

International labour action not imperialist sanctions

Smash apartheid – Black struggle needs workers party!

May Day 1985 in South Africa saw the largest workers' rallies in 35 years as black labour continued to mobilise against the brutal apartheid regime. Hundreds of trade unionists who gathered outside the Johannesburg headquarters of leading anti-apartheid organisations to celebrate the international proletarian holiday by chanting freedom songs were dispersed by police dogs and tear gas. Two weeks later on 14 May forty black and multiracial unions called a

nationwide two-hour work stoppage to protest against the racist murder of two prominent black activists in police custody.

Strikes, stayaways and township revolts continue to sweep South Africa. Mounting repression has not quelled the revolt of the black masses. But the entrenched white minority which lives off the superexploitation of black labour is armed to the teeth and determined to give up nothing. They will murder, torture, maim and terrorise to main-

tain their rule. And while governments in Westminster and Washington click their tongues over some 'excesses', at every crucial point they back their Cold War allies in Pretoria to the hilt. Various liberals in this country, notably the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), look to imperialist sanctions for a road to black freedom. But at home and in South Africa itself the key to victory is *proletarian class struggle*, in

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Stop Thatcher's deportations to Lanka terror

Open the door to Tamils!

With its decision to virtually ban the entry of Sri Lankan Tamils into Britain, the Home Office has condemned thousands of people to torture and death. More than a thousand recently arrived refugees from the hellish terror which is JR Jayewardene's Sri Lanka now face the prospect of being dragged away in the dead of night by Thatcher's immigration police and forced aboard the next plane back to Lanka; thousands more still in Lanka are told by this dictate to stay put and die. Like her fellow butcher JR, Thatcher is intent on cold-blooded murder of Tamils!

The unprecedented restriction on MPs' representations for Tamils threatened with deportation to 24 hours as opposed to the normal 4-8 weeks and the subsequent ban on any entry by Tamils without visas, stripping them of a right accorded to every other Commonwealth citizen, could have come straight from Lankan despot Jayewardene. And in a manner befitting that would-be despot in Downing Street, the decision was made in dead secrecy while Parliament was in recess and without a public announcement. This vindictive, cold-blooded death sentence on a people threatened with

genocidal terror has been met by outrage from a wide spectrum, including even the SDP and the Council of Churches as well as a range of human rights and immigration agencies. The labour movement in particular has a responsibility to strain every muscle to foil Thatcher's deadly scheme.

On 30 May a Spartacist League-initiated picket of the Home Office, joined by representatives of the Tamil organisations TELO and NLFT, demanded 'Stop the deportations -- Full right of asylum for Tamils!' Several days later a Spartacist contingent was part of another protest initiated by the Indian Workers Association. What is urgently needed is massive labour-centred protest coupled with a commitment to ensure through trade-union action that not a single plane carrying Tamil refugees back to Lanka is allowed to take off. The heavily-minority workforce at Heathrow airport can take the lead -- Stop Thatcher's death planes!

Deportations to death

In a disgusting editorial, Rupert Murdoch's *Times* (29 May) backed Thatcher's murderous policy with the claim that, 'At the Sri Lankan end the condition of the country is not such that flight is a compelling course for the Tamil minority in general... Most of the country is tranquil'. Was Nazi Germany in the 1930s 'tranquil' for the Jews as well? In the two years since the July 1983 anti-Tamil pogroms, hundreds of thousands of Tamils have either been killed or made homeless or forced to take the hazardous escape route across the narrow Palk Strait to India. Roadblocks manned by Sinhala-chauvinist thugs in and out of uniform -- armed with anything from machetes to machine guns -- routinely stop buses to butcher any Tamils found on them. According to the British Refugee Council, 73 Tamils returned from Italy and Holland last month were arrested immediately upon arrival at Colombo airport. As Jeremy Corbyn, one of a handful of Labour MPs actively defending Tamils here, put it, the effect of the Home Office ruling is to create 'a queue of terror in Sri Lanka'. Thatcher's policy towards Tamils today is strikingly reminiscent of the British government's criminal refusal to accept Jewish refugees from Hitlerite Nazism.

This attack is not just a life-and-death question for Tamils; it is part of a racist

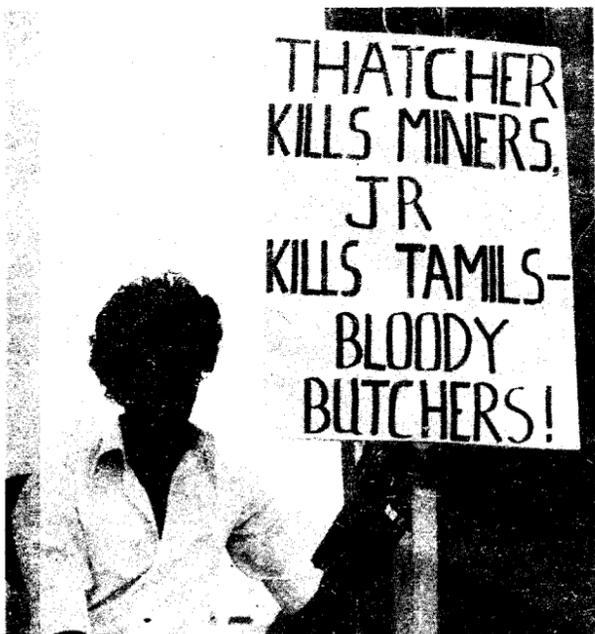


JR Jayewardene's Sinhala-chauvinist killers, here seen marauding through Tamil province of Jaffna.

spearhead against all non-Anglo-Saxon immigration into Britain. Thatcher vowed to be vindictive in victory over the miners, and that vindictiveness runs deepest when directed against those who were staunch supporters of the miners strike, not least the oppressed black and Asian minorities. She makes no bones about her admiration of strongman Jayewardene's iron-fist approach to 'troublesome' minorities, leftists and trade unionists in Lanka. Indeed it was on her tour of Southeast Asian dictatorships that she boasted about how she'd 'seen off' the heroic miners.

But what's operating here is more than a mutual admiration society of viciously racist

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Young Tamil militant at 28 July 1984 demonstration in London marking first anniversary of anti-Tamil pogroms in Sri Lanka. Now gauleiter Thatcher wants to ship Tamils back to persecution, torture and death.

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British miners must stand with anti-apartheid struggle

We print below excerpted remarks by Dave Douglass, branch delegate, Hatfield Main NUM (in a personal capacity), at a 2 June Workers Hammer public meeting on South Africa in Hatfield, S Yorks.

First of all, I would like to congratulate you for organising the meeting and to recognise the role that your group have played through the strike. It's true to say that we had some considerable friction before, and that's partly caused by the natural suspicion that people in mining communities have for people who appear to come from outside, and in fear that groups were trying to undermine the strike and undermine the authority of the union.

That kind of suspicion had been created in particular by the Revolutionary Communist Party who had come into the village and launched an unstinting attack on the union as a whole, not simply on the leadership (which was bad enough), for the reasons they were at-

tacking it were also true of the union itself. Coupled with the fact that they called throughout the strike for these ballots and non-recognition of the strike without a vote, the fact that they were holding meetings with the scabs in Nottingham and giving kind of a left face to them. All of these things definitely didn't make a very healthy atmosphere for political groups to intervene. Coupled with that we'd just had the Workers Revolutionary Party's massive attack on Arthur, and other members of the union including myself wouldn't stand for it.

So it's against this background that when the Spartacists moved into this area they found that people already had their guards up, and I think it's true to say that we've also got a natural resentment of being pressurised to do anything or to do anything in a hurry, and that added some friction. I can say with honesty that in the course of that struggle, those points of friction were rounded off, and *Workers Hammer* and *Workers Vanguard* are two of the few papers on the left that I actually sit down and read from cover to cover. Most others wait in a big pile till I eventually read them two years after they've been published. So I'd salute the initiative of your tendency to call the meeting, without hesitation. I'm always pleased to speak, notwithstanding the points of disagreement that we have on other issues.

On the question of South Africa and the current phase of the struggle there, it's important to recognise that that isn't 'something else'. You can get in a frame of mind of thinking that the struggle you're involved with is the battle, and then there's other things, like there's what's going on in South Africa, there's what's going on in Ireland, there's what's going on in Lebanon. And actually it's not that way at all. It's a fact that what we have is, across the whole globe, the working class as an entirety that's taking part in different struggles at different stages. It's fundamentally the same struggle, and it's definitely the same class that's involved in that struggle, and it's also against the same enemy, the international capitalist class.

The fact that the brunt of the struggle in South Africa is being waged by miners -- gold miners, coalminers -- and against companies heavily financed by British firms, Anglo-Dutch firms and South African Anglo-American firms, brings the question closer home. The self-same people that are financing the current war of attrition against the miners unions in



South African mineworkers welcome striking British miner last year.

South Africa are the self-same individuals and companies that are already poised to buy up any section of the British mining industry that's denationalised. So when we say that it's the same struggle against the same enemy, I don't mean that in an abstract way.

I also think it's important to make another point. If anybody thinks that the kind of slavery that's going on in South Africa and the mass industrial murder that's being practised there is something to do with -- it's because they're black workers, it's something to do with some kind of inefficiency or backwardness on their behalf -- then they might soon be proved wrong, unfortunately, because what we've learnt is that capitalism isn't particularly interested in what colour your hide is as long as it can extract the last penny of profit out of it. And you don't have to go back far into the history of our own union in Britain to know that. Mass industrial murder of men, women and children underground was practised quite happily against us -- although Mrs Montague Gaumont, one of the big coalowners from Wallsend, often described us as her 'black friends'. So you don't have to go very far back to find a similar kind of condition that was prevailing here.

For them who can only see things in terms of how it affects them personally (and I don't think that is an illegitimate way of looking at things): the European Common Market Coal and Steel Community Commission has announced

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The tribune of the people

Trotsky and Lenin

In his pamphlet 'What is to be done?', Lenin explained the difference between trade-unionist and Communist politics. Countering the argument of the Russian 'Economists' that agitation should be restricted to purely working-class issues, he explained that Communists ('Social Democrats', as revolutionary Marxists then called themselves) must give a lead around all issues of social oppression:

'Everyone agrees' that it is necessary to develop the political consciousness of the working class. The question is, how is that to be done, what is required to do it? The economic struggle merely 'brings home' to the workers questions concerning the attitude of the government towards the working class. Consequently, however much we may try to 'lend the economic struggle itself a political character' we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of Social-Democratic political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow....

The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; he must be able to generalise all these manifestations to produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to explain his Socialistic convictions and his democratic demands to all, in order to explain to all and everyone the world-historic significance of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation.

-- VI Lenin, 'What is to be done?' (March 1902)

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Rhymney miners: Victims of this most vindictive of all governments

Don Hughes, Celynen South lodge, South Wales NUM (in a personal capacity), writes on the murder sentences against the Rhymney miners.

You wanted my opinion of the court case in which the two young Welsh Mineworkers were sentenced to life imprisonment for murdering that taxi driving scabherder. My opinion on this disgrace can be summed up in one word, 'Bullshit', but I suppose I will have to try to say a little more than that.

Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland were given life sentences and a third Mineworker who was accused with them was set free. The man who was set free pleaded in the court that he played no part in the death of Wilkie but tried to persuade the other two not to push the concrete posts off the railway bridge. The other two should have been also set free for this reason. There was a case about thirty years ago when two men were caught by the police breaking into a warehouse, I believe in London. One of the men was Christopher Craig who was sixteen years old, and the other was Derek Bently who was nineteen years old.

It came out in the trial of this case that Bently was caught by the police and arrested while Craig who carried a handgun was cornered in another part of the building. As he was approached by a policeman he pulled out the gun, and Bently although in police custody said to Craig 'give it to him Chris', thereby

Craig shot and killed that policeman. The outcome of the trial was that Craig who shot the cop was given 'life', and Bently, who was in police custody at the time of the shooting, was hanged. There was a public outcry at the time over this injustice, and there should be now. While Craig was too young to hang this was no excuse to hang Bently, especially when that man was in police custody. The Judges in this country are like the lord God Almighty, they work in some very mysterious ways.

It remains a fact that the scab was truly responsible for this 'crime' because I am sure that he does not take a taxi to work at his pit under normal circumstances. So I say that that person and the others who did arrange for this taxi were the truly guilty ones in this case. The capitalist system we are forced to live under at the present time, and their cronies in the Tory Government who pass laws in the 'Palace of Varieties' at Westminster to deprive working people of our country of their civil liberties condemn these two unfortunate miners simply because they are miners, so as to say, 'if you choose to rebel against the Establishment, then this is your reward'.

I hope that these words express how I feel in relation to these two fine lads. They should be released forthwith in order to contribute what they can to society and not locked away because of corrupt laws passed by this most vindictive of all Governments. ■

WORKERS HAMMER

Monthly newspaper of the Spartacist League, British section of the international Spartacist tendency.

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Published monthly, except in January and August, by Spartacist Publications, PO Box WC1H 8JE.

Subscriptions: 10 issues for £2.00; overseas airmail £5.00.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Printed by Slough Newspaper Printers Ltd (TU). ISSN 0267-8721.

US keep your bloody hands off Trincomalee!

Down with state terror against Tamils in Sri Lanka!

For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka!

On the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) the Tamil minority is struggling not just for national rights but for survival. Ever since the government-instigated mass pogroms of July 1983 the Tamil people throughout the island have faced escalated bloody repression at the hands of JR Jayewardene's Sinhala-chauvinist regime. In mid-May of this year, a new spate of killings erupted which threatens to unleash communal bloodletting of devastating scope and savagery.

In the Tamil north of the island (Jaffna peninsula), several years of brutal military rule by the mainly Sinhalese army of occupation, aimed at crushing the young Tamil separatist guerrillas (popularly called 'Tigers'), has only fuelled the sentiments for an independent Tamil state of 'Eelam'. In the face of daily atrocities by the army and police, on 14 May Tamil guerrillas apparently struck back in kind. At Anuradhapura, former capital of the ancient Sinhalese civilisation and a revered centre of pilgrimage for the Buddhist Sinhalese (the Tamils are mainly Hindus), gunmen in army uniforms reportedly opened fire indiscriminately on crowds at a bus station and holy site, killing scores of men, women and children. The government-controlled press (and the foreign capitalist press, which sees strongman Jayewardene, locally nicknamed 'Yankee Dickie', as a potentially important ally in the 'free world') attributes the Anuradhapura massacre to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). A joint statement issued in Madras 17 May by the LTTE and three other guerrilla groups categorically denied involvement in this crime and condemned it; the fifth main group, in a separate statement, did the same.

In the days that followed, Sinhalese communalist gangs and the armed forces slaughtered defenceless Tamils, including 48 passengers on a ferry murdered by 'unknown' assailants who arrived on Sri Lankan naval patrol boats. Now Jayewardene, openly boasting of his dictatorial powers, announces 'martial-law courts' and plans to arm local communities:

'The President, who has four more years in office, already has considerable powers of detention under a two-year-old state of emergency, which was extended today. He described his authority today as "practically a dictatorship".' (*New York Times*, 25 May)

The plight of the oppressed Tamil masses confronted with government-spearheaded communalist onslaughts is desperate. It will only be aggravated by Tamil guerrillas going over to indefensible 'retaliatory' anti-Sinhalese communalism. Class-conscious elements of the Tamil liberation fighters must themselves mount a ruthless campaign against the perpetrators of revolting communalist crimes. Only with an internationalist perspective can the Lankan working class, Sinhalese and Tamil, and the multi-national working class of Ceylon's giant neighbour, India, be mobilised to defend the Tamil people by revolutionary struggle against the reactionary capitalist oppressors.

Ceylon politics since 1948 has followed a course of increasing communal polarisation through 'salami tactics', driving towards the ethnically/religiously 'pure' nation. Independence in 1948 took care of the Europeans. Virtually the first act of the United National Party (UNP) regime that came in at independence was to render 'stateless' the so-called 'Indian Tamils', brought to the island in



Colombo, July 1983: Tamil homes and businesses torched during anti-Tamil pogroms.

large numbers to be plantation labourers by the British after 1850. Then sliced off was the 'Burgher' community (descendants of intermarriages with the Portuguese, Dutch and British colonists), fully half of whom have emigrated. The condition of the Lankan army today, ill-disciplined thugs rampaging against the populace in the north, has a lot to do with the squeezing out of the Burghers who were important as senior officers under the British. In the 1960s high-ranking Catholics in the army became suspect and were ousted. The retrograde narrowing of the concept of the nation to exclude the 'Ceylon Tamils' has proceeded to the formal enshrinement of the Buddhist religion, the 'Sinhala Only' language agitation aimed in large measure against Tamils in the civil service and professions, the increasingly brutal military occupation of Jaffna, the July 1983 pogroms in the south intended to destroy Tamil businesses in the rest of the island and to induce massive forced population transfer of Tamils to the north. Now it seems to be the turn of the Muslims as well to find themselves placed outside 'the people'.

The idea of the ethnically pure nation is supremely irrational racist nonsense. The Indian subcontinent has been a crossroads of peoples for thousands of years. Notwithstanding the myths that are pushed in Lanka and abroad about the 'Aryan' Sinhalese and the 'darker-skinned' Tamils, the fact is that the Sinhalese and Tamils can't tell each other apart except for tiny details of their dress and of course their different languages.

For the right to Tamil Eelam!

The anti-Tamil pogroms of July 1983, orchestrated by the United National Party government, were a watershed, surpassing the previous outbursts of communalist terror in 1958, 1977 and 1981. The wave of anti-Tamil terror in Colombo (the capital city) and the south was spearheaded by well-organised elements like the government's 'trade-union' thugs (JSS). The bloodthirsty mobs who burned Tamil homes and businesses (and some Indian-owned factories) and incinerated and hacked to death the fleeing men, women and children were often escorted to their targets by men with voters' lists.

The pogroms, aimed at eliminating the important Tamil merchant and business layer, were a decisive step in destroying the economic interpenetration of the island's peoples. Thousands were killed and upwards of 100,000 Tamils were forced to flee as refugees to the north or to India. Another new development was

the terrorising of the overwhelmingly Tamil workforce of the hill country plantations, where the superexploitation of the mainly 'stateless' Tamil labourers provides most of Sri Lanka's foreign-exchange revenues; now as many as 200,000 have fled, creating a labour shortage. While seeking to place the burden of 'splitting the country' on the Tamil separatist sentiment which has grown strong in response to national oppression and army occupation in Jaffna, Jayewardene's UNP regime and its communalist allies have themselves split the country, ripping the peoples apart and driving to force the Tamils into a 'bantustan' in the impoverished Jaffna peninsula (and perhaps a small enclave around Batticaloa in the southeast). The indiscriminate terror and atrocities are designed to seal this situation.

In early May alone, reported army and Sinhalese communalist atrocities included: 15 civilians killed in Karainagar after guerrillas attacked the naval base, 14 bus passengers murdered on Pannai causeway, 15 shot dead indiscriminately at Nainathivu, two women on a bus raped in Puttalam, more than 70 killed in an army retaliatory rampage in the Port Pedro area, including 12 schoolchildren, and 50 young Tamils herded into a community centre at Uddupiddy and blown up. After the Anuradhapura attack on Sinhalese civilians, fresh army and communalist killings erupted in the Eastern and North Central provinces. In Colombo police sweeps in Tamil areas of Wellawatte and Pettah put at least 150 Tamils in detention. The government is threatening to impose widespread martial law and claims there is a 'concerted international Marxist plan' against 'democracy'. As well, Sinhalese youth have reportedly been arrested in the south of the island.

In Britain, the Tory government which supplies Jayewardene with patrol boats and 'former' SAS advisers, is viciously trying to prevent refugees entering Britain, claiming there is 'no good reason' for Tamils to flee, in the face of hideous communalist conflagration. The labour movement here must black military cargo bound for the JR regime and demand political asylum for Tamil refugees.

The international Spartacist tendency has consistently upheld the Tamils' right of national self-determination -- in other words, we recognise their right to separate and form their own state. Before July 1983, however, we argued against the exercise of that right, in favour of united working-class struggle to redress Tamil oppression in the context of the struggle for socialist revolution within the existing unitary island state.

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State terror...

(Continued from page 3)

But with the events of July 1983 the historic social balance shifted, uprooting hundreds of thousands of Tamils from the south and generating deep bitterness, hostility and mutual fear which will not easily be surmounted.

The prospects for common class struggle between the Sinhalese working class and the oppressed Tamil minority have for the foreseeable future been disastrously undermined. The massive murderous repression of the Jaffna Tamil people and the escalating outbursts of government-instigated violence against the Tamils elsewhere on the island has brought to the forefront the struggle for Eelam. Therefore, a socialist perspective of a struggle for a Ceylon workers state is expressed now in the slogan of federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka. At the same time we recognise -- as the Tamil nationalists, who place their hopes on pressure or intervention from capitalist India, do not -- that the only real hope for the Tamil minority to wrest anything from the Lankan regime proceeds through the spreading to the south of resistance to the rapacious government, so that the repressive apparatus of the state becomes overextended.

Jayewardene's regime has used its years-long crackdown on 'Tamil terrorism' to further its own dictatorial appetites and to seek to deflect the Sinhalese working people from struggle against the brutal 'austerity' measures dictated by international finance capital. Sections of the Sinhalese population, such as students and female workers in the garment sweatshops around Colombo, as well as the Tamil plantation workers, have shown willingness to struggle around their demands; what is needed is a revolutionary leadership to lead class struggle among both the Tamils and the Sinhalese against the bloody and cynical government that has it in for everybody.

While championing the right to Eelam, we cannot be enthusiastic about the prospects of an independent Tamil state in Lanka. A new minstate in the arid, underindustrialised north and east, burdened with hundreds of thousands of immiserated refugees, would usher in no bright future for the Tamil masses, nor even ensure their national survival in the long run. For the federated workers republics of Lanka and Eelam! For workers revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent! For a soviet federation of South Asia!

Army out of Tamil areas!

In the forefront of the 1983 bloodletting were mutinous elements of the Sri Lankan armed forces. These forces were then small (16,500 army, 3000 navy, 2600 air force, and 19,500 police) and ill-equipped. By dropping the period of basic training to eight weeks the government hopes to augment its forces by 2000 every two months. But the Sri Lankan armed forces are universally regarded as among the most ill-trained and ill-disciplined in the world. In the Jaffna peninsula they spend most of their time holed up in their camps, venturing out only in large formations. Tamil youth are kept as hostages, to be shot 'attempting to escape' in the event of attack. The army's characteristic response to taking casualties is the ritualistic retaliatory strike of burning, looting, raping, and

Spartacist League/Lanka



Left: Tamil women tea estate workers. Right: leader of 1984 strike by predominantly Sinhalese women Polytext workers addresses support rally at Colombo University. Linked through a revolutionary programme, such struggles can bring down Sinhala-chauvinist capitalist rulers.



Refugees make hazardous trip across Palk Strait to India to flee genocidal anti-Tamil terror.

indiscriminate shooting. But the conduct of the army is not just a matter of poor 'discipline': rather it is part and parcel of the bloody communalist policies of the government.

The regime's wild butchery has not stemmed the growth of the Tamil guerrilla organisations, who are estimated to have 2000-5000 'boys' armed in the field. They have demonstrated increasing military effectiveness and pulled off a number of spectacular successes. One group, the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO), wiped out the police garrison at Chavakachcheri on 20 November 1984, then followed up on 19 January by blasting a military transport train on the main Colombo-Jaffna line (the government admitted 48 killed, the Tamils claim many more). And at times they operate with great impunity. In mid-February, 30 guerrillas lifted 2500 gallons of petrol from the main Petroleum Corporation depot in Jaffna in broad daylight. The fractious Tamil organisations, in particular two of the larger, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Peoples Liberation Organisation of Thamileelam (PLOT) are not averse to settling their differences by machine-gunning each other. But under the impact of the government onslaught there have been moves for unity and 'coordination'. Recently, the LTTE joined with TELO, Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) and the Eelam Peoples Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) in an Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF).

But if the Tamil military organisations have not fared too badly against the army, the government's policies are directed against the whole Tamil population, to terrorise and starve it into submission. On 30 November 1984 the government announced a new series of draconian measures. A coastal prohibited zone around the north coast from Mannar to Mullaitivu extending five miles to sea and 100 yards inland was declared. Immediately this rendered

Spartacist League/Lanka



Pranod Pushkarna

97,000 fisherfolk homeless and without livelihood. As well, permits are required for all vehicles, including bicycles. The 700,000-odd bicycles in the Northern province play an integral part in the transportation of goods and people. Now only the permit holder and his immediate family may use a bicycle, and permits are only issued by senior police officers. In Jaffna peninsula only one police station is still open, in Jaffna itself. Tamils are wisely loath to go near the place -- too many have never emerged again! Curfews that disrupt food and fuel supplies and the harvest, travel restrictions, and the destruction of road culverts by the army all add up to a calculated policy of economic spoliation and starvation. The government has a declared policy of 'vicarious responsibility' to punish the local population for any 'terrorist incidents' in its neighbourhood.

After President JR dissolved the 'Round Table Conference' negotiations in December, the government has made little or no pretence of seeking a negotiated political settlement. In January the government announced an accelerated plan for Sinhalese colonisation into Tamil areas. This colonisation has long been a source of grievance for the Tamils. Trincomalee, the strategic naval harbour, was once overwhelmingly Tamil: now it is half Sinhalese; and the much publicised Mahaweli Development Scheme has been used for Sinhala colonisation. Now 200,000 Sinhalese are to be settled in the area between Vavuniya and Elephant Pass, south of the Jaffna peninsula. 'Disloyal' (Tamil) people will be displaced by 'loyal' (armed Sinhalese) settlers. As this programme accelerated in February and March a new wave of some 15,000 Tamils fled as refugees to India. The sinister Minister for National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, calls this 'racial integration'. Elsewhere in the Eastern province provocateurs have staged communalist murders in order to whip up strife between the Tamils and the significant Muslim community.

Impoverished Sinhalese are induced to volunteer to settle in the north with promises including grants of 30,000 rupees (about £750), a monthly allowance and 3-5 acres. They are to be the cannon fodder in a bloody 'conquest of the land'. Despite the government's fondness for the example of the Zionist settlements (and the government's Mossad advisers), these colonies will be no kibbutzes, armed with technological superiority and backed by the might of the Zionist state. Rather they will be the focal point for an uneven, but all-sided, communal bloodletting. And for the Sinhalese peasants who will survive, there will be no escape from the exploitation and poverty they may believe they left behind in the south. One result of the UNP's accession to power in 1977 and its policies of 'let the capitalist robber barons come' has been a rapid acceleration in capitalist differentiation in the countryside. In the southeast Sinhalese peasants are being thrown off their land to make way for multinational sugar plantations. In the Mahaweli, many settlers have been made landless and destitute. Meanwhile the landlords, UNP politicians and their spiritual apologists, the Buddhist clergy, get fat and rich.

The horrific Sinhala chauvinist extermination campaign has provoked a backlash from some of the Tamil fighters, many of whom in the past expressed pride that they had never attacked Sinhalese civilians. On 30 November 1984 upwards of 45 Sinhalese were slaughtered at Dollar and Kent farms in the Vanni. These farms had earlier been run as rehabilitation centres for Tamil refugees from the hill country. The army expelled the Tamils, and Sinhalese convicts were sent in. Tamil organisations claim that the settlers acted as paramilitary terror squads. But the coordinated attacks on the farms went beyond self-defence or even retribution against the guilty thugs. Men, women and children were killed indiscriminately. Soon after, on 2 December, eleven Sinhalese fisherfolk were killed in the villages of Nayar and Kokkilai on the northeast coast. Once again it was claimed that Sinhalese thugs had been terrorising the district, but again the 'reprisal' was indiscriminate. Both attacks have been ascribed to, and indeed justified by, the LTTE.

The Tigers are being blamed for the recent massacre at Anuradhapura, though they have denied responsibility. Indeed some Tiger supporters have blamed the Sinhala leftist JVP and many Tamils suspect government agents provocateurs. Given the government's use of 'big lie' techniques and the press censorship, caution is dictated. But the shift in the Tigers' tactics towards indefensible communalist retaliation against non-military targets, as indicated by the earlier atrocities at

Dollar/Kent and the attacks on Sinhalese fishermen, makes the government's account of the Anuradhapura massacre believable to the Sinhalese masses. Purportedly the Anuradhapura attack was intended as a reprisal for the murder of 70 Tamils in Jaffna (following a guerrilla success that killed an army major and several soldiers), and perhaps as a demonstration of the capacity to take the war to the Sinhalese heartland. But this sort of 'reprisal' is indiscriminate communalist murder which can only help fuel the reactionary dynamic favoured by the Sinhalese reactionaries. All the Tamil guerrilla organisations are steeped in nationalism, whose ultimate logic is 'kill the Sinhalese'. Meanwhile the Sinhalese, like the Israeli Zionists, hold the upper hand while seeing themselves as an inherently embattled minority in imminent danger of being swamped by the tens of millions of Tamils of south India. Thus the Tigers' nationalism points in a direction which is not only racist, but deadly dangerous for the Tamil minority in Lanka.

US out of the Indian Ocean!

Jayewardene's massacres take place in the context of US imperialism's drive for war against the Soviet Union, and help to pave the way for US imperialism's counterrevolutionary plans in the region. The US imperialists would dearly love to get their hands on strategic Trincomalee harbour in the Indian Ocean, as part of a network of bases stretching from Diego Garcia to Alice Springs and Subic Bay, targetted on the Soviet and Vietnamese workers states. Trincomalee is traditionally a Tamil area; hence, the colonisation of Sinhalese and the manipulated communalist violence there are part of Jayewardene's plans to become a favoured tool for US imperialism.

Right now perhaps, the United States is being a little coy about its appetite for Trinco so not to upset Rajiv Gandhi, who they hope might do for India what Sadat did for Egypt and break the alliance with the Soviet Union. But in the meantime the most powerful Voice of America transmitter outside the United States itself is being installed at Chilaw on the northwest coast of Ceylon. From there the VOA will be able to beam its counterrevolutionary message to Soviet Central Asia, East Africa and China. The installation will have the capacity to jam India's defence communications systems. Jayewardene wants to trade anti-Soviet loyalty for aid in crushing the Tamils. Recently, on a visit to kindred spirit Zia in Pakistan he provocatively indicated his support for the Islamic counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan. On the same trip Jayewardene also talked of self-determination for Kashmir, a provocative gesture towards India.

A flashpoint for India/Lanka tensions has been the narrow Palk Strait where the Lankan navy has been shooting at just about anything that moves, killing Indian fishermen and looting their catches. Early in the year, the Indians seized a Sri Lankan naval patrol boat, in a calculated warning.

The UNP regime has been flirting dangerously with ignoring the power realities of the region. India presently does not like the idea of US bases on its doorstep (nor do they like having to deal with the mounting number of refugees, now estimated at over 100,000 from Lanka). Of course, the Gandhi regime does not want to be seen as encouraging a secessionist movement, having enough of its own to contend with in India itself. However the mess in Lanka could snap the tightrope Congress Party is walking in south India. Congress does not run a single state government in the south, and its main ally the Tamil Nadu governing party threatens to disintegrate if its main leader, a paralysed ex-film star, should die. To the Indian regime an invasion of Lanka might actually look like less trouble than the situation in Tamil Nadu, home of about 60 million Tamils, if Jayewardene cannot restrain his people from destroying the Tamil people in Lanka.

Recently talks between Jayewardene and Rajiv Gandhi were held in New Delhi, while their respective 'security' and 'defence' ministers 'consider[ed]' ways of ending separatist Tamil guerrilla violence and reprisal actions by the security forces.... Meanwhile, the Sikh week of protest to commemorate the first anniversary of the Indian army's assault on the Golden Temple began peacefully at the weekend' (*Guardian*, 3 June).

Almost without exception the Tamil organisations sow illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie. The main bourgeois parliamentarist group, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), openly pleads for Indian intervention. And in accord with Hindu chauvinism, many Tamil militants in

Lanka dismiss the legitimate rights of the Sikhs. When Mrs Gandhi, the butcher of Amritsar, got her just deserts many of the Tamil groups fell over themselves in lamentation. One group identified Mrs Gandhi as 'One of the closest sympathisers of the oppressed people of Thamillelam' and called her assassination 'one of the darkest days in the history of Thamillelam' (*PLOT Bulletin*, vol 1 no IV, undated). Likewise another laments that Tamils have lost 'a mother-figure itself' who was 'always a dependable guarantor of their ultimate survival' (*EROS*, January 1985).

From the beginning we have warned against the illusions in the Indian bourgeoisie, pointing to the suppression of the Bangladeshi Mukti Bahini in 1974. By preaching faith in these capitalist allies the Tamil liberation fighters are only preparing the way for their own bloody suppression. Indeed recently some of the organisations have been getting a lesson from these 'friends'. In India, Lankan Tamil militants have been evicted from their bases on the Thanjavur coast. Activists from the National Liberation Front of Thamillelam (NLFT) were recently arrested in connection with arms seizures in Madras. EPRLF members have been arrested and detained by Indian patrol boats. Gandhi's new Prevention of Terrorism Act is a threat not just against the



Tamil guerrillas in training.

Sikhs but also against Tamil militants. And in April Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhanari pointedly condemned all violence, a statement viewed by Tamil groups as a 'betrayal'. This was not a betrayal but a sign that the Indian bourgeoisie is not the type of 'friend' the struggle for Tamil liberation needs.

Bonapartist rule

To sustain its anti-Tamil repression and divert the Sinhalese masses from going after their own exploiters, the government and Sinhalese ruling class whip up communalist hysteria, playing on fears of being a beleaguered minority facing a Tamil/Indian threat and on the myths of being the Lord Buddha's 'chosen people' and the true 'sons of the soil'. In the forefront of the racist mobilisations is the Maha Sangha, the governing body of the Buddhist monks. Fascistic elements like former cabinet minister Cyril Mathew and power elements within the UNP regime itself egg the JR regime on to further excesses. But the regime faces other pressures and constraints, underpinning its increasingly bonapartist and dictatorial nature. No elections will be held until 1989 (if then) and rumours circulate of military coups, especially if the ageing Jayewardene were to die. In fact the Sinhalese working class has a long history of militant struggles, at times even led by ostensible Trotskyist formations (see 'The struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon' by Edmund Samarakkody, *Spartacist* no 22, Winter 1973-74). And in the last year significant pockets of class-struggle militancy and resistance to the regime have emerged among sections of the Sinhalese.

The economy has been driven into the ground, not solely by the present regime, and is now a real basket case, providing fertile ground for religious fanatics but also opportunities for class struggle against the common enemy. Sri Lanka is the most aid-dependent country in the world, but since July 1983 both aid and investment have dried up. Tourism has dropped off drastically. Remittances from migrant workers in the Middle East, which is the second foreign exchange earner after tea, face severe cutbacks. US protectionism threatens the garment industry. Defence spending has of course burgeoned. The fish catch is down by 40 per cent, largely as a result of the naval prohibited zone in the north. The price of fish (a crucial source of protein) trebled in the first two months of this year. One presidential adviser has warned the government of 'insurgency conditions' in

the south if prices keep going up. When the regime calls on the Sinhalese not to launch new pogromist attacks on Tamils, not to 'play into the hands' of the northern 'terrorists', this is not just hypocrisy. They are scared that the army and police would get over-extended and that the economy would collapse completely.

It is only a boom in world tea prices that has kept the economy staggering along. But that wealth is produced by Tamils! Economically the tea plantation workers have been and remain potentially the most powerful sector of the Lankan working class. The material basis of the parliamentary reformism that infests the dominant working-class organisations in Lanka (and of the various social welfare measures like free education that were won on the island) lies in the superexploitation of the 'stateless', disenfranchised and predominantly women Tamil plantation workers.

Abandoned by the reformist left parties and offered little other than that they can go to live in Eelam by the sundry Tamil nationalists, the plantation workers remain a powerful force capable of providing the key to a progressive solution on the island. Last year because of the tea price boom and the pogrom-induced plantation labour shortage, the plantation workers were able to strike successfully for pay increases. Since then other smaller strikes have broken out, often over the harassment of trade-union militants and youth by the police. In Kandy Buddhist leaders have been demanding that the Tamils be replaced with Sinhalese men and women because 'estate labourers had now become a terrible headache to the nation'. But an unorganised casual rural labourer earns more than a plantation worker, and no Sinhalese peasant wants to work on these virtual slave plantations (which is why the Indians were brought in there in the first place). Terribly oppressed and exploited, the plantation workers are strategically placed and have shown their willingness to struggle.

After tea exports and workers' remittances from abroad, the garment industry is Lanka's biggest exchange earner. In the Free Trade Zone and in other factories scattered around Colombo, foreign investors were promised rich pickings by exploiting a 'disciplined' and educated workforce for less than a dollar a day. In the last year the textile workers, predominantly young Sinhalese women, at factories like Polytex, Magnum Garments and most recently Apparel Exports, have fought hard strikes to improve their conditions and pay (see 'Hail Lankan women workers struggle', *Workers Hammer* no 69, May 1985). The same police who butcher Tamils baton-charge the picket lines of these women workers. The same government that oppresses the Tamils supervises the superexploitation of these young Sinhalese women. The resistance of these women and the struggle of the Tamil plantation workers, if linked through a revolutionary programme and party, could be the deathknell of capitalism in Lanka.

The Sinhalese working masses have plenty of reasons of their own to rise up against the bonapartist Jayewardene regime which is squeezing them in the interests of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism. The cop assaults on strikers, on students, on women at this year's International Women's Day demonstration in Colombo -- this is what the government wants for its 'own' people. When the UNP regime introduced an anti-separatist oath for parliament to oust the Jaffna Tamil parliamentarians (who became the main Opposition in 1977 when the voters massively rejected the Sri Lanka Freedom Party), this was part of a series of sweeping moves against formal bourgeois democracy. Strikebreaking, slashing of social programmes, censorship, attacks on students, Jayewardene's arrogation of dictatorial powers, the years of martial law in the north, ruinous attacks on the plantations, communal violence -- these are what bloody capitalism has to offer. A revolutionary party must be forged to weld the desperate grievances of the workers and peasants into a united fight against the capitalist regime.

The IMF of international bankers dictates more austerity for Sri Lanka, including the dismantling of the state education system. In late January the parliament passed a Universities Amendment act, introducing private universities which only the rich can afford and abolishing the democratically elected student councils. Prime Minister Premadasa declared that the government did not want any 'mini-general elections' among students. Large student protests erupted with the police resorting to baton-charges and tear gas in Colombo.

continued on page 6

State terror...

(Continued from page 5)

Opposition party leaders were arrested, a number of universities closed down and total censorship imposed on all reporting of student and university affairs. Still on 20 February students gathered to hoot and jeer the president as he drove to the state opening of parliament.

Parliamentary cretinism and popular frontism

The evolved shameless parliamentary cretins of the Lankan left strive to channel the rumblings of discontent, such as the student protests, into new class-collaborationist schemes, seeking to refurbish their longstanding bloc with the Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP), which has traditionally been even more hostile to Tamil rights than the UNP. Founded by SWRD Bandaranaike in the early 1950s as a populist-nationalist split from the UNP in alliance with the Buddhist clergy, the SLFP entered the big time in Ceylon politics with its 'Sinhala Only' racist campaign on the language question in the mid-1950s. The working-class parties, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) which is often falsely described as 'Trotskyist' and the Communist Party (CP), scented future ministerial portfolios in a 'united front'. The reformists looked to the SLFP to fight the 'main enemy', the UNP, which openly represented the summits of the Lankan ruling class and was the preferred instrument for the interests of British capital. This capitulation became decisive in the mid-1960s when the LSSP and CP openly entered an SLFP government. (The Spartacist tendency in Lanka came out of the LSSP left wing, associated with Edmund Samarakkody, which split away in opposition to the entry into bourgeois governments.) The class-collaborationism of the opportunist left thus led them straight into an unholy alliance with Sinhala-Buddhist racism, turning their backs on an honourable history of support for Tamil minority rights.

The debacle of the popular front in power was decisively demonstrated in the 1977 elections which gave the UNP a huge majority. The working masses had expected a vast improvement in their living standards from 'their' government, headed by Bandaranaike's widow. But Mrs Bandaranaike's rule became synonymous with corruption, the economy (not least the nationalised plantations) was a disaster, and when in 1971 thousands of discontented rural Sinhalese youth rose up, led by the New Leftist JVP, enraged over broken promises and the prospect of unemployment, they were slaughtered in rivers of blood. Mrs B held on under a draconian years-long 'Emergency', paving the way for Jayewardene's massive electoral victory. The masses' increasing disenchantment with the SLFP had led to some token self-criticisms from the CP and a left split from the LSSP to form the Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP), but the whole spectrum of opportunists remains firmly wedded to its perspective of new alliances with the SLFP.

When posters appeared seeking to whip up a 'Russian scare' with claims that the USSR was backing the Tamil struggle in the north, the CP scurried to display its loyalty to the Sinhala state and denounce the Tamil insurgents as 'terrorists':

'Countries like America, Britain and West Germany give aid, support and make homes for northern terrorists. In these countries funds are collected on a large scale for this movement.... However the Soviet Union has not given protection to any Tamil youth. There, funds are not collected for the terrorist movement.' (*Attha*, 1 December 1984)

And the CP pledged that it would 'give the necessary support to the government at this time of severe crisis'.

The NSSP, which is linked with the mis-named 'Militant' tendency of the British Labour Party, seeks to occupy a terrain somewhat to the left of the LSSP and CP and is generally more coy about supporting Mrs B but remains wedded to class-collaborationist blocs with the SLFP. During the student protests the NSSP scurried about brokering a 'joint action group' to include the SLFP, the MEP and the Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP). The MEP is a communalist outfit whose leader has made a name for himself in parliament by advocating more and better arms for the government troops in the north. And the SLMP, which according to NSSP 'theory' is a 'working-class formation', is a bourgeois party run by Mrs Bandaranaike's daughter and son-in-law which champions the 'inviolability of the unitary state'.

The NSSP sometimes claims to support the Tamils' right to self-determination but in the

time-honoured fake-Marxist fashion gives this 'self-determination' a content other than recognition of the right of separation. Thus the NSSP supported Jayewardene's meaningless 'autonomy' proposals to the 'Round Table Conference'. And the NSSP's Vickramabahu Karunaratne writes:

'To talk of separation before taking power is to put the cart before the horse. Separation or integration entirely depends on what changes take place within the Sinhala nation.' ('Letters to Tamil Samasamajist', emphasis in original)

In other words, it's all up to the Sinhalese. For Karunaratne Tamil self-determination must be either integration in Lanka or unification with the Tamils of south India. And scandalously, the NSSP has been careful not to say a word against the collection of funds and other resources for the National Defence Fund for the government's communalist war.

Lately there has emerged in Lanka a more leftist current of armchair advocates of 'armed struggle'. A leading ideologue for these enthusiasts of the 'Nicaraguan road' is Dayan Jayatileke, who to his credit has espoused the right of Tamil self-determination. But beneath this militant veneer lurks the same old popular-frontist tailism which led his forebears to ally with the communalist SLFP. Writing in 1984 Jayatileke went into raptures over the new SLMP, mimicking the old excuses for tailing the SLFP as a supposedly dynamic mass movement of indeterminate class character:

'The SLMP has not yet crystallized into a party which is hegemonized by, or articulates the interests of a single identifiable class.... It is in fact a healthier phenomenon; one with greater potential, a multi-class bloc, a transitional political formation and perhaps an embryonic mass movement.' (*Lanka Guardian*, 15 May 1984)

Presently leading the pack in Sinhalese chauvinism is the JVP, which had originally emerged as a leftist response to the betrayals of the reformist left. Reflecting its base among radicalised Sinhalese petty-bourgeois youth, the JVP always had a streak of anti-Tamil chauvinism, going on about 'Indian expansionism', a code word for seeing the Tamils in Lanka as fifth columnists. But for years the JVP enjoyed strong support among students, controlling the student councils at most campuses (not including Jaffna). Since July 1983 the JVP has been a particular target of government witchhunting which seeks to make an amalgam of Tamil 'terrorists', the USSR and 'extremists' in the south.

The JVP is aggressive in espousing a virulent anti-Tamil line. It vehemently denies any contact with the Tamil liberation fighters and labels their struggle an 'imperialist plot'. It attacks the UNP government from the right, denouncing it for 'secret attempts' to 'foist on the country a federal solution'. The

JVP has pledged not to attack the army and police by word or deed while they are fighting 'terrorism'. JVP head Wijeweera pledges 'sacrifices' for the nation and the JVP slogan is 'Defeat Eelam'. This year the JVP celebrated May Day with resolutions in its trade-union paper, *Malime*, labelling the Eelam movement as 'overflowing with CIA agents who are acting according to US imperialism's regional strategy.... The revolutionary movement of this country rejects the Eelamist ideology and their violent actions.' The resolutions attack the UNP for 'dragging the country to the brink of separation' and in effect call for the jailing of Amirthalingam, the most prominent of the respectable Tamil parliamentarians, denouncing JR for 'the whitewashing of Amirthalingam, who maintains relations with organisations that are directing violent acts towards the bifurcation of the country, as well as the continued free reign given to Amirthalingam to act contrary to the sixth amendment' (which illegalised advocacy of Eelam). Thus the JVP, born out of the betrayals of the 'old left' groups, has now more than matched their capitulation to Sinhala chauvinism.

Forge a revolutionary workers party

The situation on the island is on a downhill slide into even greater communal blood-letting. The main left parties in Lanka are steeped in Sinhala-chauvinist class-collaboration. The petty-bourgeois Tamil guerrilla organisations are nationalist, pandering to the Indian bourgeoisie and indifferent to the crucial struggles of the plantation workers. A revolutionary workers party opposed to popular-frontist alliances and standing firmly for Tamil self-determination must be built. This is what the Spartacist League/Lanka is fighting for. Among elements of the Tamil activists the SL/Lanka, despite its small size, has won for itself a reputation as the only consistent defenders among the Sinhalese for Tamil national rights. From among the Tamil militants, including the exiles in India, a Bolshevik nucleus must be forged linked to the construction of a Trotskyist party throughout the sub-continent. In their newspaper (*Lanka Spartacist* no 8, January-March 1985) our comrades put forward the revolutionary slogans around which such a party must be forged:

- Not nation against nation but working class against capitalist class!
- Not one cent nor a drop of blood for the racist war!
- For the right of Eelam for the Tamil nation!
- Release all political prisoners branded as 'terrorists'!
- Defeat the anti-Soviet war drive!
- For a federated socialist republic of Lanka and Eelam!
- Forward to a soviet socialist republic of South Asia!■

Tamil refugees speak out

Workers Hammer was able to interview several Tamil refugees recently arrived in Britain. We print below just some of their stories of the terror in Sri Lanka today.

Young woman, Jaffna: Before July '83, in May '83, probably after the local government election, army forces came into my house and tried to kill us. At that time my brother and myself and my parents were there. Through fear we had to run away out the rear door. We just left our house because we wanted to save our lives. And they all came into our house and looted everything....

So many troubles like that are going on. Our area is close to the university, and it's very difficult to live there for the young boys and girls. The boy next door, the army once entered his house and called his name. He's just innocent, they called his name, and shot him down. Another house, they went into that house and pulled out one old gentleman and his son who lived there. Both of them came out and on the spot they shot them and they died.

You cannot go on the roads because you have to have permission and a licence. Even if you are going by bike, when the army convoy comes you have to stop and stay on the side and they always throw some acid on the civilians. And I know that one of my friends' sister, when she was going to school, she is a student, advanced-level student, they threw some acid on her and she almost lost her sight in one eye. And another girl, she is a student of Jaffna University, when she was going for an examination they threw some down, it went into her

ears and she lost her hearing.

Young man, Batticaloa: The Sri Lankan army arrested my brother in September 1984 and took him into their custody. From that time the Sri Lankan army has come to my house almost daily and they check whether we get any letters from outside. They suspect my brother is also involved in this freedom fighters movement and that's why they arrested my brother. But to my knowledge he doesn't have any connection with this freedom fighters movement. Very often they come and enquire and actually they check whether I am having any connection with these freedom fighters. They took my brother to the police station and they beat him. His arms and his legs were very badly injured....

Tamil-Muslim riots broke out on April 13th 1985. Some Muslim thugs came with the Sinhalese commandos and they looted some things from our house and they damaged a part of our house. In the night, with the help of these commando forces the Muslims came to our neighbourhood houses. They came by armoured cars and they used their lights. They went into the houses and gradually they started demolishing the houses and residences of my neighbourhood. By their doing such things to Tamils we have decided we can't live there. I just got out of my home town to go somewhere in this world and get peace. I didn't think that I will come to Britain, but I thought that I should go somewhere. I didn't come here to get a job or get into a college but I just came for my safety and life. I would like to get back to my home town if there is peace and harmony in my home country.

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Carnage on the terraces

'The Italian section in front of the charging British was like a swirling river of bodies which began to cascade down the terraces. At this point I knew that people were dying. The crowd was like an animal following its own logic. The Italians to our left began to break into our section of the grandstand. I was terrified, I now understand how wars start.' (Italian spectator quoted in *Sunday Times*, 2 June)

'Someone shouted "those buggers are from the National Front"... They started lobbing missiles at the Italians. It was they who led the break-in to Z section and then it was mayhem.' (White Liverpool fan quoted in *Guardian*, 31 May)

The bloody carnage of Brussels: 38 dead and 250 injured after British football thugs rampaged at the 29 May European Cup Final between Liverpool and Juventus. As grieving relatives of Italian victims flew in to collect their dead, Union Jacks were burned in the streets of Italian cities and some fifty cars with GB stickers were smashed up in Paris. A massive bomb was defused by police outside Marks and Spencer in Brussels. The European football association UEFA immediately banned English clubs from continental Europe for an 'indefinite period'; then FIFA banned them from playing abroad anywhere, even in Scotland. These bans, seeking to pin 'collective guilt' on an entire nation, serve only to fuel the chauvinist flames and must be opposed.

The fascists were in it up to their filthy necks. Fascist exploitation of the mindless thuggery which appears to be endemic to the 'football industry' has become a commonplace in recent years. Recruiting leaflets for the National Front and British National Party and racist trash demanding 'Kill the niggers' were circulating freely before the match, and a banner of the Italian fascist Ordine Nuovo was also present. Two years ago, fascists from across Europe converged on West Berlin in an attempt to turn a match with a visiting Turkish team into a pogromist bloodbath of immigrant Turkish workers.

Thatcher seized on the horror of Brussels as an occasion to repeat yet again her vile amalgam of football hooliganism, picket line 'violence' and Irish Republicanism. Radio Moscow pointed to a more appropriate amalgam: '... no matter how infamous is the tragedy that has taken place in Brussels, it stems directly from the violence applied against striking miners, participants in the CND, against fighters for civil rights in Ulster, elevated to state policy.' The decrepitude of post-imperial Britain, reinforced by Thatcher's swingeing attacks on all oppressed, must inevitably breed such mindless, chauvinist reaction.

It was the heroic miners whom Thatcher tried to crush in blood who pointed the road out of the barbarism witnessed in Brussels. Instead of fences to separate rival gangs competing in bloodthirsty patriotism, we saw French and English miners shoulder-to-shoulder singing the 'Internationale'. During the strike a letter in the *Miner* (17 January) described a Christmas party in Maerdy Workingmen's Club:

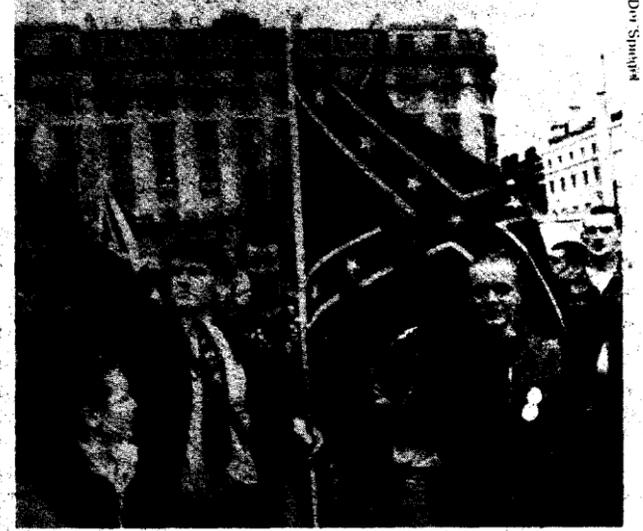
'Santa turned out to be a member of a 10-person Italian delegation from Milan and Brescia who have raised more than £20,000 for the miners since the beginning of November.' Indeed in Italy now the ability of the fascists to exploit anti-English sentiment with crude 'Kill the British' rhetoric is significantly undercut by the memory pervasive among Italian workers that the striking miners, too, were British.

Had the miners defeated Thatcher and opened up an intensified working-class offensive against capitalist oppression and unemployment, it would have given the masses of despairing and lumpenised youth something positive to look to. But the labour misleaders who in the aftermath of Brussels mutter about unemployment and underlying social causes were the very same gentlemen who stabbed the miners strike in the back, while seeking to scapegoat foreign workers for domestic unemployment with their appeals for racist, chauvinist import

effect of depriving tens of thousands of working people of one of their few pleasures in life. (And as the Bradford fire cruelly demonstrated, the ruling class doesn't give a damn if working-class football fans fry on the terraces.)

Thatcher's crackdown on 'football hooliganism' is part and parcel of the massive increase in open police repression consolidated during the miners strike. The gratuitously vicious cop rampage at Stonehenge against harmless hippies who just wanted to listen to rock music and worship the sun is a sign of the times in Thatcher's sick, sick Britain. It's not hard to guess who will be at the receiving end of the police manhunt for the supposed culprits of Brussels in Liverpool -- the largely unemployed and minority youth who rebelled against her in 1981.

The ruling class pigs who wring their hands



Carnage in Brussels: Thatcher's strikebreaking, racist chauvinism fuels fascist terror.

Peter Robinson

controls. And when in Downing Street themselves the only thing they do to the unemployment figures is push them up.

Thatcher responded to Brussels by introducing a whole range of measures, including yet stronger police powers, identity cards and a ban on alcohol anywhere in the vicinity of football matches, and beating the drums for her reactionary 'law and order' campaign. It will do nothing to quell the massive and aimless disaffection which festers in an epidemic of chronic unemployment, much less to stem the fascist gangs who are the openly terrorist vanguard of Thatcher's own viciously racist, anti-communist, strikebreaking drive for 'Victorian values'. But it will have the punitive

over 'football's shame' are hypocritical in the extreme. Writing in 1945, George Orwell commented:

'I am always amazed when I hear people saying that sport creates goodwill between nations, and that if only the common peoples of the world could meet one another at football or cricket, they would have no inclination to meet on the battlefield. Even if one didn't know from concrete examples (the 1936 Olympic games, for instance) that international sporting contests create orgies of hatred, one could deduce it from general principles.' ('The Sporting Spirit')

Add to Hitler's glorification of Nazism at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, the 1932-33 'bodyline' cricket test series (English fast bowlers aimed straight at Australian batsmen, badly injuring several; diplomatic relations between the 'mother country' and its faithful dominion were nearly broken). And what about the imperialist boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics and the hysterical anti-Soviet jingoism whipped up over last summer's games in Los Angeles? Thatcher's virulently chauvinist 'Falklands factor' rhetoric, either passively accepted or openly endorsed by the Labour misleaders, goes a long way towards legitimising the fascists who wrap themselves in the Union Jack.

This clapped-out imperialist country can only continue to breed more of the same crap: racism, chauvinism, barbarity. And sport will hardly be immune. A couple of sizeable trade union/minority mobilisations to meet fascist provocations on the streets could nip that genocidal menace in the bud. But the only way to do away with the conditions which spawn such filth is to smash capitalism through workers revolution. We need a Leninist vanguard party to lead struggles such as the miners strike, which offered hope to millions, to put an end to capitalism in all its irrational barbarity once and for all. ■

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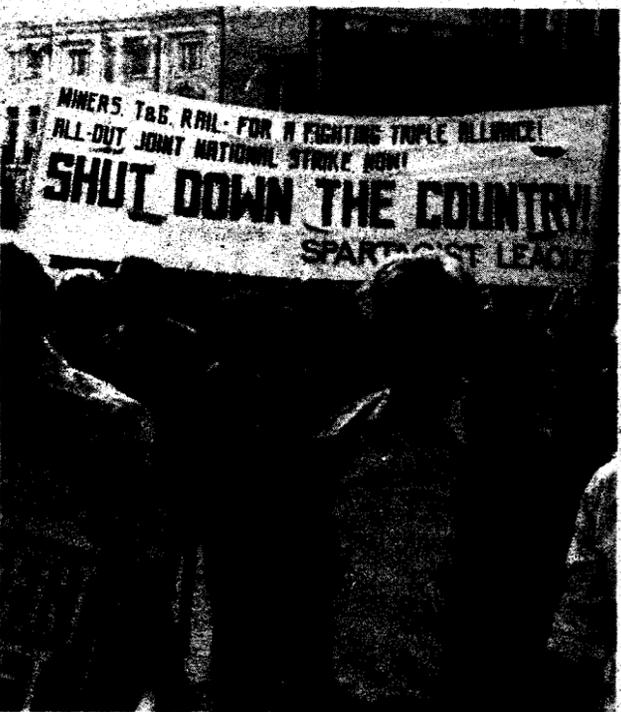
the miners have started paying attention to the Spartacist League of Britain. They think the Spartacists had the right strategy to win the miners' struggle: pull in a couple of the other key unions to 'shut down the country'. Alone among the British left papers, our *Workers Hammer* told the truth: the need for a fighting workers leadership not afraid to confront the capitalist state in a struggle which poses the question of class power, the essential role of a revolutionary party forged by splitting the militant ranks of labour from the traitorous tops, uniting the vanguard fighters on behalf of all the oppressed by capitalism. That's why slandering the Spartacists has suddenly become urgent business for the Healy gang once again. England is Healy's home base, and he even used to aspire to a following among the miners. So the American Healyites in their remote bunker got their orders to do a smear job on the Sparts.

The opportunist British left, and Healy the counterfeit leftist, are eager for the working people to forget the lessons of the hard-fought strike, which was a profound exposure of the slavish Labour 'leadership'. The social consciousness of the miners was altered as they found that the specially oppressed, from blacks and Asians to homosexuals, were a solid base of outside support for the strike. The miners got a concentrated education in the nature of the bosses' state and the cops. And they learned about Healy. In the normal course of things, lessons pretty quickly become eroded or submerged in defeat, as political life flows back into the usual channels -- i.e. the reformist channels of the Labour Party. But the miners union has a long memory, and it's our job to see that the lessons of this struggle are not forgotten. Of course all the 'left-wing' fakers have a stake in the idea that past betrayals should be forgotten, forgiven, accepted as 'necessary' or inevitable. But for Healy it is a principle that there must be no memory in political life. The determination to wage war on consciousness is perhaps the most consistent feature of Healy's loathsome political career.

Healyites: An organisation for hire

When we first encountered the Healyites many years ago, they had begun espousing orthodox, anti-revisionist Trotskyism. (Indeed they still try to do so when it suits them, except that they come close to posing Trotsky as Stalin's agent -- a fairly unique paranoid delusion.) But they do not have inherent politics of their own nor have they had any for a long time. For nearly two decades, they have done their best to be simply an organisation for hire.

Healy's appetites came to fruition when the Healy gang became the most unashamed devotees of assorted gangs of Near East murderers, vicious reactionary militarist regimes like Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi's Islamic fanatics in Libya. The Healyites have been among the world's most fulsome supporters of the ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, the most grotesque champions of the 'unity' of Arafat's PLO. In 1979 they explicitly justified the Iraqi Ba'ath regime's execution of 21 members of the Stalinist Communist Party, historically the leadership of the militant, strategic oil workers. Healy's embrace of these murderous capitalist regimes was prepared by years of cynical adulation of the so-called 'Arab Revolution', a



Spartacist League fought for joint strike action alongside embattled miners. Healy served as fingerman for TUC Cold Warriors, Tory union-busters against leftist NUM leader Scargill.



Scargill, the WRP and Solidarity

Scargill's letter
Dear Mr. Healy,
I am in receipt of your letter dated 17 July 1983 and find it most interesting. The letter is contained in the News Line.
I find it very amusing about my presence in Solidarity in Poland. We are pleased that you are so interested in our struggle. I am opposed to Scargill because I believe it is an anti-revolutionary line which shares the viewpoint of a handful of...
I do not and never have supported anything which is against human rights, either in Poland, the Soviet Union...



Michael Banda replies
(General Secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party)
Dear Mr. Healy,
I am in receipt of your letter dated 17 July 1983 and find it most interesting. The letter is contained in the News Line.
I find it very amusing about my presence in Solidarity in Poland. We are pleased that you are so interested in our struggle. I am opposed to Scargill because I believe it is an anti-revolutionary line which shares the viewpoint of a handful of...
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Healy's *News Line* in carefully timed bombshell set up Scargill for witchhunting barrage in Tory press during September 1983 Blackpool TUC.

classless and entirely disembodied notion whose function is to permit those who are so inclined to justify anything in the name of 'anti-imperialism'. But more than ideology is involved in Healy's posture; the deal was consummated with something a lot more solid than the collected works of Colonel Qaddafi. Healy's embrace of Qaddafi coincided with the reappearance of a Healyite daily paper, *News Line*, in England two months after his previous daily, *Workers Press*, had folded. Hence the Healyites, as press agents for some of the world's most unappetising capitalist regimes, are hardly acting as a part of the workers movement. But then they have always been distinguished by an incredible programmatic instability and a cynicism which boggles the mind. They are characterised by slavish Labourite reformism, which in the US is expressed in the most grotesque catering to the white labour aristocracy, at the same time as they seek to appeal to restless youth with the most ultra-'revolutionary', not to say bloodthirsty, rhetoric. The Healyites are a professional cheering section for Third World nationalism and worse, at the same time as they are marked closer to home by the most cringing legalism. Out of this dichotomy comes the attachment to frenzied slander and violence and the insistence that nobody should remember what was written yesterday and the day before.

From their earliest days the American Healyites have been on the market for an influential patron to sell themselves to. When they're not practising the world's oldest profession on behalf of Near Eastern despots, they are sucking up to the labour bureaucrats at home. In 1967, at the very moment when millions of youth were being radicalised by the imperialist war against Vietnam and the movement for black freedom, the *Bulletin* put forward a programme for a 'labor party' that only George Meany could love. Meany, who headed the AFL-CIO at the time, was part of the Cold War labour 'leadership' installed after the American labour movement was beheaded by the anti-'red' purges which drove out the communists and militants after World War II. Meany & Co supported US imperialism's war against Vietnam even after most capitalist politicians had given it up as a losing cause.

Take a look at the WL's five-point 'labor party' programme, which we reproduce here from the *Bulletin's* front page. For the WL, the war and black people just didn't exist. A programme for labour? This was a programme for the bureaucratic fat-cats whose conservative, openly racist and pro-government line makes the AFL-CIO a bastion of sellouts at home and a witting cover for the CIA's anti-labour machinations all over the world. Now almost 20 years later, George Meany himself couldn't have done a better job than Healy did at Blackpool to spearhead the Cold War witchhunt of Scargill to facilitate 'Iron Lady' Thatcher's union-busting.

Catering to the labour bureaucracy means mimicking every aspect of racial insensitivity and political backwardness. And so the WL displays a recurring fondness for cops and prison guards as an alleged part of the labour movement; in 1971 the *Bulletin's* approving front-page article on a bonapartist 'strike' by New York cops was headlined 'New York Labor Explodes'.

An undated *Bulletin* supplement issued in about March of this year perfectly illustrates this profile. The supplement is by Ed Winn, a black transit worker identified as 'the Workers League candidate for President of the United States in the 1984 elections'. Addressed to the members of the New York transit workers union -- a strategic union with a militant history and a high proportion of black, Spanish-speaking and immigrant workers -- the supplement runs two full pages of newsprint, mainly on the upcoming transit contract and the perennial WL call for a 'Congress of Labor', without ever mentioning one single word about black people in any connection. What kind of programme for city labour can exclude the central necessity of a labour-led fight against racist oppression, against cop brutality, against the killer cutbacks, against the resurgent racist reaction in Reagan's America? The WL calls for ... a Labor Party, obviously one that won't mention blacks even when addressing a largely black union which ought to be the powerful fist behind the demands of the impoverished ghetto masses. Even where the WL suggests as its own eventual goals 'a workers government', 'socialist policies', 'revolutionary struggle', etc, there is clearly no place in such 'policies' for black struggle and no hint that socialists are committed to utterly smashing racism as a vital necessity to win the communist road to human freedom.

This is all of a piece with the WL's repellant affinity for cops and prison guards, the *Bulletin's* headline 'Black Caucuses Are Reactionary', the constant sneering at women's liberation which perfectly reflects the Healyites' consistent hostility to all questions of fighting special oppression.

But at the same time that the Healyites are sucking up to the labour aristocracy, they're also working the other side of the street (or you could say that they're crippled on two legs). To obtain a 'base', they spout a lot of militant rhetoric intended to appeal to restless, alienated unemployed young people. This provides a pool of semi-lumpenised kids to serve as cannon fodder under the direction of a totally cynical and corrupt cadre. The emphasis on youth also has another advantage: it's important to Healy that nobody know what he said yesterday, and kids are good for that.

But this system, transplanted into the US by the Workers League, has a problem which is reflected in the exaggeratedly schizophrenic profile apparent in every issue of the *Bulletin*.

continued on page 10

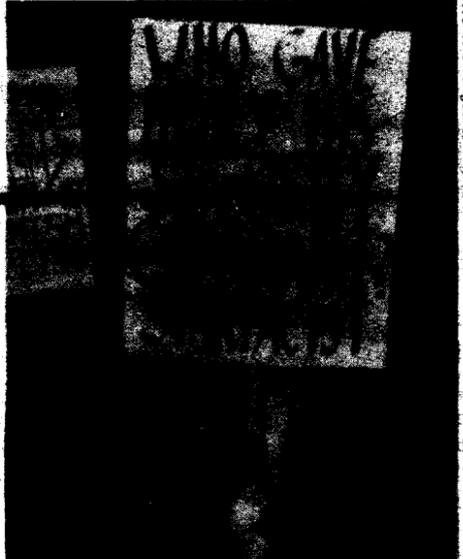
Smash fascist smear of SL...

(Continued from page 9)

etin. In England, the lumpen youth and the working class are mainly of the same ethnicity. The 16-year-old white kid that joins Healy's Young Socialists out of desperation at the conditions of life under decrepit British capitalism normally partakes of the same general outlook as his older brother -- he is aware that there is a working class and a capitalist class and sees the Labour Party as immutably the vehicle for protecting working-class interests, however impatient he may be with the old men who run it. He can enjoy the endless youth marches and the revolutionary rhetoric in the spirit in which they are intended: as pressure tactics in the framework of the tired old reformist perspective toward the Labour Party, 'make the Lefts fight'.

In America, the counterpart to these unemployed white youth are a lot harder to handle. They are mainly black and, under the American conditions of negligible class consciousness in the whole working class, they can by no means be presumed to be pro-union, and will not be kept in line by the exciting prospect of a labour party, particularly the pro-cop, anti-black 'labor party' favoured by the WL. So the Healyites have some problems as they run around depressed inner cities like Detroit seeking a base by posing as defenders of black folk and 'racist'-baiting anyone who intrudes on their turf.

Not all their problems are political, either. The schema worked out by Healy for the English social reality and loyally applied by the WL here has had some unexpected consequences. As you may know, every issue of the *Bulletin* since October 1977 has carried a front-page call: 'Investigate the Murder of Tom Henehan'. From the facts as the WL pre-



Workers Vanguard

Spartacist League/US protest against Healyite slander campaign against Hansen, Cannon, Trotsky.

sents them, we have to assume that Henehan, a Healyite cadre who was on duty at a WL dance when he was shot, was probably just applying the normal Healyite techniques of cajoling and strong-arming kids looking for a good time, in order to get them onto the buses for a conference somewhere, or into a contingent for a youth march, or into a dance hall for a Healyite festivity, and then to keep them there. Only this time, unfortunately for Tom Henehan, some of the kids evidently had big brothers. Of course this rather simple explanation is far from sufficient for the WL, which insists that the two men who were convicted of shooting Henehan were paid political assassins, and insinuates they were working for the US Socialist Workers Party, laying heavy stress on the 'role of confessed FBI informant Edward Heisler within the leadership of the SWP during the months that the assassination of Tom Henehan was prepared....' Healy uses his paranoia as a kind of justification for fleeing Trotsky's revolutionary Marxism, coupling it with an ever so abstract and arid manipulation of a mystified 'dialectics' where only Gerry gets to know which 'opposites to hold fast to'.

Anti-Trotskyist slander machine

The Henehan affair is part of a multi-year slander campaign which the Healyites call 'Security and the Fourth International', aimed at the SWP, now a reformist shell but formerly the Trotskyist party in this country. Healy's chief target is veteran SWP leader Joseph Hansen, who died in 1979. Hansen presided as

'theoretician' over the SWP's reformist degeneration in the 1960s. Running the SWP at the time was Farrell Dobbs, with present SWP head Jack Barnes (not, as *Workers Vanguard* readers know, one of our favourite people) waiting in the wings. Healy, in successive waves of escalating wild slanders, posited that Hansen was a long-standing agent of the FBI and of the Russian secret police as well. Healy claims that Hansen had, as part of Leon Trotsky's entourage in Mexico, set up Trotsky's assassination by the Stalinist GPU. Thereby Healy echoes the discredited Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by his 'own people'. And from that claim that Hansen was an operative of the Stalinist and capitalist secret police, it's a short half-step from Hansen to Cannon to Trotsky.

A dozen years ago the SWP, even as a fully reformist party with no programmatic attachment to Trotskyism, was interested in and capable of defending its veteran comrades. For our part, the Spartacist League, in addition to signing the SWP's united-front defence statement, campaigned vigorously against Healy's lies with our own demonstrations and articles raising slogans like 'Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?' and 'Joseph Hansen Is an Honest Revisionist'.

With the death of Hansen and the accelerated purging by Barnes of virtually every element of organisational and human continuity with the old SWP, Barnes' party became unwilling or totally unable to defend the name of the old Fourth International against the Healyite slander machine. A couple of years ago the American Healyites brought suit in federal court against the SWP for having expelled one Alan Gelfand. Thus they invoked the US government as arbiter, supposedly to return the SWP to the revolutionary road! Legally Gelfand's case centred on demanding that the US court should intervene in the running of voluntary organisations of the left and determine who is and isn't a member. Propagandistically the suit -- charging the SWP was FBI-controlled through the SWP leadership -- was a vehicle for re-raising the ludicrous slanders against Hansen. But the SWP shamefully ducked the whole issue of Hansen as a supposed accomplice to the Trotsky murder, while keeping the very existence of Gelfand's outrageous challenge to workers organisations' rights secret from the public for as long as possible.

Healy loves the law

Taking workers organisations to the capitalist courts is a hallmark of Healyism. For at the same time that the followers of Healy are violent, they're very legalistic, and indeed Healy just loves the law. In 1966 the Healyites strong-armed Ernie Tate, an SWP supporter, when he was trying to sell literature on the sidewalk outside a Healyite political event in London, then brought charges against him in court. In 1981 the British Healyites' Vanessa Redgrave brought a libel suit against *Socialist Organiser* editor Sean Matgamna after Matgamna published an expose of these political bandits. (Interestingly, Redgrave's suit conspicuously chose not to contest Matgamna's allegation that Healy & Co have received material aid from Qaddafi's Libya.)

Healy's love for the law brings us straight back to the Goetz case. For the Healyites' basic thrust on the Goetz case is, simply, that only duly constituted authority should carry guns. All the cheerleading for 'revolution' abroad notwithstanding, nobody beats Healy for legalism close to home.

Last December 22 a skinny white guy, Bernhard Goetz, shot four young black men during an apparent shakedown on the IRT subway, and the case of the 'subway vigilante' began. We have written about the Goetz case, a fable of our time, illuminating the desperately sharply posed conditions of life in Reagan's America. It's an ambiguous situation, and we said so.

What the Healyites have to say about our approach to the Goetz case bears, as might be expected from this crew, little relationship to reality. Thus:

'However, there is another newspaper that has joined [Post publisher Rupert] Murdoch in the adulation of this fascist psychotic -- the so-called *Workers Vanguard* published by the political sect known as 'Spartacist'. It has devoted two lengthy articles supporting Goetz's shooting of the four black youth in terms that are explicitly racist.... This article clearly establishes the evolution of the Spartacist group toward fascism, completing a process of political putrefaction which will come as no surprise to those who are familiar with the history of this group....'

The *Bulletin* goes on to define us as 'a middle-class cult group set up around the person of

Detroit anti-Klan protesters support the right of self-defence, in wake of KKK/Nazi murder of five militants in Greensboro, North Carolina, 1979.

James L Robertson', who, it says, has functioned since the early 1960s 'as a behind the scenes operator for [you guessed it] the FBI agent then leading the SWP, the late Joseph Hansen'.

Probably the Healyites are counting on the indisputable shock value of the Goetz affair itself for the distant reader. Even many Americans, if they aren't vividly aware of the New York subways, will just be put off by the idea of people shooting people. Middle-class Britishers who think their own cops never carry guns are probably utterly bewildered by the American social reality. It's hard for them to know what it means to be approached by four young black strangers in the IRT (the South African legal code, perhaps derived from the British, has a precise phrase for what New Yorkers know as a shakedown: 'demanding with menaces'). English readers might consider how it feels to walk into a railroad car full of crazed soccer fans. Or try walking down Shankhill Road at high noon wearing a crucifix. Brother, your ass is grass. What is 'racist' about saying, as the Healyites quote from *Workers Vanguard*, 'Marauding by black youths on the NYC subways is a mass phenomenon'? That is a fact, which black people especially are painfully aware of, because they are the most frequent victims.

To convey a sense of the American social reality, more specifically the violence that racism and desperation breed, in our original articles on Goetz we quoted from *Manchild in the Promised Land*, a work by a black writer, which is eloquent and precise on the subject of lumpen crime. This time, in deference to the WL's ultra-philistinism, we will put literary sources aside and simply quote in full a little story from the *New York Times*:

'A group of four teen-agers robbed three men on the IRT No 2 elevated subway line in the Bronx early yesterday, stabbing two victims and beating the third, the police said.

'Two of the victims, from the Bronx, were asleep when the gang attacked them, according to a spokesman for the transit police, Edward Silberfarb.

'The first incident occurred at 2 A.M., when Joseph Lee, 33 years old, was attacked by the group on a southbound train entering the Gun Hill Road station. He told the police he had been punched, kicked and robbed of \$20. He was treated at Jacobi Hospital for minor injuries.

'An hour later, the youths chased Warren Kendew, 30, from the 218th Street platform, stabbed him and took his wallet with \$15, Mr. Silberfarb said.

'Then the youths assaulted Carl Thorpe, 39, on a northbound train. He told the police that a youth had cut his right leg with a knife and that the gang had stolen his wallet with \$70.

'Mr. Kendew and Mr. Thorpe were listed in serious condition at Misericordia Hospital.' (*New York Times*, 20 April)

The *Times*, by neglecting to mention the race of either the four assailants or their three victims, will have made it impossible for the WL to evaluate the above incident. To us, it makes no difference whether these were black youth attacking whites, white youth mugging

Workers Vanguard

blacks, Puerto Rican youth mugging whites and blacks, or any other variant. Nobody, oppressed or not, has a licence to prey upon the people. Kids with no jobs and no prospects want to eat potato chips and look at TV like everyone else, so they need money, but it's still pretty terrifying when they get it by mugging you on the subways.

The Goetz case is contradictory and so is the outcry it has produced. It is being used simultaneously to whip up racist 'backlash' sentiment and to push gun control. Central to everything we have written on Goetz is the understanding that in this violent racist country there is a huge congruence between fear of lumpen crime and racism, and thus vigilantism necessarily acquires a fascistic political colouration. But we have also pointed out the desperation of hostile, mutually terrorised populations in the big cities, who know the capitalist 'justice' system 'isn't working'. So a lot of working people -- and when we say 'working people' we, unlike the Healyites, don't just mean white working people -- initially responded to the Goetz case by observing that people might be better behaved if they were reminded that the skinny white guy with glasses, the black grandfather sitting next to him or the Hispanic mother across the aisle might be 'packing' a gun. This response was particularly marked among black people.

Integral to this widespread attitude is fear, and not just the often justified fear of random, casual crimes of violence by lumpen youth with little to lose, but also the eminently sensible fear of the cops. Nobody thinks the cops -- being too busy sitting around getting drunk when they are not out dealing drugs or choking black kids to death -- will protect them. Particularly in the social matrix of New York City, a cop is: 1) a psycho, 2) a racist and 3) not too fond of the big boys who really are on top. (Of course, the Healyites don't share this view, instead embracing the cops as a purported part of the union movement.) The real problem in New York today isn't one 'subway vigilante' but the systematic police torture and murder of dark-skinned people, a daily occurrence in today's 'fear city'. Seeking to hide this fact, the WL puts itself right up there with Ed Koch in alibiing cop terror against the working people.

Meanwhile, the reformist groups in this country, who are at bottom mainly just guilty liberals, don't dare touch the explosively interlocked questions of crime and race. They must therefore paper over the contradictions of the Goetz case with simplifying mythology. Here the WL is absolutely indistinguishable from the common variety of reformist leftists (though as we have said, they are far from being merely this). Thus for the *Bulletin* Goetz is simply a 'fascist'. The Communist Party, similarly, has suggested that Goetz was some kind of German, in other words a Nazi. (Indeed, Goetz was some kind of German -- his mother was a German Jew who fled Germany.) The reformist press symmetrically presents the black kids (who already had criminal records) as if they were on their way to a church social. The recourse to simplifying invention is the tip-off that they're hiding something.

They're hiding how hard it is in this country, how brutal and desperate. The masses are being attacked in every imaginable way by a vicious Reaganite bourgeoisie on top while being eaten from below by despairing lumpen youth. And these moods do tend to a polaris-

ation -- ultimately, fascism or workers revolution. And the reformists are in the business of pretending that things will get all better if only we bring back the capitalist Democratic Party (in Britain, the sellout Labour Party). For there to be any illusion of reasonableness to this 'solution', it is necessary to minimise the problem. If things were not so raw, if racism were not so integral to the fabric of capitalism, if injustice and oppression were not fundamentally rooted in the social order, indeed we wouldn't be for socialist revolution, a cataclysmic historical event frequently accompanied by very bloody savagery from the ruling class, and it's not just the ruling class of South Africa we're talking about.

Healyites' message: Trust the state

What keeps drawing the establishment press, the glossy news magazines and the TV types back to the Goetz case, as a tongue is drawn to a hurting tooth, is their incomprehension that so many people of all backgrounds don't think the answer to crime is the cops. As Marxists, we oppose the monopoly of the means of violence in the hands of the capitalist state: gun control means nobody will have guns except the racist cops, the criminal elements which capitalism spawns, and let's not forget the *Times* editors with their pistol-packing chauffeurs. When the *Times*' Sulzberger lec-

ously enough, doesn't satisfy most people. But at least Safire is consistent; he knows he's a particularly right-wing mouthpiece for America's rulers. His line is: trust the state. And so is Healy's. For Healy too, only duly constituted authority should have guns. The corollary is that the British cops had the right to do anything they wanted to the striking miners. We say no, everybody has the right to carry and to be accountable for their deeds. Which in the case of Goetz is a moot point, for the 'subway shooting' was an ambiguous situation; a disturbed, possibly racist, previously victimised, armed man and four menacing criminal youth, one of whom may now be paralysed for life.

In the British Isles everybody (with the conspicuous exceptions of the IRA and the British government) believes that firearms are a bad business. Well, we have to observe that great questions are generally resolved with guns, and sometimes daily individual existence also involves this question. In this racist society, blacks have been terrorised since the beginning of slave times; the gravest offence for them has been the mere possession of a firearm, just as for the Irish Catholics in Ulster. Those who intend to engage in social struggle cannot afford to be principled pacifists. We continue to feel keenly and bitterly the Greensboro massacre, where a well-organised cabal of Klansmen and

Bulletin
POLAND-
NEW STRIKES
ERUPT

NEW YORK LABOR EXPLODES

Begins Showdown

New York Labor Begins Showdown

Militant policemen march for parity during strike which was supported by 85%.

Bulletin
TRADE UNIONISTS FIGHT BACK!

MOTION

We fight in the unions for the American trade union movement to take the lead in establishing a labor party which will:

1. REPEAL ALL ANTI-STRIKE LEGISLATION
2. PROVIDE JOBS FOR ALL
3. WIPE OUT INFLATION
4. ESTABLISH TRADE UNION CONTROL OF WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE SHOPS
5. NATIONALIZE ALL COMPANIES WHICH CLAIM THEY CANNOT PROVIDE DECENT WAGES OR WORKING CONDITIONS

carried unanimously-trade unionists for a labor party
december 3rd new york city

Above: cop-loving US Workers League salutes bonapartist 'militancy' of capitalism's hired gunmen during 1971 New York police 'strike'. Right: 1967 programme for a 'labour party', Healy-style -- antiwar activists, blacks need not apply.

tures that everything would be okay if people would just be reasonable and the cops would act responsibly, he knows he's got his armed men downstairs and his pistol in his desk drawer.

So the bourgeois press just can't stand the widespread alienation from the capitalist 'justice' system and cops. Their line boils down to: in the interests of social orderliness, the citizens must rely on the cops no matter what. Nobody is more explicit on this than William Safire, the former Nixon press agent who is now the house ultra-conservative for the *New York Times*. In his *Times* column on April 8 Safire wrote:

'The only way to stop crime is to uphold the law. If you are carrying a handgun without a license in New York State, you are breaking the law. Don't do it and don't condone it. If you start to make exceptions for people who are especially frightened, you undercut the authority of the police....

'If you are menaced by someone who demands your property, give it to him, remembering his face or voice; only if you are reasonably sure he means to kill you, and you happen to be legally armed, should you give it to him in the more vigorous sense. Most of us are not legally armed, nor should we be; in those cases, our anti-crime responsibility is to be noisy and observant victims....

'Certainly victims have rights, and all too many innocent people are terrified by punks; that is more reason for law-and-order hard-liners to keep the amateurs out of the job that must be done by professionals.

'Become involved with law enforcement; bear witness; but leave lethal counterforce to the people we authorize to wear their guns on the outside.'

Safire, who sees himself as a conscious agent for the capitalist state, thinks that unless you happen to be legally armed, you should die for the higher good of the state. This, curi-

Nazis with the assistance of the cops and the FBI opened fire on a peaceful anti-KKK demonstration and selectively assassinated five supporters of the leftist Communist Workers Party. We wish that we could have been part of an effective security squad protecting those anti-racist demonstrators. And through our strategy of mobilising the organised power of labour and blacks against fascist terror we assisted the black unionists and youth of Washington DC in stopping the emboldened Klan in the streets.

On the level of individual existence too, one had better have a calculus of violence. Consider three cases: the crucial Willie Turks case, the tangential Tom Henehan case, and the dubious Bernhard Goetz case. Willie Turks was a black transit worker whose job took him to the Gravesend section of Brooklyn, an enclave of ethnic white losers. For the crime of wanting to buy a bagel on Avenue X late at night after getting off work, Willie Turks was beaten to death by a gang of racist punk kids. We think Turks should have been carrying; we think he should have had a fighting chance at self-defence. Following his murder we agitated that the Transport Workers Union should mobilise a massive demonstration of unionists on flatbed trucks through Gravesend to serve notice that Willie Turks had thousands of union brothers who intend to protect the rights and lives of black working people. That's the kind of law and order we support. But not Healy: he is for the absolute monopoly of armed force by the previously authorised gunmen of the capitalist state, which is of course presumed to be colourblind and class-neutral.

To recognise the ambiguity of the Goetz case means to defend the idea that Willie Turks ought to be alive. And that the Klansmen and not the anti-Klan radicals at Greensboro should be in the ground, like their comrades at Bitburg. Self-defence for Willie Turks is the individual unit of what, collectively posed, is simply the right to engage in

continued on page 12



Life-sized little Gerry Healy (in foreground) dwarfed by his egomaniacal projection.

Smash fascist smear of SL...

(Continued from page 11)

social struggle: the right to demonstrate against the Klan, and ultimately the right of a workers party to organise for power. Marxists understand that bourgeois democracy operates in this country, up to the point that the ruling class begins to feel itself threatened; at that point, the couple of communist representatives that we will have managed to get elected to the bourgeois parliament get hauled off and shot. Whether or not you can abjure the use of force on principle depends on your aims. It's not that Healy has flunked Lenin on the nature of the state, force and violence. No, it's just that what he seeks is not socialist revolution but co-optation, whether it's in the government barracks in Tripoli, Libya or Baghdad, Iraq, or at home in England's Buckingham Palace.

A short course in American history

The *Bulletin* article was written for foreign consumption; Healy intends it to be read by suckers who are moreover ignorant of American reality. Today in America, nearly half our homes have firearms -- long arms, handguns, often both. This is not generally known in countries with strong states that emerged to institutionalise the oppression of their own people, unlike America, created by European settlers pushing the frontier westward over the continent's indigenous inhabitants.

According to the National Rifle Association, every recent study shows that between 45 and 50 per cent of American households have guns: the 'Decision Making Information Survey' in 1978, for instance, put the figure at 47 per cent. Furthermore, the guns are spread fairly evenly throughout the population; there are regional differences, but the only disparity between blacks and whites is that the weapons blacks own are usually less expensive. And it's good for the cops that when they go to the shooting range they get to pass rows and rows of expert marksmen who are women, kids, blacks, Asians, you name it.

Formal legal equality for blacks, obtained only after World War II for the most part, includes the right to bear arms, and black Americans cherish that right no less than whites. Indeed, turning this point around, a powerful impetus to the civil rights movement was returning black soldiers who, having risked their lives in World War II and especially Korea, were not about to submit passively to the degradations of Jim Crow racism when they got back home.

The right to bear arms in America was established in a reactionary context: a frontier society murderously subduing the continent's aboriginal peoples and controlling a labouring population consisting largely of black slaves, indentured servants etc. But it became part of the formal legal doctrine of this country and is protected in the US Constitution. Now there is a faction fight going on over this question: the right to possess a gun is mostly protected, but the right to carry is under fire. The purposes behind the gun control campaign, and its intended bloody consequences, are nowhere clearer than in the case of the martyred Malcolm X. As the most prominent militant champion of black rights and an outspoken advocate of self-defence against racist attack, Malcolm X was, in his own words, 'a marked man'. Naturally the cops had less than no interest when he got death threats and his house was bombed. But when it became known that Malcolm was carrying a .30 caliber carbine in his car, the New York City Council zipped through legislation against carrying rifles or shotguns in public. And then when Malcolm X was shot down in the Audubon Ballroom, the man who was immediately arrested was one of Malcolm's bodyguards who had managed to wound one of the assassins. Indeed the state, William Safire and Gerry Healy are very tender on the right of self-defence. In the face of deadly danger, they insist, you should just die, because it strengthens the state.

So Americans have guns, and want to keep them. This is a sociological fact of life in America, and will be a useful fact when the mass of the American population feels immediately and overtly threatened by a tyrannical government. As Marxists, we have campaigned consistently for the right of self-defence and against gun control. In reporting on our first electoral campaign, for Berkeley City Council, we cited in our first paragraph our 'support

of the right of American Negroes to armed self-defence in the face of racist violence' (*Spartacist* no 4, May-June 1965).

In our article on the 1964 cop riot against the masses of Harlem, we called for neighbourhood block councils to organise the ghetto struggles, wage rent strikes against slumlords, and oppose cop brutality: 'Moreover, such councils form a natural basis for the organization of defense patrols to protect the community against future police riots -- and such patrols are the embryo of that workers militia which will defend the coming American Revolution' ('Harlem Riot and After', *Spartacist* no 3, January-February 1965). A major document adopted at the SL's Founding Conference in 1966 calls for revolutionary ghetto organisations: 'One of the most important functions of such representative popular organs would be the organization and direction of effective self-defence against police and racist violence. The potential for rapid growth by the American fascist movement adds to the seriousness of this task...' ('Black and Red: Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom', *Spartacist* no 10, May-June 1967).

A leaflet which we mass-distributed in Newark following the 1967 ghetto upheaval contained the call to 'Defend the Black Ghettoes -- every serious and responsible workingman should exercise his right to own a gun.' And during the Vietnam War, in our major article against the petty-bourgeois strategy of draft resistance, insisting that antiwar radicals must not separate themselves from the mass of working-class draftees, we cited the importance of 'Familiarization with weapons and military technique -- It is indisputable that when the U.S. has a social revolution, the ruling powers will go down fighting, and ignorance of armed struggle will not help us... What a good thing it is that several hundred thousand Black people have had free military



News Line

Healyite Mike Banda, born Michael Van Der Poorten, scion of the Ceylonese ruling class.

training, courtesy of Uncle Sam!' ('You Will Go!', *Spartacist* no 11, March-April 1968).

In every one of the election campaigns that the Spartacist League has run during the last several years, from the Marjorie Stenberg campaign in New York in 1978 to the Richard Bradley/Diana Coleman campaign in San Francisco in 1984, we have prominently featured our Marxist opposition to gun control. In *Workers Vanguard* we have featured articles with headlines like 'Gun Control Kills Blacks'. And we have raised the right of self-defence prominently in demonstrations, as for example when we along with vanguard elements of the auto workers union mobilised against a Klan threat to rally in Detroit in the immediate aftermath of the Greensboro massacre.

Our general outlook is to agitate, under particular, appropriate, urgent circumstances, for an armed popular militia independent of the established state power. There is a long historical tradition behind this. Concretely, where the armed forces of the state are seen as immediately illegitimate and abusive, the effective call for and creation of such a militia can be a springboard for dual power. In Russia such a formation was called the Red Guards. But of course England, already under Charles II, wiped away such ideas after the English Revolution. And the English parlour pinks, masquerading only sometimes in red wolf's clothing, have gone but a very little way to undo that counterrevolution. And Gerry Healy is of that legally fetishistic English pinko ilk. But he is also specially dangerous, because he imposes this kind of nasty English authoritarianism on his followers in very different circumstances around the world where the question of social power is active and immediate. He is a racketeer in the 'revolution' business.

Healyites set up South African masses

Turning now to the *Bulletin's* sinister article on South Africa, we find the Sparta-

cist League castigated for 'the demoralization, cynicism and racism which characterizes the political attitude of declassed anti-Marxist radicals toward the revolutionary struggles of the working class and the oppressed colonial people'. The Healyites derive this from our article 'South Africa: Razor's Edge', *Workers Vanguard* no 376, 5 April, which calls for the building of a revolutionary proletarian party which counterposes to popular frontism and nationalism 'the program of permanent revolution, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat'. Our article warns that unless the apartheid state is smashed and the racist rulers expropriated by workers revolution, the South African butchers are fully capable of unleashing massacres like Sharpeville and Uitenhage many times over.

The Healyite polemic considers that our call for a black-centred workers republic and our statement that 'the white population must have a place in an anti-racist society' constitute 'an ultimatum directed against the black masses'. And they say that 'In its call for a "multiracial working-class vanguard", Spartacist takes the side of that elite section of the South African working class which Leon Trotsky described as the "privileged, arrogant caste of whites".' Of course, in order to paint us as some kind of white-lovers, the Healyites have to drop right out of the South African reality nearly a million Indians and two and a half million people of mixed race.

What is the situation of the South African struggle today? The black masses have repeatedly displayed the most courageous defiance of the racist regime. The country appears to be seething on the brink of a widespread, open insurrection. Only the apartheid regime is not on the brink of collapse, though it may be scared enough to unleash an orgy of bloodletting against the defenceless people. Those who think the South African apartheid regime is about to collapse are counting, naively or cynically, on the notion that the apartheid butchers can be restrained by world public opinion. Thus the whole perspective of 'divestment', which posits an international strike of capital led by the US, whose rulers, the terror-bombers of Vietnam and Hiroshima, are seen as somehow more moral than their allies in Pretoria. In the very same issue of the *Bulletin* which attacks us as 'defeatist', an account of US campus anti-apartheid protests gives pride of place to a Columbia student whose quoted remarks begin: 'It has been really going well. We have had support from Bishop Tutu and Jesse Jackson....' Indeed the Healyites, when they are not mouthing slogans of 'People's War' for the consumption of militants, take a completely uncritical approach to those who believe that the decisive factor in South Africa will be the intervention of the Jesse Jacksons and Teddy Kennedys.

As for the black militants of South Africa, and those like us who stand in defence of their rights, we don't have to love the South African whites, we just have to deal with them, because they are there and they have no intention of going anywhere else. Of course the *Bulletin* article makes no effort to answer the questions we have raised in our press, because they are concerned above all to make sure no hint of what the Spartacist League is talking about escapes from the columns of the *Bulletin*. For the Healyites, the whites are a non-question; obviously, the answer is to drive them into the sea. Only there are four to five million of them and they have all the guns. What works on a thin slice of white settler colony in Rhodesia won't work here.

In South Africa, one race sits on top of another. This means that the whole white population partakes of the superexploitation of black labour, living at five or ten times the standard of living of the blacks. This in turn means that white labour will in the main be violently hostile to black rights, tending to resist to the last man, at an unspeakable cost of black lives. It also means that the whites comprise a technical elite with an overwhelming share of crucial skills. Thus we wrote that:

'The white population must have a place in an anti-racist society; the model is how Trotsky offered thousands of tsarist officers a job to do, placing their skills at the disposal of the new Bolshevik regime and the Soviet peoples. South Africa's two and a half million coloureds, who comprise a strategic part of the Cape proletariat, and the nearly one million Indians, mainly a commercial population, are no less a vital component.... South African whites are an oppressor people who can easily and guiltily envision the terms of oppression reversed, and are determined not to be on

the receiving end. That makes them extremely dangerous....'

Though we do not envision the apartheid regime agreeing to dismantle itself after being shamed by international finger-wagging (that being a variant of the Reverend ML King's line, shared by Bishop Tutu, that if the oppressed show how nobly they can suffer, the slavemasters will have to grant them freedom), we are not 'defeatist'. We see the fracturing of that society on the basis that in South Africa there has been created, in the mines and factories, a concentrated and increasingly organised force of five million black proletarians, the gravediggers of apartheid. Still the cost will be great for proletarian revolution to triumph against a murderous police-state regime with its awesome military machine. But the revolution in South Africa will be a profound liberating blow for the whole continent of sub-Saharan Africa, where world socialist revolution is the only alternative to continued mass starvation under conditions of imperialist-enforced backwardness and oppression.

The *Bulletin* article includes a couple of beautiful quotes from Trotsky, used in the standard Healyite manner. That is, they counterpose to the Spartacists' views citations from Trotsky which are in no way counterposed to the Spartacists' views. Thus Trotsky says:

'The revolutionary party must put before every white worker the following alternative: either with British imperialism and with the white bourgeoisie of South Africa or with the black workers and peasants against the white feudalists and slave owners and their agents in the ranks of the working class.'

This squares nicely with our insistence on the need to seek to win over whites to the side of the oppressed, and not at all with Healy's vicarious nationalist line which simply dismisses as 'racist' the idea of any place for whites in South Africa.

Another wonderful Trotsky quote in the *Bulletin* restates the theory of permanent revolution, that the proletariat must assume the leadership of the national struggle. Or, as we put it, we do not see that the democratic struggle against apartheid can triumph short of the overthrow of the capitalist ruling class by the proletariat leading all the oppressed. This is not at all the perspective of the nationalist leaders of the South African struggle, even the best and most courageous of them. Since the rise of the black unions, the weight of the working class is acknowledged, but not programmatically; the proletariat is seen as a vehicle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism and not as the basis for reconstructing South Africa as a workers state.

Nationalism is the ideology appropriate to a petty-bourgeois stratum which looks forward to its emergence as a new black ruling elite to oppress its 'own' black workers in a capitalist state on the 'African socialist' model. If this schema could be carried out, it would mean a new exploitative regime resting on an ever-narrowing ethnic base: first go after the whites, then the Indians, the coloureds, finally ushering in fratricidal conflict along tribal-linguistic lines. For Healy, since the Spartacists are not black nationalists they must therefore be white-lovers. Well, we are neither nationalists nor white-lovers, but Healy, oddly enough, is *both*. For while he is quite capable in the present polemic of baiting the Spartacists by assuming a black nationalist posture, in South Africa those who are influenced by Healy espouse the same colourblind line we are already familiar with from Healyites elsewhere: hooray for the working class and not one word about the fact that certain South African workers (whites) benefit from the superexploitation of others and therefore back the apartheid state which deprives these latter of the most elementary democratic and national rights.

Healy's sole purpose in quoting Trotsky on South Africa is, simply, to totally confuse the reader: counterpose to one another two things which say the same thing and hopefully the reader will figure that Healy must be smarter than the poor reader, and will take his word for it. Those who can think their way through the muddle and come out the other side Healy doesn't want anyway.

In fact, anybody who doesn't see bloody dangers in South Africa just isn't living in this world, and mainly willfully. The Healyites have no response to our urgent warning to South African militants, and think none is needed. Once again they have precisely the attitude that all the reformists have: the people united will never be defeated. But modern history abounds with piles of corpses of

militants whose leaders 'united' them under the hegemony of the class enemies of their liberation. And if the Spartacists are not enthused at the military prospects for 'People's War', whatever WL means by that exactly, against the apartheid state, then this proves, according to the *Bulletin*, that we 'oppose the arming of the black masses' and positively enjoyed the slaughter of the defenceless blacks at Uitenhage. 'People's War' indeed -- this from people who at Columbia are for Jesse Jackson and Bishop Tutu. But so long as you're sufficiently far away from London's Clapham Common, they urge you to fight to the last man.

Classless demagogues

The Healyites are intellectual thugs for hire, and not all that intellectual. They always have a simple answer for everything, but it's isolated from reality, and not accidentally. It's a bad thing to merchandise a counterfeit world, to know and to ignore, the essence of cynicism. The Healyites know that 'Trotskyism' doesn't mean spreading the filthy lie that Trotsky surrounded himself with FBI/GPU agents in Mexico, they just don't care. They know that 'political revolution' doesn't proceed from the embrace of capitalist-restorationist Solidarnosc, but they will never let that stand in the way of achieving oneness with the anti-Soviet Labour statesmen. They believe, to use a famous phrase attributed to Stalin, that paper will take anything that's written on it, and that nobody ever remembers anything, only they do have a little problem just now in the British coalfields.

And what about 'fascism'? Well, we could say that for some of the regimes the Healyites

support, fascism's big problem is that it's an enemy of Allah. That would be the snotty response, but we want to be serious. The Healyites have done their best to be an organisation for hire. They've found their niche as kept creatures of various gangs of oil-rich nationalists, whose slaughter of communist workers they extol. Thus they are classless demagogues, all-purpose mock extremists whose radicalism has nothing in common with socialist struggle. Of course Hitler was a radical too. As opposed to the old-time German conservatives, who merely wanted the Kaiser back, Hitler wanted a 'New Order'. And he was a nationalist; he wanted to do away with all communists, Jews, the Pope -- indeed anything trans-national.

Make no mistake about it, there is a real fascist potential here. What is Healyism? It's mindless extremism even in pursuit of the most trivial aims and an unbounded admiration for power in the hands of Third World strongmen. It's baiting as 'fascists' the revolutionary Marxists because we did our earnest, modest best to aid the miners' struggle while Healy was going all out to stab the union in the back. It's a social base that presently consists of lumpenised youth along with a thin layer of TV and cinema personalities leading a gilded existence and whose view of social reality comes through a camera lens. Indeed the Healyites have the potential to become just about anything. Winston Churchill is said to have remarked once regarding a prominent fellow MP, 'Oh, that's the chap who gives degeneracy a bad name.' Add to degeneracy wild vituperation devoid of any class basis or connection to social reality and you have... Gerry Healy and his Workers League. ■

Anti-apartheid...

(Continued from page 2)

that it intends to industrially slaughter Europe and the European coalmining industry. One hundred and fifty thousand jobs have got to go in the mining community in Europe, and Belgium, France, Germany and the British coalfields are to be utterly decimated. In the case of Limburg in Belgium, South Wales, Scotland, France and Tyneside they are to be totally finished with, and the remainder in Germany and in the main coalfields in Britain are to be cut back to the very bone. And the European capitalist class wants to make up the difference by looking to South African coal and the superexploitation of black workers in South Africa working in slave conditions, working for the lowest possible wages and literally under the point of the machine gun.

And I don't say that in the way that's been posed for import controls, meaning that the foreign workers are the enemy of European workers or British workers. I say that in a solidaristic way. But the fact is the continuation of apartheid in South Africa is now a cornerstone of the European fuel economy. So the offensive of the black workers and the black miners in particular in South Africa is actually cheek-by-jowl tied to the offensive of the European workers and the miners in particular in Europe. Every blow that can be struck in South Africa against that regime is actually a blow materially and physically on the side of the European workers and the British miners. And it follows also that we have a personal duty and a responsibility to solidarise and identify with the struggle of the black workers in South Africa.

There's many things in common between the workers here and the workers there, but of course there's great degrees of difference. I'm not suggesting for one moment that the struggle in the mining industry is, in terms of quantity at least, the same as what's going on in South Africa. They haven't yet taken to mowing us down on the street, although that's not out of the bounds of their desires or their possibility. In South Africa the blacks by and large are the people who do the work. The blacks are the people who create the wealth. The whites by and large have the control of the capital and control of the wealth. The blacks have no legal rights and they're in the eyes of the capitalist class just profit fodder, and they're to be used up, screwed up and thrown away when they're totally exhausted. And from cradle to coffin African labour is used by the multinationals as ways of providing fortunes and luxurious living for that class.

At the same time the South African ruling class isn't the same kind of despotic crotch of gangsters that you get in some parts of the world. It's actually a very sophisticated ruling class. In terms of its military forces,

for example, it's equipped with a lot. Everything that modern weaponry can supply they've got -- from the latest fighter aircraft from America and Britain and France, probably even to the point where with the help of the Zionist state of Israel it's now probably got the atomic bomb as well, and possibly even the means of delivering it. It's perfectly conceivable that, knowing the way the capitalist class thinks, it would launch this atomic device against other African states and emerging socialist states in Africa.

And yet in the teeth of what seems like a gigantic monolith of power in Africa, the South African working class is hitting it head on, and is literally pulling itself up by its bootstraps. In the face of the mass detentions and the mass murders and the rampant tortures, the trade union movement is rising right through the middle of all of that, and the floodgates are starting to buckle.

I think it was a remarkable comment and an example of the maturity of the African working class and the black trade unions and particularly the mining unions, that impoverished though they were, and being shot down at every juncture and having their leaders taken off the streets, that they actually donated to the British miners union thousands of pounds. Right in the middle of all of that, and when you think how desperately poor these people are, when you see the conditions that they live in and the fact that many of them don't even have boots to wear, when we see how stretched they are -- the resources of the African unions is nil -- that they were able to make a donation like that, it's the most selfless act of comradeship that we've seen in the world for a long time. It's literally like giving somebody your last crust of bread.

So I think we've got an absolute duty to stand with our comrades in South Africa. And we've a duty to recognise and understand the international nature of the war that we're all in: the common enemy, and the common class bond that links the workers of the world. Holding meetings like this in villages linked to mining communities is a very important part in making that connection and making that link between the struggles of different workers in different parts of the world. So I'll take this opportunity on behalf of the miners at Hatfield of saluting the heroic miners and their communities in South Africa, and to wish them every success in their struggle to topple capitalism and racialism in that country and to achieve a socialist state owned, controlled and administered by the workers themselves. That would be an integral part to the whole world process of workers revolution, the struggle of workers everywhere and the desire of workers everywhere to finish with the capitalist system worldwide and to establish a world commonwealth of labour where the workers of the world will for the first time own, control and enjoy the wealth and the fruits of their own labour. ■

Newham Seven...

(Continued from page 16)

were congregating. It was then the cops moved in -- to assault and arrest the Asian youth. The three whites currently on trial were not arrested at all until a year later. That is 'justice' as it is done and seen to be done in Thatcher's racist Britain.

What is on trial at the Old Bailey is the right of self-defence by minorities subjected to racist terror. Not a day goes by in this country in which black and Asian people aren't murdered, maimed or firebombed by fascist/racist thugs. And the effective denial of the right to bear arms, which does nothing to 'pacify' the cops and racist killers, serves only to keep working people and oppressed minorities defenceless. What the racist bosses fear and detest is an armed population prepared to defend itself. It was for their flamboyant advocacy of the right of armed self-defence that the militantly nationalist Black Panther Party in the US was put in the crosshairs of a comprehensive FBI/police programme of legal lynchings and outright assassinations. Should the Newham Seven be convicted, it will be an open invitation to the racist killers in and out of uniform to escalate their murderous campaign. The entire London-area labour movement should explode in protest and outrage.

It is an indictment of the whole lot of Labourite trade union bureaucrats that defence against racist atrocities is left to a handful of heroic youth. The strategically-placed London Transport workforce, for example, which could bring this centre of finance-capital to a grinding halt, is majority black and Asian. Yet the left fakers who mouth off with 'militant' rhetoric and 'call' stillborn strikes allow their own members to be set up for racist attacks, covering up a policy of criminal passivity with daydreaming crap about reliance in 'community control' of the racist cops. Mauritian-born BR ticket collector Peter Burns was murdered with a spike through the head last year, his killer finally slapped on the wrist with a manslaughter rap. Every train, bus and tube in London should have stood still the day of his funeral, and a sharp warning issued to every would-be racist bully-boy that they would be summarily dealt with. The LT workforce can and must take the lead in organising mass trade union/minority mobilisations to sweep the race-terrorists off the streets!

The reformist myth that the capitalist state is there to protect us has always been a self-evident lie to blacks and Asians. In the course of the miners strike that myth was exploded for many white workers as well. The defence of the Newham Seven is the defence of the rights of every worker and minority in this country today. For the right of organised self-defence! Smash the racist attacks! Hands off the Newham Seven, heroic anti-racist fighters! ■

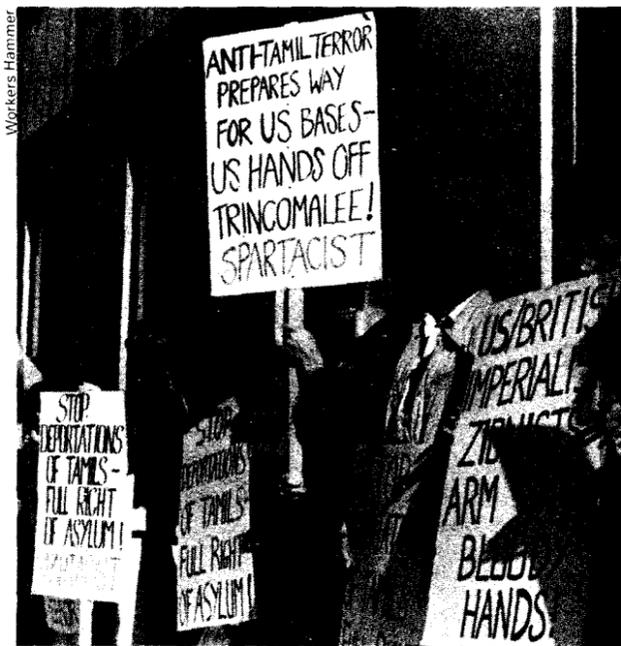
Tamil refugees ...

(Continued from page 6)

Student, Colombo/Jaffna: In the '83 riots I was in my school [in Colombo] for two weeks as a refugee and then I went back to Jaffna. I was living there for nearly seventeen years. I had a lot of Sinhalese friends but none of them came to help me at that time. The reason why the Sinhalese friends didn't want to help was the government and their people. They have been making propaganda against Tamils, that all the Tamils in Sri Lanka are terrorists and they might harm Sinhalese. That's why they did not want to help us....

The Sri Lankan armed forces they always come to our home town [in Jaffna peninsula] and they check. Whenever they come to check our area, they harass youth from my village and they loot things and demolish our property and belongings. Because of this I have to run away from my house. Whenever I go to school for my classes, on the way the army stop us and they tear our notebooks. I have to come back home without my exercise books. The bus service stopped, it's not functioning regularly because of the fuel shortage. So I have to travel by bicycle for six miles every day to go to my institute. The government has stopped fuel supply to the North because the freedom fighters use vehicles -- just to stop these vehicles. And later they want to stop bicycles also because these freedom fighters have been using bicycles.

These forces, they took my neighbourhood youth and they put them in prison and they



Spartacist-initiated protest outside Home Office, 30 May.

haven't come back home yet. We don't know what actually happened to them. Once they arrested me and kept me in their grounds without a well and I had to stay, there the whole day in the hot sun. My friends and college mates they have been shot dead by these armed forces....

For the last three months I have been home because I couldn't go out to do anything. Because I have to be in the house, because of this harassment, army harassment, my parents thought it's better for me to go to Colombo rather than staying in Jaffna. The last four weeks I was in Colombo. After I fled to Colombo I didn't have any connection or any message from my parents, I just lived alone. After this Anuradhapura incident there were no trains, no phone service, no letters, nothing. I was alone in Colombo and if the armed forces come to know that there are boys staying alone in Colombo -- that's Tamil boys -- they just come and arrest them.

I didn't have any intention of coming to Great Britain but the day I came here the army forces came to my area where I lived in Colombo, that's Wellawatte where most Tamils reside, and arrested nearly 200 youth and threw them in prison. At that time, with the help of my auntie and a friend of mine I borrowed some money and decided to come to Great Britain because it's unsafe staying in Colombo even. Even now my parents they don't know where I am and I don't know where to write. I can't write home because I'm so scared that if the government comes to know that there's a letter from Great Britain they might do anything. ■

Open the door...

(Continued from page 1)

strikebreakers. Thatcher's anti-Soviet chief-tain Ronald Reagan desperately wants Trincomalee harbour, in Sri Lanka's historically Tamil Eastern Province, as a base for the US navy. The price is Tamil blood. What Thatcher is now doing fits into a pattern of racist bans and deportations of Tamils throughout NATO Europe, including small racist enclaves like 'neutral' Switzerland. While bully-boy Leon Brittan decries a 'flood' of Tamil refugees coming into the country, the fact is that Tamil immigration has remained steady at about 3000 for the last few years. Even a West German diplomat ridiculed the Home Office statement that only 1 per cent of Tamils coming in were 'genuine' refugees, noting that 95 per cent had been granted refugee status in West Germany.

What agitates the likes of the Guardian and SDP is that Thatcher's bloodthirstiness will hinder Britain's ability to broker an imperialist 'political solution' involving Sri Lanka and India in its traditional zone of influence in the Indian subcontinent, while weakening British imperialism's 'democratic' posture. In fact British imperialism is the architect of some of the most hideous genocidal policies in history -- from 'divide and rule' communalism to concentration camps.

The only 'refugees' this government recognises are those fleeing from anti-imperialist revolt and social revolution. In the past few years, countless white Rhodesians, 17,000 Vietnamese 'boat people', thousands more Afghan reactionaries and 'many thousands' of Polish anti-Communists who left after the crackdown on counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc have been welcomed into Britain with open arms. But when it comes to black and Asian would-be immigrants, one attack follows another -- from

the Labour government's restrictions on Ugandan Asians and its despicable 'virginity tests' on Asian women to Thatcher's reviled Nationality Act. The European Court on Human Rights ruled that the Tories' racist restrictions on Asian women joining their husbands were illegal, and in response the Home Office talks about *tightening up* the legislation. Smash the Nationality Act and all the Labour bosses' anti-immigrant laws!

Yet the Labour-loyal fake left has been criminally passive on Tamil defence. An Eelam Solidarity Campaign spokesman at the 30 May protest expressed gratitude to the Spartacist League 'for organising this demonstration in support of the Tamils when most of the left groups in this country are not showing enough interest in the fight of Tamils'. For workers and the oppressed in Britain, the urgent necessity to defend the beleaguered Tamil people is manifestly a struggle against their own capitalist oppressors. As a Spartacist spokesman recently returned from Lanka said at the Home Office picket:

'We need to build a campaign of international working-class solidarity to defend the Tamils and to smash the Sri Lankan government's bloody rampage. When even Oxford University refused to give Thatcher an honorary degree, guess who gave her one -- President JR. But he kept Peradeniya University closed to students who were fighting his attacks on their rights. JR and the Iron Lady are birds of a feather. They both hate working people and oppressed minorities. The same Leon Brittan who wants to ban Tamils presided over the cop onslaught on the miners.'

Stop bloody Thatcher's deportations to death! Full asylum for refugees from anti-Tamil terror! For the right of Tamil Eelam! Down with butchers JR and Thatcher! ■

Rhymney miners ...

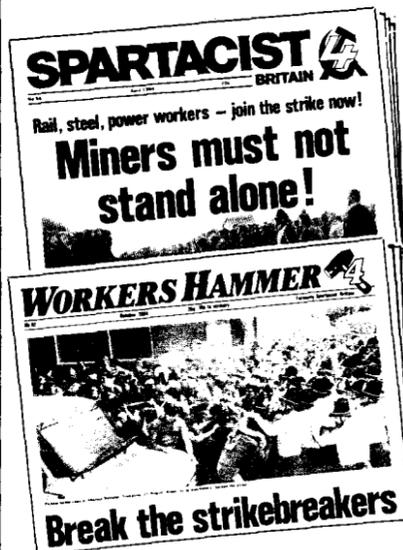
(Continued from page 16)

fiant and determined not to scrape to the bosses. But to regroup for future battles NUM members must come to terms with the left-Labour reformism of their leadership. Only hours after David Wilkie's death last autumn Arthur Scargill shared a platform with Neil Kinnock in Stoke-on-Trent, amid howls from the Labour officialdom that he renounce his members' 'violence'. The key to winning the strike was pulling other key unions out with the NUM through a sharp *break* with the Labour/TUC traitors. Yet at Stoke, as so often before, Arthur Scargill sought to *accommodate* the Labourite misleaders. He both 'totally disassociated' the NUM from the actions that led to Wilkie's death and for the first time, denounced 'violence' perpetrated by strikers away from the picket line.

Speaking to last month's conference of the draughtsmen's union TASS, Scargill claimed a prime 'achievement' of the strike was that the Labour Party is 'in the lead in the opinion polls because of what has taken place in the last 12 months' (*Financial Times*, 24 May). But the Kinnock/Hattersley Labour Party helped engineer the miners' defeat. And now it is consolidating a right-wing 'unity', dragging in ex-'lefts' like Ken Livingstone and Michael Meacher, on the basis of this *defeat*. The despicable Mr Kinnock, who is supposed to 'represent' a mining constituency just over the valley from Rhymney, *won't even criticise the murder verdict*.

Many, many lessons -- in the class nature

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of the bosses' state, the need for workers internationalism, the need to mobilise support from and aid the struggles of all the oppressed -- were learned by militant mineworkers in the course of their strike. These must not be frittered away via the refurbishment of Kneel Kinnock's Labour Party. We say: Free the Rhymney Two and all the jailed miners! Reinstate all the sacked men! Give the union back its sequestered funds! Defend the NUM! But justice and vengeance for David Jones and Joe Green, for Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock, will come only when class-conscious workers take their place in the building of a new revolutionary and internationalist vanguard party which leads the proletariat to power. ■

Smash apartheid...

(Continued from page 1)

which the organised working class places itself at the head of all the oppressed in struggle to undermine and defeat apartheid capitalism.

Smash apartheid — Workers to power!

The dependency on black labour is the Achilles heel of apartheid. A decade of black union organisation and combativity marks a new generation of urbanised blacks who have been integrated into South African industry, albeit at the bottom. The Transvaal two-day general strike, the wave of strikes in the gold mines, demonstrate the potential power of the black proletariat. The Transvaal stayaway demonstrated the capacity to link the teeming masses of the black townships and bantustans to the power of South Africa's six-million strong black proletariat. The outstanding question is leadership.

For decades black struggle has been dominated by competing brands of nationalism, represented primarily today by the CP and African National Congress on the one hand, and the 'black consciousness' Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) on the other. Under the guise of multi-racialism, the ANC and CP espouse popular-frontist accommodation with so-called 'progressive' capitalists like union-buster Harry Oppenheimer. Only a few weeks ago Oppenheimer's 'liberal' mining company sent police using rubber bullets and tear gas to evict striking miners from their hostels at Vaal Reefs and deport them to the starving bantustans. With protests through the United Democratic Front (UDF), sporadic guerrilla attacks, and lobbying imperialist liberals like Teddy Kennedy, the CP/ANC seek not to smash the apartheid regime, but to bring it to the bargaining table.

AZAPO through the National Forum combines abstract socialist rhetoric with a hard racist nationalist in which there is no room for whites like Neil Aggett (the organiser for black unions murdered by the apartheid regime in 1982), and which is modelled on black despots like Ghana's Nkrumah and Zimbabwe's Mugabe. We solidarise with AZAPO's protests against the visit of the 'condescending saviour' Kennedy early this year. But its petty-bourgeois nationalism is a dangerous roadblock in the struggle to smash apartheid and for workers revolution.

South Africa is headed for civil war and the apartheid butchers have made clear that in the next round of massacres the blood of tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of black toilers will stain the land from which they have been dispossessed. Insofar as the struggle remains along strictly black v white national lines, it will be a bloody disaster for the oppressed. However, with its powerful black proletariat the class principle can prevail in South Africa. Urgently required is the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist party in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, leading the working class and all the oppressed in socialist revolution.

In the absence of such a leadership the apartheid rulers have been able to isolate, deflect or crush each wave of black revolt. Further, the regime -- with decades of experience of 'divide and conquer' -- has been turning the mounting frustration, anger and combativity of the black masses inward, setting black against black. In the overcrowded black townships, just anger directed against the hated black collaborators of apartheid, the cops and the councilmen, has taken an ugly turn towards indiscriminate, inter-tribal and anti-migrant terror.

The bantustans were created not only to turn the masses of blacks into a vast industrial reserve army for apartheid superexploit-

ation, but to recreate and foster old tribal divisions. In February hundreds of Tswana labourers were brought into Cape Town to move the belongings of Xhosa residents of the Crossroads squatter settlement, a move the people of Crossroads had laid down their lives to resist. In the township where black union organiser Andries Raditsela was murdered by police last month, five days of clashes between residents and Xhosa and Zulu-speaking migrant workers from bantustans as far as 600 miles away resulted in the killing of 16 blacks. In each major round of township revolts there have been clashes like this, fostered by the pass system which divides blacks between a minority with urban residence rights and a majority without. This division has been exacerbated by the present recession, with unemployment estimated at 25 per cent, as residents fear migrant workers will take their jobs at lower pay.

In the black industrial proletariat drawn from every national and ethnic group in southern Africa, increasingly urbanised and conscious of its power, lies the key to overcoming tribal divisions and religious backwardness. When the black unions were first legalised in the late 1970s, one of their first successes was to get the government to repeal a ban on organising migrants. Importantly, the Transvaal stayaway included the widespread partici-



Uitenhage martyrs funeral: grief and defiance.

pation of the migrants, despite the threat of deportation, and despite the threat to those with families back in the Zulu bantustan, hostages to the terror of the Inkatha thugs of Chief Buthelezi who opposed the strike. Through the migrant workers, the black labour movement can send shock waves into the tribally-divided bantustans, shaking their puppet despotisms.

Not pleas to imperialism but class struggle

The black resistance in South Africa has given birth to a new wave of student/youth activism, particularly in America where it has been on a scale not seen since the Vietnam anti-war movement. Our comrades of the US Spartacus

Youth League have participated actively in the protests, while warning against the liberal illusions in imperialist 'democracy' expressed in the prominent demand for 'disinvestment'. This is a moralist/utopian call for an international strike of capital against apartheid, the net result of which would be to allow some sharp speculators to buy South African shares at a discount. Similarly in this country, the AAM-dominated protest movement has centred its strategy on the call for imperialist sanctions. Its 16 June national demonstration, sponsored by the Liberal and Social Democratic parties among others, demands 'Stop the massacres -- Sanctions NOW!' This shows no way forward for the anti-apartheid struggle.

Behind the calls for sanctions and disinvestment is the false assumption that a section of the capitalist class can somehow be made to act in the interests of the oppressed black masses, that the City and Wall Street (or Westminster and the White House) can shame Pretoria into reformism. But apartheid is fundamental to South African capitalism; it cannot be reformed away. And the British and American imperialists have no interest in black freedom in South Africa, any more than in Brixton or Harlem. The bloody crimes against humanity by this ruling class at home -- both its 'liberal' and conservative wings -- are on a scale unknown to the South African rulers.

Just look at the history of 'sanctions' against white-supremacist Rhodesia, blatant frauds regularly flaunted by British governments Labour and Tory alike. And this was a country of far less strategic importance and where the maintenance of white racist rule was far less necessary to the imperialists. Who can even imagine Thatcher or her ilk being pressured into acting against apartheid in South Africa today?

So what is to be done? The social power of the working class organised in its own class interests by a revolutionary vanguard is the key to real, effective solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle. Concrete acts of labour solidarity -- political strikes, blacking all military cargo to South Africa -- would carry infinitely more weight than any exchange of corporate portfolios, not to mention hypocritical 'liberal' imperialist hot air. It is with this perspective, and in order to champion a revolutionary working-class strategy for South Africa itself, that we of the Spartacist League and supporters of *Workers Hammer* will be marching on 16 June.

The imperialists' 'constructive engagement' with Pretoria is drenched in the blood of the fallen martyrs, the hundreds mowed down in the townships, the funeral marchers cut down outside Port Elizabeth on the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Every major black working-class battle must challenge the institutional structure of apartheid slavery and thereby the Washington/London/Pretoria anti-Soviet axis. The revolt of black labour must find the road to its own class power.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 379, 17 May 1984

WORKERS HAMMER Public Meeting

SOUTH AFRICA: RAZOR'S EDGE

• Smash apartheid! • Class struggle is key!

Speaker: CHERYL MYALL, Spartacist League Central Committee

7.30pm, Fri, 14 June Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (Holborn tube)



March with the Spartacist League contingent, national South Africa demonstration, County Hall, 12 noon, Sun 16 June.

• Defend black trade unions! • Smash apartheid -- for workers revolution!
• International labour action, not imperialist sanctions!

For further details contact the Spartacist League at: PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE, Birmingham (021) 236 9774, London (01) 278 2232, Sheffield (0742) 587282

The real criminals are in Downing Street

Free the Rhymney miners!

The valleys of South Wales erupted in anger and outrage last month when a judge at Cardiff Crown Court pronounced life sentences for murder against miners Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock. The miners' families and supporters cried out on hearing the verdict while some wept openly in the courtroom. As the news spread, seven hundred NUM members walked off shift on strike at Oakdale and Merthyr Vale collieries. Two days later on 19 May more than 1000 angry protesters marched through Shankland and Hancock's home village of Rhymney, bearing home-made placards and denouncing the class 'justice' of Maggie Thatcher. And the following Saturday 2000 protested in Cardiff city centre, including contingents of miners and steelworkers from as far as Yorkshire. Charged with emotion, demonstrators marched to Cardiff prison, many singing songs of solidarity, while the jailed miners shouted down to them from their cells above.

On the Rhymney demonstration, a phalanx of police prevented marchers from coming near the house of David Williams. Williams is the scab who was being escorted to work last November 30 when a concrete post dropped from a bridge smashed through the window of his taxi, killing driver David Wilkie and leading to the murder trial. Today this strikebreaker is rightly treated as a leper in the village, at work and in the street.

Free all the jailed miners!

David Wilkie knew full well what he was in for last November, ferrying scabs to work in the heart of the valleys eight months into the most bitter strike since 1926. For all the hardship and suffering, the South Wales miners were still solid almost to a man, with fewer than 200 scabs in a workforce of 20,000. Two yellowbellies had crawled back at Merthyr Vale colliery in Aberfan, a village where the scars of the 1966 colliery tip disaster which killed more than 100 -- many of them schoolchildren -- are still raw, and where every decent person knows that a strong union is the only thing which prevents yet more privation and disaster



March of outrage through Cardiff, 25 May. The real murderers are in Downing Street.

for the community. Thatcher's bootboys in blue had arrived in force to protect the blacklegs and terrorise the population. The day before Wilkie's death eleven men were arrested in picket line battles with police. Another 250 strikers unable even to reach the colliery blocked the main Merthyr to Cardiff road.

Wilkie was no 'murder victim'; he died in a class war in which he took a stand on the side of injustice and police/government terror. Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock were 'guilty' only of fighting to defend their union and their community against Thatcher and MacGregor's bloodlust. In the wake of the strike's defeat Russell Shankland, Dean Hancock and nearly a hundred other class fighters who 'showed a little grit' languish in jail, victims of the vindictive Iron Bitch and her kept courts and cops. Dozens more, like the fifteen facing riot charges for their participation in mass picketing at Orgreave, still stand in the dock. Contrast this savage retribution with the fate of the strikebreaking murderers of David Jones and Joe Green. No one has been or will be charged with these crimes, because Thatcher wanted to see strikers' blood.

Miners' martyrs will be avenged

Disgracefully, the NUM leadership has consistently refused to defend their Rhymney members charged with murder. Now, seeing the outrage in the valleys they have put themselves at the head of a campaign, not to free Hancock and Shankland but for the sentences to be reduced. 'Manslaughter, not murder', is their refrain. South Wales president Emlyn Williams told the Cardiff demonstration he had written to the prime minister: 'For the sake of human decency and reconciliation we beseech you from our hearts to order, at the earliest possible date, a review of the cases so that the sentences will be reduced to take cognisance of the context within which the crime occurred' (*Guardian*, 27 May). But this was no 'crime' at all, and to seek 'human decency and reconciliation' from Margaret Thatcher would be laughable were it not so disastrously misleading.

The protests against the South Wales sentences, as well as continued local strikes over working conditions and victimisations, show that even in defeat the miners remain de-

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London labour movement must act Hands off Newham Seven!

There's a legal lynching being prepared in London. It's the trial of the Newham Seven taking place at the Old Bailey. For defending themselves and their community against a murderous racist rampage by a gang of white thugs a year ago, these heroic Asian youth are variously charged with affray, possessing an offensive weapon, conspiracy and criminal damage. And the viciously racist Metropolitan Police, now reviled throughout the coalfields as well for their wanton brutality, have made it clear that whatever the outcome of the court proceedings, they intend to 'get' these youth.

On 23 May, in the middle of the trial, 17-year-old defendant Parvais Khan was bashed up by prison officers during the lunch adjournment for refusing to eat a pork pie due to his religious convictions. Even five days after this beating, which required hospital treatment, his solicitor reported that 'the entire side of his face is still numb'. Meanwhile outside the courtroom the cops have engaged in indiscriminate arrests and truncheon-wielding attacks on supporters of the seven youth. Over 40 people have been arrested in the course of provocative police charges against two demonstrations, another four picked off at the regular courthouse pickets staged by the Newham Seven Defence

Campaign. Drop the charges against the Newham Seven and their supporters! Down with the racist cop terror!

The trial itself is a kangaroo-court mockery. Nine of the twelve jurors are white, and the court has sought to effectively hamstring the Newham Seven's legal defence by making three of the white racist thugs who attacked them in the first place their co-defendants. Even so the facts that have emerged thus far in the hearings expose a sinister racist conspiracy targeting minority youth who dare defend themselves against racist terror. The first prosecution witness was a waitress at the Wimpy Bar where the day of racist violence began. Under cross-examination she admitted to being a cop informant whose job was to spy on Asian youth concerned with fighting the incessant racist/fascist terror which has plagued Newham for years. She then confessed to extensive 'dress rehearsals' with her cop employers in preparing her trial testimony. This racist pig explained how she was able to 'identify' defendant Zafar Khan from a photograph which showed only a hand and part of a body -- 'the Asians she knew always wore the same jackets and trousers' (*Guardian*, 31 May)!

Earlier in the trial the prosecution de-



Racist cops assault Newham 7 Defence demonstrators, London, 11 May.

scribed how after several racist assaults in the Wimpy Bar that 7 April 1984 day, a white youth was seen entering a nearby Tesco's to buy a claw hammer. An hour later this same claw hammer was to be used by three white youth cruising the area in a Ford Granada to smash Asian youth over the head after they had been indiscriminately abducted off the streets. Later that same evening outraged neighbourhood youth finally mobilised in order to clean out the Duke of Edinburgh pub where the racists

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