degeneration in the 1920s. Instead the Polish Stalinists scab on the British miners to get hold of a bit more hard currency to funnel back to the gnomes of Frankfurt.

It's no accident that the labour bureaucrats who most hate the Soviet Union most violently oppose class struggle at home. The 'Russian question' is the question of a revolution. And that is why the Cold War 'socialists' can offer British workers no road forward. The 19 May *Socialist Worker* ran the following item: 'The forced industrialisation launched by Stalin in 1928 turned Russia into the world's second

industrial power. But the workers in the new factories were deprived of any control over production and of all political power. The result was to restore capitalism in Russia.' Well, if that's capitalism, maybe we need a dose of it here. Because in the same period Britain's gone from being the world's second industrial power to virtually a Third World country.

As the Polish example shows, even the worst, most deformed planned economy is qualitatively superior to the anarchy of capitalism. From 1960 to 1980 the output of Polish mines increased from 104 million to almost 200 million tons, with a slight increase in underground miners. In the same period the number of miners in Britain was slashed from almost 500,000 to under 200,000, while both the actual coal tonnage and productivity decreased. Instead of an already pathetic NHS which is being dismantled, Polish workers can expect decent, free medical care from cradle to grave. There may be meat queues in Poland, but at least you won't find half the population can't afford meat, nor will you find mass unemployment. In fact there's a shortage of labour in the Polish mines and they have to pay an 80 per cent bonus to attract workers.

There is a way to rebuild British industry, to revitalise the burnt-out shell of the Rhondda Valley. It requires the smashing of the racist, strikebreaking capitalist state and the revolutionary expropriation of the parasitic banks, coupon clippers and bosses followed by some ambitious five-year plans. The Labourism of Scargill and the fake-revolutionary left notwithstanding, any government that rests on bankrupt British capitalism, whether Tory or Labour, will mercilessly screw the working class in order to maintain sagging profits. So the last Labour government meant Social Contract and army strikebreaking. Workers need a revolutionary party, forged through splitting Labour's working-class base away from its pro-capitalist misleaders. The miners' crucial class battle must be won. But the strategy for victory is inseparably linked to the fight to forge a revolutionary leadership throughout the labour movement. Miners must not stand alone -- Spread the strike -- Bring the Iron Lady to her knees! Forward to a revolutionary workers government! Build a Trotskyist vanguard party! ■

CP supporter Jack Adams sanctions blacklegging Stop scab coal in BL!

We reprint below selections from a 23 May leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League at BL Longbridge and Rover Solihull, where the unions have outrageously been handling scab coal throughout the miners strike. In Rover last March, Spartacist supporters initiated a motion calling for all movement and use of coal to be blacked, but despite widespread support local officials have sat on the resolution for months. Upon discovering that scab coal was coming into the plant, the same militants last month initiated a petition that the 'Joint Shop Stewards Committee [JSSC], take all necessary action to completely stop the use of all coal and the transport of coal onto the site', including strike action if necessary to implement this. The petition was endorsed by 60 Rover workers and 4 stewards and presented as a motion to the TGWU-dominated stewards committee. To the disgust of those militants who signed it, the motion was defeated by a substantial majority.

At Longbridge, as the leaflet notes, the question of scab coal didn't even come up at the May 16 JSSC meeting. The Longbridge convenor, Jack Adams, is a T&G official and a supporter of the Communist Party. The T&G is supposed to be officially supporting the miners, including by blacking coal. For its part, the CP regularly mutters words of 'solidarity'. But Adams brazenly defended the scabbing at Longbridge to a *Spartacist Britain* reporter: 'We get normal deliveries of coal and coal is then moved around within the plant'. It is hardly surprising to find CP supporters undermining basic union principles when you recall their recent record in BL. It was the CP's 1980 sellout of Derek Robinson, the Longbridge convenor and CP supporter provocatively sacked by management, which gave the green light for Michael Edwards' union-bashing offensive against the workforce. At the time the CP accepted a scab management 'enquiry', instructing workers who had walked out in Robinson's defence to go back to work.

The fake Trotskyists, from the centrist Workers Power group (WP) to the Socialist Workers Party and Militant, all tail the CP in

a virtual conspiracy of silence when it comes to active solidarity with the miners through blacking and joint strike action. One WP supporter even tried to pretend that such betrayals were 'okay' because coal stocks were going down anyway. SWP supporters had nothing to say about the use and importation of scab coal to Longbridge until after our leaflet exposed the situation. Then one of them tried to claim the SWP had been fighting to black coal -- but couldn't explain why the question wasn't even raised at the JSSC meeting he attended. And at Rover, Militant supporters refused to have anything to do with the petition until they saw the support for it on the shopfloor, when they were finally pressured into presenting the motion to the stewards committee.

One Rover worker who had signed the petition captured the feelings of many others when he declared that by tearing up the motion, Joe Harris (Rover convenor) was throwing away the only decent trade unionists in the plant who wanted to fight alongside the miners. The number of signatures collected in just one section of the Rover plant gives the lie to those fake-lefts who whine that they cannot get support for solidarity action. The appetite for class battle is there, what is needed is a revolutionary programme and leadership.

For the last eleven weeks the miners have been fighting for the very existence of effective trade unionism in Britain. If the miners lose, we all lose! Basic trade union principles mean that coal must not be touched. Black all coal! But in Longbridge and Rover Solihull not only is coal being used everyday, it is coming into the plants by the lorryload.

* At Longbridge there are 'normal deliveries' of coal. Coal is being moved around inside the plant and worked as normal.

* At Rover Solihull last Wednesday (May 16) an unmarked lorry full of coal came in to add to the major stockpile on the site. The same day the boilerhouse coal bunker had been replen-

ished. All reports indicate that this scab lorry is only the latest of many.

The scab coal in BL must be blacked! Not one piece of coal should be worked, not one lorryload should get through the gates. Whichever union applies the blacking, every union, every worker must be prepared to strike if necessary to stop management attempts to victimise workers for solidarity action with the miners.

In 1972 thousands of car workers and engineers in Birmingham downed tools and marched out to back the miners picket of Saltley Coke Depot. The cops were powerless, the depot was shut and the miners went on to victory. This is the kind of solidarity action the miners need today.

But what are the plant leaderships doing today? Apart from a few phone calls ... bummer all. At last Wednesday's (May 16) Longbridge Joint Shop Stewards Committee meeting the question of the scab coal wasn't even mentioned. Using the alibi 'When we're asked by the NUM to black coal we'll black it', supporters of the Communist Party (CP) like Jack Adams are content to see scab coal lorries roll into Longbridge. Meanwhile, supporters of the make-believe militant *Socialist Worker* and *Workers Power* sit on their hands and keep their mouths shut.

However, at Rover it was a supporter of the Spartacist League who raised a motion in his TGWU branch calling for the blacking of all coal in BL and for strike action in the event of victimisations.

These betrayals by CP and Labour 'left' bureaucrats are being repeated nationally throughout the unions. They have refused to fight for strike action alongside the miners, not even on the railways when British Rail's pay offer was turned down or on the docks after scabs unloaded blacked coal at Hunterston. The T&G's call to black coal is a dead letter whilst Moss Evans and Ron Todd's policy in reality is no different from that of Bill Sirs. In contrast, the Spartacist League is fighting to spread the miners strike into a *working class counter-offensive*: the miners must not stand alone! Rail, steel, power, join the strike now! ■

Metalworkers shake West Germany

The following article, reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 356 (8 June), is based on a supplement to *Spartakist*, paper of our German comrades of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*.

'Arnold Lutsch says he has been pushed past the breaking point.

'For four years, his real take-home has dwindled. Many of his friends have lost their jobs. He lives in fear that his job will be taken by a robot.

'I'm not going to end up in the garbage can without a fight," he says.' (*Wall Street Journal*, 30 May)

So said a militant German metalworker at a big Mercedes-Benz plant. From Bremen in the north to Munich in the south, from Worth in the Rhineland to Wolfsburg in Lower Saxony one of the most important branches of West German industry -- the motor industry -- is now paralysed. Two hundred thousand workers are on strike or locked out. In Bonn on May 28 a reported 200,000 trade unionists marched against the right-wing Christian Democratic Kohl/Strauss government, demanding a 35-hour week and unemployment compensation for those workers locked out. In Stuttgart, Koblenz and other cities scabs have violently attacked striking printers, sending several to the hospital. While killing strikers on the picket line has become almost commonplace in the United States, in West Germany, with its social-democratic notion of 'harmony' between labour and capital, these are shocking events. The Federal Republic of Germany -- long regarded as the stable core of NATO Europe -- could well be on the verge of the biggest class battle since its formation in 1949.

Certainly, the social-democratic bureaucrats of the metalworkers (IG Metall) -- the largest union in the world -- did not intend this. In mid-May they began a selective strike of car parts plants in the heavily industrial Baden-Wurtemberg region as a pressure tactic for a shorter working week. As one IG Metall spokesman explained, 'We deliberately began the strike small in order to give the employers the chance to keep the damages small through negotiations' (*Der Spiegel*, 21 May). But the best-laid plans of mice and wily reformist bureaucrats often go awry. During the recent world depression the West German car industry adopted the Japanese system of maintaining almost no parts inventory. So after a few days car plants throughout the country ran out of supplies, especially pistons, and soon began closing down. To date 150,000 workers have been locked out in this way.



Metalworkers strike for 35-hour week threatens major class explosion in Germany.

The Kohl/Strauss government is directly supporting the mass lockout, since the Federal Labour Office refuses to give car workers the unemployment and short-time compensation to which they are legally entitled. One IG Metall bureaucrat expressed indignation that the government's action is 'a clear violation of neutrality at the expense of the union'. Only a German social democrat could believe that the capitalist state would help finance a major strike. A serious fight with the bosses demands sacrifices. The German workers know this and are prepared for it.

This is not the first time the IG Metall bureaucracy has raised the demand for the 35-hour week. In 1979 when West German workers were seething over mass layoffs, the union tops siphoned off the anger into a pressure campaign for a shorter working week. That was under a Social Democratic (SPD) government. No doubt the union bureaucrats had something similar in mind this time. But now with the Christian Democrats in power and West German workers facing mass unemployment for the first time in decades, the mood in the working class has changed dramatically. After the SPD was ousted in a parliamentary coup in the autumn of 1982, hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated in the streets against the Kohl-Strauss regime. A year later, in September 1982, militant shipbuilding workers facing mass layoffs occupied the HDW dockyards in Bremen and Hamburg. Already the metalworkers striking for a shorter working week have forced the bureaucrats' hand going beyond the original plans for piecemeal actions. And the employers have broken off negotiations.

With mass lockouts in the motor industry and the provocations by the Kohl/Strauss regime,

German bosses ought to be met with a general strike. In the first place, the entire membership of IG Metall and the printers' union must go out. The car workers must be joined by other key sectors hit with mass redundancies: coal, steel, shipyards! Occupy the struck factories! It is the bosses who should be locked out, and the doors shut tight. Instead of pressuring to bring back the SPD, West German workers need revolutionary class struggle for a workers government which can put an end to capitalist mass unemployment and imperialist war!

A struggle to widen and deepen this strike is also necessarily a struggle against the reformist union bureaucrats. Metalworkers misleader Hans Mayr has promised the

bosses, 'IG Metall is not planning wider strike authorisation votes to solve the problem by broadening the strike front' (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 22 May). Mayr & Co are in their element not on the picket lines but rather with one hand on the West German constitution and the other under the bargaining table. The IG Metall bureaucrats would quickly settle for a token reduction of the working week such as the 39-hour week introduced by the Mitterrand social democrats in France. Moreover, Mayr says the IG Metall demand 'does not mean equal wage increases along with shortened working

time'. So the bureaucrats' plan amounts to a swindle involving a wage cut combined with speedup (not to mention the loss in real wages due to inflation)!

But a sellout along these lines may not be so easy to arrange. The campaign for a 35-hour week with no loss in pay has tapped the German working class' hatred for the Kohl/Strauss regime and its deep-seated fears of mass unemployment. In the IG Metall strike authorisation votes over 80 per cent of the workers voted to go out. Workers at Daimler-Benz walked out spontaneously without official union authorisation.

At the same time, the 35-hour week, which the reformist bureaucrats present as a cure-all for mass unemployment, is entirely inadequate for the situation facing the West German working class. According to the most optimistic reformist propaganda, 700,000 future layoffs could be prevented and 700,000 new jobs created. That means in the best case there would still remain over 2 million unemployed! The workers must fight for a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay to share the available jobs among the entire workforce, especially those now unemployed. For 30 hours work at 40 hours pay!

The capitalists can be forced to grant the 35-hour week, not to speak of a sliding scale of hours and wages, only when the working class poses the question of power. In Italy, for example, it was the 'hot autumn' of 1969 -- when workers took over factories throughout the industrial belt, creating an explosive pre-revolutionary situation -- which won wage indexation, automatically linking wages to the cost of living. Of course, under capitalism such gains won in battle are always reversible. And today the NATO Socialist Craxi regime is trying to dismantle the *scala mobile*. To abolish unemployment, impoverishment and war requires international proletarian revolution leading to a Socialist United States of Europe.

In West Germany, as well as in the rest of capitalist Europe, the depression of the early 1980s produced conditions not seen since the terrible hardships of the early post-war years. Today, after a year or so of modest recovery, unemployment in West Germany is still over 9 per cent, a level not experienced since the devastation and chaos of 1945-48. Spurred on by fears of another cyclical downturn and determined to get back what they've lost while business is on the upswing, the working class throughout West Europe is in a fighting mood. This has been a 'hot spring' of class struggle in all the major Common Market countries -- the metalworkers' and printers' strikes in West Germany, the explosive resistance of French steel and car workers to Mitterrand's austerity policies, the militant miners strike in Thatcher's Britain and battles to defend the *scala mobile* in Italy. What is needed is international proletarian unity in struggle -- especially strike solidarity actions across national borders -- against the Europe of the Common Market and NATO.

The need for international working-class struggle, as well as the destructive irrationality of capitalism, is nowhere clearer than in

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German Trotskyists at 30 October 1982 Stuttgart demo. Banner reads: 'Bring down the Kohl government through mass strikes! Break with the SPD! For a workers government!'

Building a revolutionary pa

We reprint below an abridged version of a presentation given by Diana Coleman, of the Spartacist League/US, at a 15 May London Spartacist League public meeting. Comrade Coleman stood as Spartacist candidate in the San Francisco Board of Supervisors (Council) elections in 1982.

I want to talk a little bit tonight about the American labour movement and some of the work the Spartacist League has done in the United States. In Reagan's America it's open season on blacks, the unions, the poor, illegal aliens, commies, women, everybody. And if Reagan is the commander-in-chief of the war on labour and minorities, the field marshals of this war are the big city Democratic Party mayors, who were there before Reagan with a budget axe and with the racist police. As for what I will call the fake left in the United States, they support the Democrats -- a bourgeois party and, in fact, the preferred party of the US bourgeoisie in times of economic crisis and imperialist war because of their ties to labour and minorities. For instance the Communist Party in the States have a newspaper which says vote for Gus Hall, Communist Party leader, but they all wear buttons which say vote for Jesse Jackson, Democrat.

We knew that when Reagan was elected we were going to be very alone on the left. It was clear to us that as the political scene moved rightward in the US, the rest of the left was going to move right with it. It's quite clear that our opposition to US imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive is very linked to our call for class struggle at home, because those who are supporting the Democratic Party are not going to be leading any kind of class struggle. In fact in the US there's not much attempt on the part of the left to lead much of anything. They can't. It's an election year.

So our organisation, though very small by comparison to the number of working class people who live in the United States, has been highlighted in a number of different situations because we are the only ones who call for class struggle. I went to a left meeting recently and someone said, 'Oh you people, the Sparts, everyone on the left hates you.' And I thought about it for a minute and I thought it was really true what he said, everyone on the left does hate us. The only ones who like us are workers and black people.

Last year there was a national phone workers strike. It was accompanied by a great deal of management violence. As people can probably tell from reading the newspapers, no strike in the United States is complete unless some picketer is murdered, usually run down by a scab. Now we have supporters who work for the phone company, who are in the Militant Action Caucus in the Communication Workers union [CWA], and who represent a class struggle opposition to the leadership there. They have a programme which says no to the Democrats and Republicans, smash Klan/Nazi terror, against the anti-Soviet war drive, and for a workers party and a workers government. And in this strike the Militant Action Caucus was calling for mass picketing, for militant picket lines, and often were active in helping to set them up.

In the aftermath of that strike, which the CWA leadership managed to sell out (they are a quite reactionary, pro-CIA bureaucracy), the phone company and the District Attorney's office in Alameda County, which is Oakland, attempted to victimise two Militant Action Caucus members. Lauren Mozee, who is a black woman, was on her trade union picket line and she was approached by a white, scab manager, who struck her and called her a 'black nigger bitch'. Lauren defended herself and her companion, Ray, came to her assistance. But in racist capitalist America, where it's okay to run down the picketers, it is a crime to defend yourself if you are a union person. So a bunch of charges were faked up against them including all sorts of assault charges, which could have sent them both to jail for eight years.

It's very clear they were out to victimise these two because they were an interracial couple, because Lauren was a former member of the Black Panther Party, and because they're socialist union militants. They were both fired from their jobs, denied unemployment [benefit], and they have two kids to support, so their situation was pretty difficult. Our supporters in the Communication Workers union set up the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, and working with this committee the Spartacist League set about to mobilise the union and minority support for this case. Delegations went out to different unions to get support and financial contributions. Whenever they had to go to a court hearing, a whole series of them, union members were mobilised to go with them. And most importantly we attempted to mobilise for a united



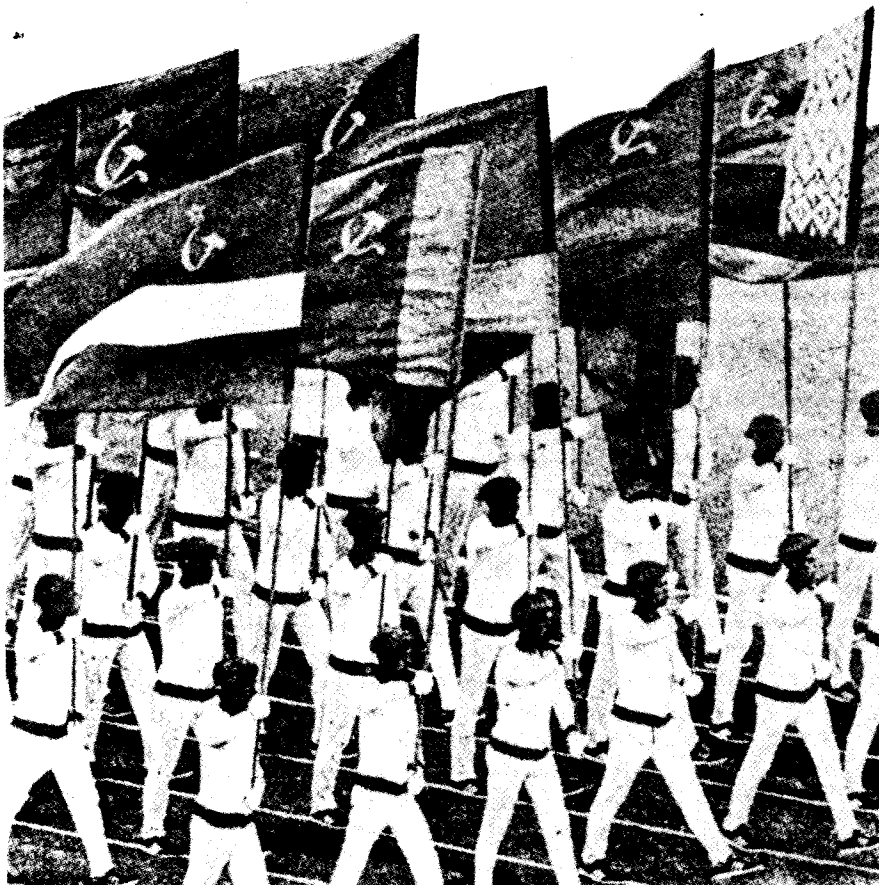
Labour-black mobilisation to defend class-struggle militants Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee against racist anti-labour frame-up, Oakland, 29 October 1983.

front demonstration in Oakland, under the slogan 'Stop the racist anti-labour frame-up!'

This became a real focus in the Bay Area for the outrage that people felt not only about this incident, but about the state of society in general. For union militants who were tired of scabs walking across picket lines, this became their case. For many blacks, who were sick and tired of seeing one more black youth strangled by the cops using the choke-hold -- they took up this case. Or for those who saw with disbelief that a

Russians to Reagan: shove it!

Soviets say 'nyet' to NATO Olympics



The Russians have already won the XXIII Olympiad. America's rulers incited and sanctioned a campaign of intimidation, harassment, even possible kidnapping and right-wing violence against Soviet-bloc Olympic teams. Going beyond the usual patriotic flag-waving, they have been gearing up for a real orgy of anti-Communism in Los Angeles next month. The purpose: to mobilise the population for war against the Soviet Union. But Moscow finally said 'Enough!' and told Reagan to take his Cold War games and shove 'em. The withdrawal of the USSR and East Germany in particular, the top medal winners from the last two Olympics, along with other allied nations, means the absence from the games of the world's greatest athletes, and reduces the games to a farce. Now the 'first capitalist games' will explicitly be nothing but the 'NATO Olympics'.

First there was Democrat Carter's boycott of the 1980 Moscow games; now it's Republican

Reagan scuttling the Los Angeles Olympics. When the Russians refused to get shafted, Washington wailed: 'the Soviets are saying they are so angry they won't play games with us any more', as one State Department official remarked. These are not just games. And contrary to the talk of a 'double-cross', Soviet officials have been complaining for months about the lack of adequate security in LA. A Kremlin spokesman replied, 'Now the whole world will understand the Soviet government will do what it says it will' (*Time*, 21 May).

The Cold War provocations over the '84 Olympics are part of a far broader, sinister programme of pushing the Soviet Union into war. In the last nine months we have seen the dispatching of KAL Flight 007, with over 200 aboard, on a suicide spy mission over ultra-sensitive Soviet military bases; the ramming of Russian subs from the Bermuda Triangle to the Sea of Japan; CIA mines blowing holes in Soviet tankers in Nicaraguan harbours; manhandling Soviet embassy personnel during the US pirate invasion of Grenada. World wars have been started for less. Most ominous was the stationing of first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in West Europe, six to eight minutes flying time from Moscow. Now Congress has approved going ahead with the MX missiles designed to take out the Russians' entire strategic arsenal. Reagan wants to return to the post-WWII era of nuclear blackmail.

party in Reagan's America

Los Angeles cop shot a five-year-old black child sitting in his mother's bedroom at five feet with a 350 Magnum, and that for this crime the particular cop received \$35,000 in 'workmen's compensation' as a bounty. One can't do much for Patrick Mason, the child, except call for vengeance now. But Lauren and Ray were out of jail and for many people this became their struggle, to fight against two more people becoming victims. It really struck a chord in black Oakland.

At this point the District Attorney decided that this had become a political headache, beyond what it was worth, and beyond the pressure he was getting from the phone company to pursue it. So the charges were all dropped or reduced. There was a real victory for the working class that Lauren and Ray won't go to jail, and it showed in a small way the power the working class has when mobilised.

Labour/black mobilisations stop the fascists

In many ways I think the Spartacist League of the US is best known at this point for some of its anti-fascist work. In San Francisco, where I live, in 1980 the Nazis said they were going to march and celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. So the Spartacist League began to organise a united front demonstration around the slogan 'Sweep the Nazis off the streets of San Francisco'. I went around to all the different left groups, many of them people who I know pretty well since I was born there and I've been there most of my life. But I could not get them for love or money to endorse this demonstration. Just no way. Because they had a different perspective -- they went down to the mayor's office and asked her if she would ban the Nazis from marching. Of course, she refused to do this.

Where we did get a response was from the unions, however. The Communication Workers endorsed the demonstration due to the efforts of the Militant Action Caucus in the union which made the bureaucracy feel they'd better endorse or their name would be mud for a long time to come. Other unions, many of them with large black memberships, endorsed as well.

So the night before the demonstration the police chief went on television and said that he could no longer guarantee the safety of the Nazis. He recommended to them that they withdraw their application for a permit, which they did. So they didn't march, and we did have our demonstration. It made a real difference because on



Spartacist League/US-initiated Anti-Imperialist contingent at 27 February 1981 El Salvador demo in Washington DC: Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!

that same day in Chattanooga the Nazis celebrated and there was no one to demonstrate against them. And they went out to celebrate their victory by shooting several black women who were walking down the street. That's what happens when you don't have the forces to stop them.

In many ways this demonstration in San Francisco, and a few others like it that we did, were smaller rehearsals for what was probably the most significant demonstration that we organised, which was in Washington DC in 1982. We again organised a united front demonstration. Again, the American left would have nothing to do with it. But it was endorsed by the unions to stop the [Ku Klux] Klan from marching in Washington DC. In response to this call, 5000 working people, mainly black, showed up to stop the Klan. The Democratic Party was missing. They had these black Democratic Party politicians who went on television offering people free butter -- they could just go get it -- and not march against the Klan. But faced with 5000 who did come out, the Klan packed up their hoods and everything in paper bags and took off. And 2000 cops and police dogs retreated backwards up the street. So this labour/black mobilisation

could march the route the Klan had planned on marching.

This kind of labour/black mobilisation has given us a small taste of the power that the working class has when mobilised. And that is what we are about. We are certainly not interested in the United States having another British Labour Party. What we are interested in is state power. That's what the working class needs, not a Labour Party.

The important thing, which I commented on at the beginning, is that our ability to lead these class-struggle battles is directly related to our opposition to the anti-Soviet war drive. When I come to this country and I hear these SWPers come up to comrades and say, 'Russia lovers', I know that those who have the same foreign policy as Thatcher are not going to be able very competently to fight against her domestic war against the oppressed in this country. Probably the most popular thing I said when I spoke for the Spartacist League at this rally in defence of Lauren and Ray was this, 'Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had. But I will tell you, he is not the worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home.'

But the Russians aren't flinching. On May 20 Soviet defence minister Dmitri Ustinov warned: 'It is high time for those who shape US policy to come to think about the futility of attempts to achieve a military superiority over the USSR.'

Ustinov noted that the Pershing 2s deployed in NATO Europe are intended to hit Soviet bloc cities 'in 8 to 10 minutes after the launching of the missiles'. He warned:

'But this is an illusory advantage. We have increased the number of our submarines with nuclear missiles aboard off the coasts of the USA in terms of their characteristics -- yield, accuracy, the ability to reach targets on the territory of the United States and the flight time to target. Soviet sea-based missiles create a counterbalance to the threat equal to that which is posed to us and our allies by the American missiles in Europe.'

And he added, 'we will accordingly increase the number of SS-20 missiles in the European part of the USSR' (*New York Times*, 21 May). It's just tit for tat -- don't mess with Russia!

Reagan targets Soviet athletes

In their maniacal drive to wipe out the legacy of the Russian October Revolution, whether they talk of 'containment', 'encirclement' or 'roll-back' of Communism, US leaders have sought to recreate the diplomatic and military isolation which beset the young Soviet workers state. The denial last February of a visa to Soviet Olympic attache Oleg Yermishkin was not only a violation of the Olympic charter but a threat to the safety of the athletes themselves. The chief of Soviet security for the games was denied entry on the grounds that he allegedly worked for the KGB -- the Soviet security agency! Meanwhile, the Israeli government, brutal murderers of thousands of Palestinians from the West Bank to Sabra and Shatila, undoubtedly secures free access for

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Nelli Kim, gymnast from Soviet Central Asia.

Liberating women from the veil

For years the Americans have alibied their routine losses to Soviet Olympic teams by arguing that Soviet athletes are really state-supported 'professionals'. It's all so 'unfair'. Unfair to whom? To be a world-class 'amateur' athlete in capitalist America requires substantial personal wealth. And if you don't have it, then you're at the mercy of money-grubbing sports entrepreneurs and their agents in the college administrations. That the Soviet collectivised economic system makes sports available to the entire population is a good and not a bad thing. As James Riordan observed in *Soviet Sport* (1980):

'... it is likely that communist athletes do well in world sport not because they themselves are a privileged elite, but because the society they live in makes the widest possible provision for general participation in sport and the development of sporting skills....'

'The Soviet Union makes no bones about the

fact that it has used sport to further the emancipation of women in society.... It is worth reflecting that the graceful gymnasts Elvira Saadi and Nelli Kim come from a Muslim region where less than fifty years ago women were excluded from all public life and would probably have been stoned to death for appearing in public clad only in a leotard.'

Riordan's reference to Elvira Saadi and Nelli Kim is particularly significant given that Jimmy Carter boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics to 'punish' the Russians for sending their army to wipe up the Islamic fanatics in Afghanistan. Under the old Islamic order there were no Afghan Nelli Kims, nor could there be. The Soviet military intervention opens the possibility of liberating women from the slavery of the veil and producing Afghan women doctors, cosmonauts and gymnasts.

Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 355, 25 May 1984

Metalworkers...

(Continued from page 5)

the steel industry. For years steel has suffered from worldwide over-production and overcapacity. As a result, entire industrial regions based on coal and steel production -- the Saarland and Ruhr in West Germany, Lorraine in France, South Wales in Britain -- have been devastated. The lives of countless steel workers and their families have been destroyed. The protectionist Common Market has ordered the wholesale dismantling of the West European steel industry. Yet the only answer of the reformist politicians and union bureaucrats -- whether Mayr in West Germany, Chevenement in France or Benn in Britain -- is even greater national protectionism, trying to set the steelworkers of West Europe at each others' throats. There can be no progressive solution to the steel crisis, including the retraining and relocation of workers not needed in the industry, short of a planned socialist economy on a European-wide scale.

Nor can there be a progressive solution to the capitalist crisis in West Europe separated from the 'other' Europe, the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. The building of Volkswagen motors in East Germany as well as the Soviet gas pipeline deal shows the underlying economic unity of Europe, indicating the possibility for a planned socialist economy in all of Europe. Despite the mismanagement of the Stalinist bureaucracy, for the workers of East Europe the spectre of mass unemployment is a thing of the past. The planned, socialised economy of the Soviet bloc arises from the historic victory of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and its extension to East Europe, albeit from above and bureaucratically deformed, after the Red Army defeated Nazi Germany in World War II. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie -- including Hitler's heirs in the ministries of Bonn, banking houses of Frankfurt and the Bundeswehr -- are determined to reconquer East Europe and the Soviet Union for capitalism and are prepared to destroy the world in the effort. All class-conscious workers must unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against NATO imperialism.

It is here that the counterrevolutionary nature of West European social democracy is most sharply revealed. Francois Mitterrand whose programme for the French working people is austerity, austerity and more austerity is also the sergeant-major in Europe for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. In the 1970s the Social-Democratic regime in Bonn built the Bundeswehr into the second most powerful army in NATO. It was SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt who in 1979 first demanded that NATO deploy new medium-range nuclear missiles (the Pershing 2s) in West Germany just 8 to 10 minutes flying time from major Soviet cities.

If today German Social Democracy is more detente-minded than their counterparts in Mitterrand's Paris, not to speak of their allies in Reagan's Washington, it is not because they have given up their counterrevolutionary plans towards the Soviet bloc. As the agent of German imperialism in the workers movement, the SPD aims to economically undermine and politically subvert the deformed workers states of East Europe, first and foremost East Germany and Poland. Whereas the Social Democrats aim to take back East Germany for capitalism, Trotskyists work for the revolutionary unification of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East.

There can be no socialist revolution in West Germany -- the industrial core of capitalist Europe -- without breaking the working class from its traditional ties to social democracy. As the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, has written in a special supplement for the metalworkers and printers strikes:

'The key is a revolutionary leadership in the tradition of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, whose task it is to split the bourgeois workers party, the SPD, along class lines and thus break the reformist hegemony over the working class. The SPD -- "in German interests" -- is the deadly enemy of proletarian internationalism.'

In particular, it is necessary to fight the chauvinist attacks against foreign, especially Turkish workers. The TLD demands full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and recognises:

'A mass revolutionary party can be built in West Germany only if it succeeds in organising the immigrant workers of different nationalities -- who constitute about a sixth of the industrial proletariat -- and the German workers for common struggle.... Forward to an integrated revolutionary party!'

Olympics...

(Continued from page 7)

its sordid secret police, the Mossad.

The May 8 TASS statement complained that 'extremist organisations and groupings of all sorts' aimed to 'create "unbearable conditions" for the stay of the Soviet delegation' and 'sharply stepped up their activity with direct connivance of the American authorities'. Nonsense, said the White House. But even such an establishment organ as *Sports Illustrated* (21 May) reported 'the development in Southern California of the Ban the Soviets Coalition, with its plan to open "safe houses" to encourage defections'. The Coalition is an assemblage of the American ultraright wing, ranging from the John Birch Society to the Baltic Freedom League. They openly flaunt 'Kill a Russian' lapel badges and Coalition head David Balsiger has met several times with administration officials.

The Soviets are not the only ones to note the atmosphere of violence surrounding the Los Angeles Olympics. The conservative *Sunday Times* (13 May) reported:

'... Brian Jenkins, a recognised expert on international terrorism at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, believes that Soviet fears of attacks on her athletes are not without foundation.... According to Risk International, a Virginia-based private research firm that tracks terrorism around the world, there have been eight terrorist attacks against Russians or their property in America since 1979.'

Challenged about the frenzied anti-Communists and their plans for anti-Soviet provocations, a State Department spokesman claimed that 'our society is free and we can't prevent private groups from making their views known.' Yet when a small LA-area liberal outfit, the Federation for Progress, applied last April for a permit to demonstrate against Reagan on the opening day of the Olympics, they were banned from marching. Some 'free society'! Really, how could the Soviets even think of coming to such a hostile environment when the only 'protection' being offered up are the world class racists of the Los Angeles Police Department, along with the FBI.

Reagan's insane anti-Soviet provocations have finally hit many Americans where they live -- in front of their TV sets watching sports extravaganzas. But the stakes in Washington's games are far higher than the future of the Olympics. It is the future of humanity that hangs in the balance. The Pentagon war machine is now preparing to invade Central America, and with this could well come a blockade of Cuba. The war hawks in Washington are constantly dreaming of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, the closest US rulers have yet come to pushing the ultimate button. On the other side of the world, Washington is begging every oil sheikdom on the Persian Gulf to request the intervention of the US Navy in order to 'contain' the unbelievably bloody Iran-Iraq war (and assure control of vital oil supplies for world imperialism). This potential flash point for World War III is but a few hundred miles from the southern border of the Soviet Union, which has repeatedly warned of the dire consequences of a US intervention.

The arch-reactionary Reagan understands well that the Cold War is at bottom a class war which began in October 1917. The Soviet Union continues to embody proletarian state power, although bureaucratically degenerated under Stalin and his heirs. It is the duty of every class-conscious worker to unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against the threat of NATO imperialism. But the Moscow-line Stalinists weaken and undermine that defence by preaching 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialism, even with the most rabidly anti-Communist militaristic governments. No doubt the Stalinists are looking forward hopefully to a 1988 'detente' Olympics under Mondale ... to be held

Spartacist League Public Meeting

**Cold War fuels racism/fascism!
Cops are racist strikebreakers!**

**For union/minority
mobilisations to smash
cop/fascist terror!**

7.30pm Friday 15 June
Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1
(for further details tel 01 278 2232)

in Seoul, South Korea of all places!

It is only proletarian revolution in the imperialist centres which will insure a socialist future for the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. In the United States the desperate conditions produced by capitalist decay -- the dangerous growth of racist reaction, depression-level unemployment even amid an economic upturn, union-busting and drastic slashes in social services -- drive the working class, oppressed black masses and other minorities into struggle. A revolutionary party can and must intervene in these struggles to direct them against the madmen in the White House and their masters on Wall Street and forward to a workers revolution which will put an end to this racist, capitalist system once and for all.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 355, 25 May 1984

Miners...

(Continued from page 1)

Why isn't it happening? The reformist misleaders of the labour movement would rather trample on the most elementary dictates of trade union solidarity than confront the capitalist state whose arse they lick. Len Murray openly denounces even the token day of action called by Yorkshire and Humberside and by South Wales Regional TUCs. CIA-loving anti-communists Eric Hammond and Alastair Graham attack the miners in the language of the Tory front bench. Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party leadership spend all their time trying to force the NUM into sellout negotiations with the NCB -- when they're not busy ballot-mongering and denouncing strikers' 'violence'.

And the vaunted 'lefts' do not even make a pretence of covering their tracks anymore. 'Left' MPs like Tony Benn have not uttered a word of opposition to the Labour leadership's ballot-mongering and violence-baiting. And for all their words of 'solidarity' the TUC 'lefts' act in practice no differently than right wingers like the ISTC's Sirs. Jimmy Knapp and Ray Buckton shove British Rail's insulting 4.9 per cent wage offer down the throats of railworkers in a desperate attempt to avoid any industrial action alongside the miners. Scottish T&G leaders scuttle the threat of a Scottish dock strike against blacklegs unloading scab coal in their ports while denying it has anything to do with the miners strike. BL Longbridge convenor Jack Adams, a prominent Communist Party supporter, makes no bones about supervising a scab operation in coking coal.

The labour misleaders would do anything rather than rely on the power we have, the organised might of the labour movement. Lobbies of Parliament like the one proposed for June 7 are no answer to anything. Who are we going to lobby -- the Tories? the SDP? open strike-breaker Peter Shore? Let those Labour MPs who want to stand with the miners come out to Orgreave and call other workers out! And while the cops bash heads and the MPs make speeches, rumours fly of a 'compromise' with the NCB. Why are the negotiations taking place in secret? Every striker must know what discussions are taking place about the future of their jobs, their union and their communities. Scargill's perspective of pressurising Parliament (through another Labour government) and relying on protectionist import controls and subsidies to 'save' the coal industry (the 'Plan for Coal') is a dead-end. The only way to defend jobs and stop closures under capitalism is through class struggle, for a shorter working week at no loss in pay. And British industry can only be saved when it is ripped out of the hands of this corrupt capitalist class through workers revolution. Thatcher/MacGregor have a 'Plan for Coal' -- it's called breaking the NUM!

The ruling class is intent on a bloody victory designed to set the labour movement back by decades. If they're prepared to plunge the whole world into thermonuclear holocaust to 'roll back Communism', of course they'll plunge the coalfields into a police reign of terror to roll back the workers' gains at home. This is a struggle to defend the very existence of effective trade unionism. *The miners must not continue to stand alone!* Railworkers: tear up Knapp/Buckton's sellout deal! Steelworkers: dump Sirs' backstabbing -- the way to save steel jobs is on the picket line! Dockers: shut down the scab operations at your ports! If the chief battalions of the trade union movement come out in joint strike action alongside the miners, they can still spearhead a counteroffensive which turns the Tory rampage into a humiliating rout. Dump the class traitors! Defend the unions! Rail, steel, power, docks -- join the strike now! Build massive mobilisations of labour and minorities to smash the cop/strike-breaking terror! Bring the Iron Lady to her knees! ■

El Salvador's Duarte: CIA frontman for Death squad 'democracy'

They're doing the dance of the death squads in Washington as Ronald Reagan leads 'Joe Napoleon' Duarte around town as the newly 'elected democratic' leader in El Salvador. This winner of an election, bought and paid for by the CIA, is the man who presided over 30,000 murders during his rule from 1980-1982. But the CIA didn't shell out \$2.1 million for nothing. The State Department needs Duarte rather than the certified Death Squad torturer, 'Blowtorch Bob' D'Aubuisson. Duarte is imperialism's Great Moderate Hope to 'stop Communism on our doorstep'. So from 'Meet the Press' to meet the Congress, this front man for death squad 'democracy' does a 'free world' jig to get the money to continue Reagan's bloody war of terror.

And despite the massive revulsion against Reagan's policy among the American people and the bellyaching in Congress, time after time the war budgets are rubber-stamped on Capitol Hill. The Pentagon is also supplying the 'friendlies' directly through various forms of 'creative accounting'. And to make certain that the Democratic 'doves' would keep the money flowing, Reagan went on TV May 9 with an overdose of that old-time McCarthyite anti-Communist religion. The Russians are coming, he railed in a speech that would make John Foster Dulles blush. 'Soviet surrogate forces' are creeping ever closer: 'San Salvador is closer to Houston than Houston is to Washington, DC'. He raved about the spectre of 'pro-Soviet' dominoes and appealed to the racist fears of hordes of brown-skinned refugees surging over the Rio Grande. The Nicaraguan *contras*, the most sadistic collection of killers and torturers in the hemisphere since Batista's gang fled to Miami, Reagan hailed as 'freedom fighters'. The petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime which (unfortunately) hasn't executed a single Somozaist butcher since coming to power, he labelled a 'Communist reign of terror'.

The US liberal imperialists are embarrassed by such primitive anti-Sovietism. (The *New York Times* has even begun quoting Richard Nixon against Reagan as a more sophisticated 'elder statesman'.) But this kind of 'Who Lost Central America?' hectoring works on the Democrats. It always has. So the day after Reagan's speech the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives voted \$261 million for the murderous Salvadoran dictatorship. No one should be surprised. At bottom the entire ruling class is pushing the anti-Soviet war drive. So even as Walter Mondale on the campaign trail tries to toughen up his criticism of Reagan's policies in Central America, he is quick to add: 'He [Reagan] sees the Soviets and their proxies -- as do we all' (*New York Times*, 16 May).

Unlike the Democratic liberals who try to present McCarthyism as some kind of bizarre paranoid aberration of healthy American democracy, Marxists understand that anti-Communist nuts like Reagan are driven to their manias by a desperate determination to defend the class interests of the dying imperialist order. Behind Salvadoran guerrillas fighting against a local landlord-military dictatorship, Reagan sees the spectre of revolution throughout the hemisphere and around the world. He's made El Salvador the front line of the Cold War. If he can stop them in El Salvador, then it's on to Nicaragua, Cuba and ultimately the powerhouse of the victorious proletariat -- the Soviet Union. That's why the Spartacists say, 'Defence of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!'

The anti-Soviet nut in the White House is setting the stage for an invasion of Central America. US imperialism's militarisation of the region escalates daily. On May 23 the second phase of the Granadero 'exercises' is scheduled to begin, an operation which will mass thousands of American troops along the Honduran border with the Salvadoran province of Chalatenango, a leftist-held zone. The current manoeuvres follow on the heels of the Navy's 'Ocean Venture I' which featured reinforcement of the US base at Guantanamo, Cuba and a practice invasion at the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

For Reagan it is a stark choice: intervene or lose. But so far all the Reaganites' attempts to mobilise mass sentiment for military intervention have flopped miserably. Congress voting hundreds of millions in 'aid' is one thing, but sending US troops to die in some tropical forest or the cratered slopes of Guazapa Volcano for Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade is something else

again. Memory of the Vietnam debacle is still vivid in the US population. And they've got an army based on black and Hispanic recruits who may prove unreliable as cannon fodder for racist imperialism's dirty wars.

The US bourgeoisie knows they can't win in Central America without direct US military intervention. But they know if they do send in combat troops, the US will explode. What is a big problem for the ruling class is a big opportunity for revolutionaries. The Trotskyists fight for workers revolution throughout Central America, and its extension north to Mexico and the imperialist heartland. To provide real solidarity with the Salvadoran leftist rebels it's necessary to defeat US imperialism on its home ground. Not a bullet, not a bomb, not a penny to drown our Salvadoran class brothers in blood! The Spartacist League calls for labour to 'hot cargo' [black] arms and materiel to the Central American dictatorships. For labour strikes against imperialist intervention! What is needed is not efforts to pressure Democrats but revolutionary struggle in the United States itself - for mass labour strikes to 'bring Reagan down!'

The imperialist 'doves' want a smarter anti-Soviet strategy and sharper tactics in Central America. Their dilemma: like Reagan, they fear what will happen in Central America if the US does not intervene militarily. At the same time they fear what will happen if they do. During the Congressional debate on Reagan's military aid package, Stephen Solarz, Democratic Congressman from Brooklyn, expressed this problem succinctly as he worried out loud about the 'Vietnam syndrome': 'The American people don't want any more Cubas in Central America, but neither do they want any more Vietnams.' Thus the Democrats, to prevent another defeat for US imperialism, want to buy off those 'leftist' sectors in Central America which are willing to prove their loyalty to the capitalist order. And those sectors are on the market.

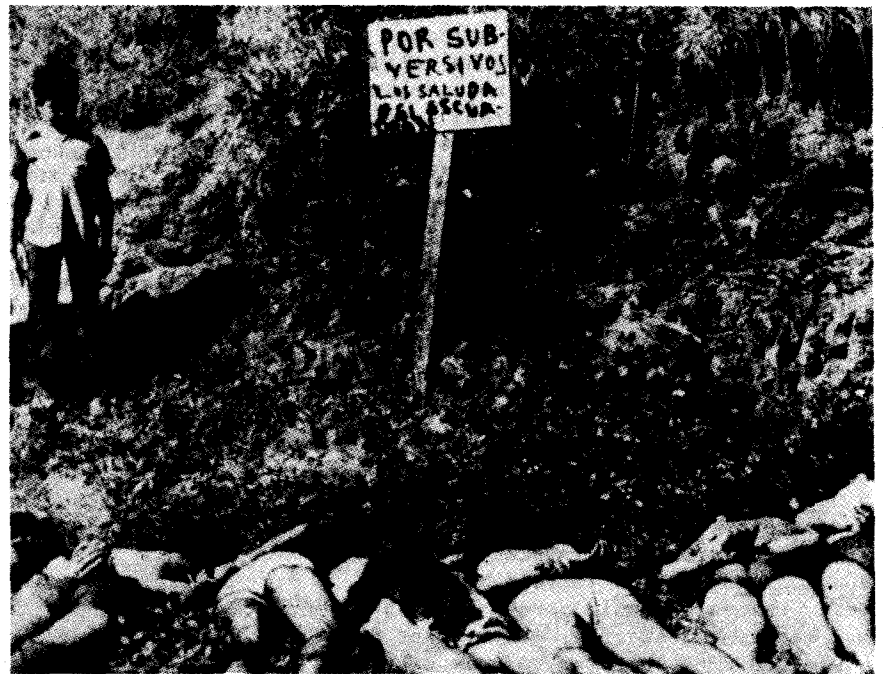
The reformists of the US El Salvador movement like the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador tail these Democratic liberals and the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Democratic Revolutionary Front/Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FDR/FMLN) in the search for a treacherous 'political solution', which is in fact another military solution -- one which would leave the Salvadoran army intact to drown the workers and peasants in blood should they put down their guns. For

this betrayal Mr Duarte is the key figure.

In a recent interview Guillermo Ungo, leader of the FDR and Duarte's school chum and running mate in the 1972 presidential election, raised this point in exactly the terms of the US capitalists: intervene or negotiate with the butcher Duarte.

'He [Duarte] is the best choice insofar as providing window dressing for further US intervention. In theory, he is also the best man for negotiating with us because he is supposed to be a moderate. Only he can resolve that contradiction.' (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 May)

And how will Duarte 'resolve' the contradiction?



Victims of right-wing death squads. Duarte provides 'democratic' cover for mass murder of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The man who fronted for D'Aubuisson's killers for two years as head of the Christian Democratic/military junta says he will never 'negotiate' with the guerrillas, except their terms of surrender, or share power with the left. He won't even -- can't even -- investigate the death squads set up with aid, advice and arms of the United States. The Ungos and dissident Christian Democrats like Zamora are for sale just as Duarte is. Their problem is they haven't found a buyer.

For socialist revolutionaries the choice is not between the various forms of defeat. Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! Kill the *Contra* Invaders in Nicaragua! Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution! Only by defeating the imperialists and their bloodthirsty oligarchs can the road be opened to proletarian revolution throughout the region.

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 355, 25 May 1984

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Black Caribbean workers confront US oil giant

Workers Vanguard

Black workers who have been slaving away for Hess Oil Company on the small Caribbean island of St Croix in the US Virgin Islands are today fighting a bitter class battle against oil magnate Leon Hess. Nearly 400 workers were locked out at the HOVIC refinery on April 16 after they had voted down the company's racist union-busting contract 'offer'. Hess wants to return to the days of plantation slavery, cracking down across the board on union rights and procedures concerning layoffs, recalls, promotions or demotions. Attacks on seniority rights include Hess's plan to administer tests to employees. As the union put it in their full-page ad in the *St Croix Avis*, if this contract is rammed through, when Hess wants to get rid of someone, they merely test him and it's 'out the gate!'

In New York City on May 7 an emergency protest was held outside the Amerada Hess international headquarters at Sixth Avenue and 47th Street, to support and publicise the struggle of these locked-out black workers. More than 40 demonstrators marched, chanting 'Teamsters, longshore, maritime, steel: Hot cargo [black] Hess! Make him kneel!' and 'PATCO, Greyhound, now Hess -- Smash union-busting!' The New York demonstrators carried placards with slogans raised by the St Croix workers including: 'No rest for St Croix workers. You work our brothers for 12 hours. Now you lock your gate and we have to protest' and 'Don't forget: The whip that beat the black dog beat the white dog also. Unity!' The NYC protest was called by area rank-and-file trade unionists -- including members of the National Maritime Union, Transport Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, AFSCME, carpenters, plumbers -- and the Labor Black Leagues of America. A statement by Ronnie Davis, recording secretary of the embattled oil workers union, was read thanking people on the mainland for their support. In Britain, Kent NUM secretary Jack Collins and the National Union of Seamen sent telegrams of support to the Hess workers.

Hess oil workers, organised into United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8526, already toil under barbarous conditions, with the company having replaced the three shifts needed to operate the refinery around the clock by two brutal 12-hour shifts. The giant refinery -- the world's largest, with a capacity of



1200 black unionists and supporters march through Christiansted, St Croix on 2 May. 'Get up, stand up for your rights!'

700,000 barrels of oil a day -- operates on St Croix exempt from all corporate taxes. Under the ruthless domination of rogue-capitalist Leon Hess and his Amerada Hess Corporation, the company is now operating at the refinery with scabs.

On May 2 in Christiansted, the island's capital, the locked-out workers took to the streets. A massive solidarity march of 1200 unionists and their families and supporters -- reportedly the largest labour demonstration ever held in the Virgin Islands -- in a festive mood marched in step with Bob Marley's 'Stand Up For Your Rights' blaring from a sound truck. As the workers approached the marketplace by the harbour at the site of the old slave auction block, their placards took on a special meaning: 'Dark Ages Slavery by \$ Diplomacy -- We Will Stand Up for Our Rights!' was one sign. Here, Lonnie James, president of Steelworkers Local 8526, vowed: 'We marched here today to show we will not be sold and we will not be bought.'

The spectre of 'another Cuba' haunts the capitalists who have established hugely profitable enterprises with enormous tax dodges throughout the Caribbean. At every outbreak of labour struggle, they tremble with fear of revolution. Hess & Co surely sleep better knowing that the white US imperialist slavemasters didn't hesitate to send down troops to crush

the people of Grenada when they got 'uppity'. With Reagan's enormous military build-up in the region -- aimed most directly at toppling Sandinista Nicaragua, backing the murderous Salvadoran regime and menacing Cuba -- the tiny Caribbean ruling classes and their imperialist masters know that the US military isn't just their ultimate but their first line of defence.

But the Virgin Islands, although as small as tiny Grenada, have a black proletariat with significantly more social power. This weight is seen in the more than 8500 workers organised into the USWA throughout St Croix and St Thomas.

These black workers are conscious of their ties to their brothers and sisters on the US mainland, as evidenced by signs at the May 2 Christiansted mass march: 'First it was Reagan, then the Greyhound bus line, now it's Hess -- These union-busters need a busted ass!' And, in turn, the strategically important black proletariat of the US will be decisive in shattering American imperialism from within and so liberating the desperately poor colonial masses of the Caribbean.

Hess and the rest of the capitalist rulers of this US colony are now desperate to prevent this erupting volcano. A court order obtained on *Easter Sunday* bars picketing at HOVIC and the workers have been denied unemployment compensation. At the NYC demonstration outside Hess world headquarters May 7, militant trade unionists called on the USWA to back the locked-out St Croix brothers with generous contributions from the strike fund. Real labour solidarity on the part of the US labour movement is key to bringing Hess to its knees. As NMUer Gene Herson summed up, 'Picket lines mean don't cross! Labour should hot-charge Hess Oil! Seamen, Teamsters, steel workers, oil workers and longshoremen [dockers] must refuse to handle Hess oil until the St Croix workers win!'

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 354, 11 May 1984

Warmongers ...

(Continued from page 12)

Soviet Russia since 1917. While the Healey/Hattersley right-wing of the Labour Party openly push the NATO/CIA connection and Neil Kinnock declares his admiration for Reagan, 'left' social democrats like Tony Benn and E P Thompson prefer to undermine the Soviet bloc by encouraging internal counterrevolutionary forces (notable Solidarnosc, the Polish company union for the CIA and bankers) rather than Reagan's insane warmongering.

The capitalist rulers in Britain and the rest of West Europe, who have produced two world wars not to mention the unspeakable horrors of Auschwitz, Dresden and Algeria, cannot be reformed, neutralised or made 'peaceful'. They must be overthrown through the struggle of the working class and oppressed for social-

ist revolution. And the Soviet Union, including its nuclear capacity, must be defended. Without this, the Chinese, Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions would have been 'nuked' into radioactive rubble, along with Moscow and Leningrad, by the anti-Communist fanatics of the West. Soviet nuclear capacity has brought mankind a little more precious time to resolve the question of socialism or barbarism. That is why the Spartacist League says: Smash NATO -- Defend the Soviet Union! Down with all imperialisms, not just American! And why we seek to build an international revolutionary party to, in the words of V I Lenin, 'arm the proletariat to defeat, disarm and expropriate the bourgeoisie'. We reprint below an extract from the statement issued by the international Spartacist tendency on the occasion of Reagan's last visit to Europe two years ago.

Capitalist America is the number one enemy of the world's working peoples. But 'anti-Americanism' does not equal anti-imperialism. In the mouths of social democrats and Stalinists, anti-American rhetoric only serves to amnesty one's own bourgeoisie. Opposition to US policy in Central America is fully compatible with the social-democratic line of 'political solution' to cheat the Salvadoran masses of victory and pave the way for more slaughter at the hands of the military. 'Anti-Americanism' is supposed to cover complicity by the social patriots of all stripes, the silence over German arms to the murderous Turkish junta, French neo-colonialism in Africa or Britain's military occupation of Northern Ireland. In Liebknecht's words, 'The main enemy is at home!'

Both the Pentagon's scenario of defeating Russia in a nuclear war 'limited' to the north European plain, mainly Germany, and the 'Europacifist' notion of a 'superpower' war fought entirely overhead with ICBMs are ab-

surd. Naturally this talk has terrified the German people. In contrast, since de Gaulle took France out of NATO's military structure, the French believe they will be immune when missiles start flying between the American-led alliance and the Warsaw Pact bloc. But there can be no 'nuclear-free zone'. World War III will be a northern hemispheric holocaust at least.

The driving force towards World War III is anti-Sovietism. It has been, ever since the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the dominant goal of imperialism to overturn this greatest victory for the international working class. Despite the USSR's Stalinist degeneration the social gains of that revolution and their international extensions remain the property of the workers of the world. Those who do not defend these historic gains will never lead the victories of the future! ■

Correction

In *Spartacist Britain* no 57, May 1984, the article 'Thatcher: war criminal!' was reprinted from and the article 'We tore down the flag of slavery!' was adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 353, 27 April 1984.

In addition, in the article 'Sri Lanka: Deadly lies target Spartacists' (reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 352, 13 April 1984) we incorrectly stated that a Spartacist protest in Los Angeles last August 6 was physically attacked by rightist Sinhalese thugs. On that date a Spartacist League spokesman received anonymous phone calls threatening bloody revenge if we dared to demonstrate, and a handful of Jayewardene supporters attempted to disrupt the protest. But despite their jeering and menacing from the sidelines, demonstration monitors successfully prevented physical attack.

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Thousands protest apartheid hangman Botha

Some 20,000 people marched through London June 2 in protest against the visit of apartheid butcher P W Botha, South African prime minister. Thatcher's invitation to Botha is a brazen declaration of 'free world' solidarity with the apartheid regime, part of the US-led 'pax South Africana' anti-Soviet war axis in the region. Having succeeded in forcing the black African 'front line' states to stab the African National Congress (ANC) in the back,

Botha now wants Thatcher to ban the ANC here as 'terrorists'. As a Spartacist League placard at the march said, 'British army in Belfast, terror raids in Lesotho -- who are the real terrorists?'

The demonstration reflected the outrage felt in almost all sectors of society at Botha's visit, including not only numerous trade union and left contingents and a significant representation of minorities, but even Young Liberals and Tory 'wets'. The dominant theme of the march, initiated by the liberal-Stalinist Anti Apartheid Movement, was a popular-frontist appeal to 'democratic' imperialism to keep its hands clean and impose sanctions against South Africa.

A militant 50-strong Spartacist League contingent marched behind a banner reading: 'Black workers are revolutionary powerhouse -- Smash apartheid! For workers revolution! Smash



Reagan/Thatcher/Botha racist anti-Soviet war axis!' Other SL banners and placards linked the police terror against workers and minorities in Britain with Thatcher's welcome to Botha. One said, 'Smash the Tory assault -- Miners must not stand alone!'; another read, 'Smash the Police Bill!' and called for 'union/minority mobilisations to smash fascist/cop terror!' The latter was particularly relevant given the cop rampage against the miners at Orgreave and the provocation of National Front fascist Partick Harrington at the heavily minority North London Polytechnic campus. Our comrades chanted, 'North London Poly -- crush the fascist scum! Unions, minorities can put Harrington on the run!'

Unlike the liberals and reformists, communists say that the main enemy is at home. Against racist British imperialism the SL contingent chanted, 'Labour prepared it, Tories

enact it -- Smash the Nationality Act!' And when we chanted 'Solidarnosc loves apartheid -- Smash apartheid, defend the Soviet Union!' and 'Defend the ANC against the butcher Botha, Hail Cuban troops defending black Angola!', it drove the anti-Soviet Socialist Workers Party contingent marching behind us into a veritable frenzy. The Cliffites responded with the CIA's call for 'Free trade unions, East and West!'

Among those who joined our class-struggle contingent were a number of workers from the heavily minority London Transport workforce and a black miner from South Yorkshire. Our comrades sold 480 pieces of literature, including 64 copies of the pamphlet 'Black History and Class Struggle'. Our banners and slogans underlined our perspective of permanent revolution throughout southern Africa: 'Smash apartheid, this is the hour, black workers have got the power!'

NF...

(Continued from page 12)

where bans are implemented they are more likely to be directed against the left. South Bank Poly recently gave its director power to suspend anyone who expresses 'radical views'. Far from being an 'anti-fascist' action (as *Morning Star*, for one, would have it), this is a dangerous precedent in a climate where polys like NLP are being witchhunted by rightist academics as 'red' institutions.

The Socialist Workers Party and its SWSO student group, who have been active in the NLP protests, have made no attempt to mobilise the social power of the working class, even in unions where they have supporters. At least a half-dozen SWP supporters attended a May 19 NATFHE Regional Council meeting in London, but it was left to a Spartacist supporter to initiate discussion on the NLP events by distributing a leaflet (reprinted below) calling for a mass union/minority mobilisation. When the cops smashed through a student barricade at NLP on May 17, SWSO described this as an 'exhilarating experience', even 'another victory'. But this kind of idiocy is only to be expected from an outfit which led tens of thousands of anti-fascists on an Anti Nazi League Carnival away from an NF march in 1979.

Spartacist supporters in NATFHE and elsewhere have counterposed a fight for mass mobilisations

and strike action to drive out fascist scum. A resolution presented to one NATFHE branch in East London called on 'all students and staff throughout London to join in shutting down campuses throughout the city through strike action effective immediately in order to mobilise the largest possible effective demonstration of trade unionists and minorities to go to NLP with the aim of driving the NF off campus once and for good'. Supporters in London Transport have sought to mobilise LT's heavily black and Asian workforce. Hundreds more copies of our leaflet were distributed to Kent miners and car workers at Ford Dagenham. Mobilise to smash the fascist scum!

Hundreds of students at North London Poly have put themselves on the line in the past two weeks to stop National Front Pat Harrington. This fascist swine must be driven off the campus and into the sewer! The working people and minorities of this city sweat long hours at low pay in order to be able to send themselves and their children to get an education. The fascists hate nearly everyone on this heavily working-class and minority campus. The NF's presence at NLP means a direct threat to the safety of every black, Asian, Irish, immigrant, Jewish, gay or socialist student or worker on that campus. The race-terrorists want to take them out of the poly and put them in the concentration camps. The NF wants to crush the trade unions with the same terrorist methods Hitler used in Germany. These Hitlerites want to come to NLP for only one purpose: to recruit for their deadly race-terror and genocide. And if they can get away with setting up here, in the heart of North London, they'll be free to go anywhere. What's needed right now is to mobilise the social muscle of London's minorities and trade unions to sweep them away.

What's involved here is not Harrington's 'right' to an education, but defence of the population of this city against race terror. If the fascists aren't stopped now, there will be more deadly attacks: more of the murderous firebombings which have plagued Asian families in East London, more of the racist stabbings like that of Ala Miah Azad in February. It's no accident that the NF feel emboldened to invade NLP. Look who's in Downing Street. 'Iron Lady' Thatcher invites apartheid butcher Botha to London while she sends her cops out to terrorise the coalfields and drag Afia Begum and other minority people out of their homes to be deported. From the Police Bill and Nationality Act to racist deportations to vicious attacks on the trade unions, anti-Soviet Cold War means war on workers and minorities at home. And the

NF wants to finish the job with their gruesome 'final solution'.

Any reliance on the bosses' state to ban the fascists is worse than useless -- indeed it's suicidal. The courts want to victimise those who oppose the race-terrorists and even demand that the NLP administration hand over the names of anti-fascist militants to the NF to help them prepare a murderous hit list -- two names have already been turned over. Meanwhile the same cops who are terrorising the coalfields in a martial law operation to break the miners strike, who presided over the picket line murder of strike militant David Jones and have blood of black youth Colin Roach on their hands, who rampaged through Brixton and other urban ghettos in 1981, are protecting fascists and attacking anti-fascists at NLP. The cops are the strikebreaking, racist fist of terror of the capitalist state, many of them secret NFers in blue themselves. And in a city with a Labour-dominated GLC and all its talk of 'anti-racism', it's an outrage that the cops are unleashed against anti-fascist students and ILEA offers private tuition off campus for the fascist Harrington.

Anti-fascist students at NLP have been mobilising and fighting courageously. But ongoing confrontations by small groups of students is a dead-end trap leading to harassment and arrest. What's needed is a massive show of force by thousands of trade unionists and minorities to stop Harrington at NLP. NLP should be shut down by NATFHE staff through strike action. Shut down the campuses through strike action and mobilise mass contingents of students and campus workers to go to NLP. The Kent miners who have been fighting to defend their strike and their union against scabs and cops should be called on to join a massive mobilisation at NLP. The largely minority London Transport workforce should be appealed to. Militant black and Asian youth in Brixton, Southall and East London have a stake in this fight. That's the way forward. It was mass trade union/minority mobilisation of 5000 -- initiated and heavily built by the Spartacist League/US -- that stopped the fascist Ku Klux Klan killers from staging a race-hate provocation in Washington DC less than two years ago. The same class-struggle strategy drove the fascist British Movement off Sheffield University in January 1981. And that's what's needed here -- and now. Drive fascist Harrington off NLP! For mass trade union/minority mobilisation to sweep the fascists away!

If you agree with the need for a mass trade union/minority mobilisation to stop the NF at NLP, contact the Spartacist League now. ■

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**Smash Reagan/Thatcher/Botha
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**South Africa:
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For workers revolution!**

Speaker: Cheryl Myall SL/B Central Committee
Guest speaker from TGWU Rovers Solihull
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Down with anti-Soviet warmongers Reagan, Thatcher!

While her thugs in blue riot against striking miners in Yorkshire, while her immigration police round up and deport young Bangladeshi widows, Margaret Thatcher this month takes time out to welcome to Britain two of the foremost representatives of the 'free world': apartheid hangman P W Botha of South Africa on June 2 and number one imperialist warmonger, Ronald Reagan on June 9. The endless stream of anti-Soviet war threats and provocations from Washington, backed to the hilt by Downing Street, have rightly scared millions of people out of their wits. On June 9, 'President Ray-gun and the plutonium blonde' (as Arthur Scargill aptly called them) should be met by the kind of massive, militant protests that will give them nightmares for years to come!

But this is not what the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament offers on its Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square peace crawl. Instead its leaflets whimper, 'Dear President Reagan, Please take your missiles with you when you go'. CND feebly attacks Reagan for 'making most of Britain a nuclear target'. This



anti-Americanism serves only to amnesty the warmongering of the British bourgeoisie. You'd

never know from CND that the target of cruise, the US bases and the British military is Soviet Russia, not this sceptred isle. In its haste to curry favour with right-wing Labourites, SDPers, 'Tories against Cruise and Trident' and other 'liberal' Cold Warriors, CND has dropped even its old utopian plea for unilateral nuclear disarmament, endorsing instead the 'deterrence' of NATO's existing conventional and nuclear arsenal. And its supposedly 'militant' split-off, 'Action 84', is even more anti-Soviet. This outfit is organising a Greenham-style 'non-violent direct action' outside Lancaster House with the slogan 'Against all nuclear weapons, East and West', claiming that CND's demo 'will please no one but Moscow' (*Guardian*, 3 May).

It is impossible to fight against the threat of imperialist anti-Soviet war with bourgeois pacifism, which shares the imperialist hostility to the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution. And the social democracy has been characterised by its hatred for

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For mass union/minority/student mobilisation Drive fascist NF from North London Poly!

Last month hundreds of students at North London Polytechnic (NLP) staged militant demonstrations to deny Pat Harrington, a National Front organiser and deputy editor of *National Front News*, access to the poly's Kentish Town site. Organising pickets and occupations and erecting barricades, they fought courageously to drive this advocate of race terror and genocide out of multi-racial NLP. And in a telling illustration of Thatcher's Cold War Britain, a massive police force, the courts, poly administration and capitalist media all placed themselves at the disposal of the NF, disgustingly portraying Harrington as an 'innocent student' deprived of his 'democratic right' to an education.

Armed with High Court injunctions, Harrington has had the protection of hundreds of cops. On May 17 when 200 students occupied the Kentish Town building, 100 police, some in riot gear, escorted him to the library. Another 100 or so were on standby, ready to crack some skulls. On May 23, 150 cops occupied the building while Harrington was escorted to a tutorial on Hume's theory of morals. When three students attempted to leave the tutorial in disgust, police trapped them in the room under threat of arrest for 'provocative behaviour'. To add to the police-state scenario the Tipstaff (a court officer empowered to enforce the injunctions) then intervened in the discussion to object to the contribution of one student who attempted to relate Hume's theory to Hitler's Germany! The High Court 'Justice' dares to call anti-fascist students 'fascist', while the *Times* (22 May) calls for their expulsion and Labour Party leaders Kinnock and Kaufman defend fascists'

'right' to propound their programme of genocidal terror. The result is several students arrested so far and fourteen lecturers facing imprisonment for failing to identify 18 more students to the fascists. We say: Cops off campus! Drop all charges! No jailings, no victimisations, no fines! For all out strike action if any measure is taken against these lecturers! For trade union/minority mobilisations to drive fascists off NLP!

David Triesman, Inner London regional secretary of NATFHE (lecturers union) has appealed to the state to ban the fascists, saying, 'It is difficult to prevent someone who is not a member of an illegal organisation from studying.' But the government, courts and cops are clearly on the fascists' side, and the call for a ban is a cover for refusing to mobilise the union to stop Harrington. And

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Racist cops protect fascist Pat Harrington at North London Poly.



This is National Front's 'programme': concentration camp inmates in Hitler's Germany.