

Imperialists squabble over South Africa 'sanctions'

Black workers must bury apartheid!

The 'state of emergency' imposed by the racist South African regime was intended to put a halt to the last two years of continual revolt by the brutally oppressed black masses. The young and combative black workers movement demonstrated its strength on May Day and again on 16 July -- the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising -- when the economy was paralysed by the two biggest general strikes in the country's history. But in spite of an estimated 8000 detentions, including hundreds of union leaders, the draconian repression has failed to crush the revolt. The apartheid police state is fast heading towards civil war.

In the midst of all this, it is none other than Margaret Thatcher who is hailed by South Africa's official media as the most stalwart international ally of the apartheid regime. As the Commonwealth -- much to the queen's chagrin -- appeared to be fragmenting over Thatcher's hardline pro-apartheid stand, the Iron Bitch went out of her way to make clear, as the 13 July *Observer* reported, her belief 'that South Africa has already moved a long way down the path of reform'. At the same time her soulmate Ronald Reagan went on television to give a speech universally regarded as blanket support of the white-supremacist regime, and a big 'screw you' to blacks in both Africa and the United States. The eminently peace-loving, redbaiting Bishop Tutu captured their reaction when he said: 'Your President is the pits as far as blacks are concerned.' (Of course the good bishop was feeling some heat from black militants when his recent powwow with his own president PW Botha produced nothing.)

So within both the British and American governments there is considerable support for 'sanctions' against South Africa as an alternative to Reagan/Thatcher's policy. The *Observer* piece was headlined 'Cabinet deserts Thatcher'! Yet the liberal and reformist advocates of sanctions share the same fundamental goals as Reagan and Thatcher. They, too, want to head off civil war in South Africa. They, too, seek to give a global 'democratic' mission to these bloodstained imperialist powers.

No one seriously doubts that the white-supremacist regime in Pretoria has the military capacity to drown in blood a black



Paul Weinberg/Afrapix

Powerful 500,000-strong black labour federation COSATU founded last November. Forge a Bolshevik party in South Africa!

upheaval at this time. But the men who run Wall Street, the City of London and the Common Market are deeply pessimistic about the future of apartheid capitalism. Even they question how much longer a privileged caste of 4.5 million whites can totally subjugate and hideously superexploit 26 million black Africans, coloureds (people of mixed race) and Indians. They fear the white-ruled police state is going to crack sooner rather than later.

What then is the sanctions debate within the American and European imperialist circles about? Why all the sound and fury? Even the queen is reported to have pressed the sanctions issue with Thatcher. This debate is about the degree of pressure to put on the racist Afrikaner nationalist regime to cut a deal with the black opposition, or at least its 'moderate' elements, in order to save South Africa for the 'free world'.

Thus in his recent speech Reagan emphasised the vital importance of South Africa to that 'free world' of imperialist exploitation and colonial domination. Its superexploited black miners produce half the gold which underlies the world financial system. It is the major source of strategic minerals like chromium, manganese and platinum. Without these there would be no steel, car or chemical industry, and of overriding importance to the US ruling class, no war industry.

In other ways as well the racist police state is a strategic member of the imperialist anti-Soviet alliance. South African troops

police southern Africa for the imperialist powers. Together with the contra forces of Jonas Savimbi they rain terror on Angola, whose hard-won independence is defended by 30,000 Soviet-backed Cuban soldiers. Pretoria monitors Soviet shipping and submarine activity around the Cape of Good Hope for American and British intelligence. And as was recently revealed in the *New York Times*, they in turn spy for Pretoria on the African National Congress (ANC), the main political organisation of black resistance to apartheid terror.

It is not opposition to this murderous 'free world' activity -- which after all has been going on for decades -- which animates the pro-sanctions imperialists and their labour lackeys, but rather the opposite, their concern that Reagan/Thatcher's hardnose policies will exacerbate the instability of South African apartheid capitalism. Thus among the most outspoken advocates of sanctions in the Commonwealth are Australian Tory Malcolm Fraser and CIA-lover Denis Healey, chief anti-Communist union-buster in postwar West Europe. Likewise in the US, a leading advocate of sanctions, black Congressman William Grey, accused Reagan of being shortsighted and thus driving South African blacks into the arms of the Russians:

'The President says our strategic interests would be jeopardized if violent elements assume power in South Africa, but the President's own policies put our strategic

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Partisan Defense Committee campaigns for jailed miners

Defend class-war prisoners!

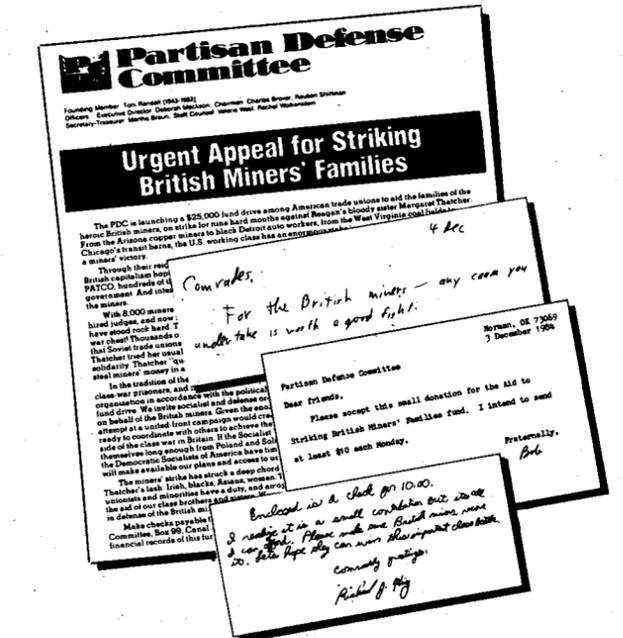
The British miners strike was a beacon of class struggle for workers and oppressed around the world. Today it is the urgent duty of all working-class militants to defend those miners sacked or imprisoned for defending their union, who are now scorned and left to languish by scabherd Neil Kinnock's Labour Party. During the year-long strike the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) in the US launched a campaign of support among North American trade unionists which raised over \$23,000 for the NUM's Miners Solidarity Fund. And since February of this year the PDC has been send-

ing regular monthly stipends to the MSF for those miners still imprisoned, including Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland, locked away for eight years over a frame-up manslaughter charge following the death of a scab taxi driver in South Wales. While the MSF does not transmit the PDC funds directly as stipends, the PDC has been assured that these miners and their families are in weekly receipt of assistance. Kent miner Chris Tazey was finally released from prison last June.

In its first issue of *Class Struggle Defense Notes* (June 1986) the PDC, initiated by the Spartacist League/US in 1974, explains its aims: 'The PDC is partisan: we stand unconditionally on the side of working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the "justice" of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases we support, we recognize that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain through organized violence and terror, the rule of one class over others. In its partisanship, the PDC is also anti-sectarian. We champion causes and defend cases whose victorious outcome is in the interest of working people, irrespective of particular political views.'

We reprint below the first of a new regular column in *Workers Vanguard* no 405 (6 June 1986) and urge all *Workers Hammer* readers to donate generously and regularly to the PDC.

One hundred years after the Haymarket massacre, bloody capitalist 'justice' still has but two places for its perceived political opponents -- in prison or in the grave. Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt, locked away in



mand their freedom.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Four months ago the PDC announced that we are reviving the tradition established by the International Labor Defense (ILD) under James P Cannon of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners. At its first national conference in 1925, the ILD stated the importance of these stipends and communications with class-war prisoners:

'sealing the bonds of solidarity and expressing fraternal remembrance of the imprisoned fighters, keeps up the morale of these captives of capitalism and strengthens their will and courage to face their prison burdens.'

The PDC has been sending stipends to Geronimo Pratt, Ramona Africa, Watsonville

Quote of the month



Lessons of the Paris Commune

Trotsky and Lenin

In South Africa today, after two years of black revolt, the arrogant racist rulers can no longer rule in the old way and the brutally oppressed toilers refuse to live in the old way. The outlines of a revolutionary situation can be seen, but without a revolutionary leadership. Leon Trotsky's balance sheet of the heroic 1870-71 Paris workers uprising, which was crushed in a bloody massacre, points to the key element that was absent in the Paris Commune, but decisive in the victory of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia: a communist vanguard party.

The workers' party -- the real one -- is not a machine for parliamentary maneuvers; it is the accumulated and organized experience of the proletariat. It is only with the aid of the party, which rests upon the whole history of its past, which foresees theoretically the path of development, all its stages, and which extracts from it the necessary formula of action, that the proletariat frees itself from the need of always recommencing its history: its hesitations, its lack of decision, its mistakes.

The proletariat of Paris did not have such a party. The bourgeois socialists with whom the Commune swarmed, raised their eyes to heaven, waited for a miracle or else a prophetic word, hesitated, and during that time the masses groped about and lost their heads because of the indecision of some and the fantasy of others. The result was that the revolution broke out in their very midst, too late, and Paris was encircled. Six months elapsed before the proletariat had reestablished in its memory the lessons of past revolutions, of battles of yore, of the reiterated betrayals of democracy -- and it seized power.

These six months proved to be an irreparable loss. If the centralized party of revolutionary action had been found at the head of the proletariat of France in September 1870, the whole history of France and with it the whole history of humanity would have taken another direction.

-- Leon Trotsky, 'Lessons of the Paris Commune' (February 1921)



Outraged supporters of jailed miners Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock march through Cardiff, 25 May 1985. Defend all jailed and sacked miners!

the same San Quentin hellhole in which George Jackson was murdered, and many of the best militants of his political generation remain behind bars for crimes they did not commit. In the frame-up trial of Stephen Bingham currently under way in California, the government seeks to justify its cold-blooded murder of George Jackson and its racist COINTELPRO campaign to exterminate the Black Panther Party. The PDC demands that the charges against Stephen Bingham be dropped. Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, MOVE member Ramona Africa, like Pratt, is sentenced to years in prison for the 'crime' of surviving a murderous cop assault bearing the Reagan/Meese signature. The power of the working class must be mobilized behind these victims of capitalist injustice to de-

Telegram

Dean Hancock A99410
HM Prison
Gartree
Market Harborough
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10 August 1986

Birthday greetings to a heroic miner, victim of Thatcher's war on the working class and minorities -- betrayed by Kinnock's Labour Party and the TUC. Hail the miners -- remember the traitors! Free all jailed miners! Reinstate all sacked men! Spartacist League

cannery striker Amador Betancourt, and five British miners -- Terry French, Chris Tazey, Clive Thompson, Russell Shankland and Dean Hancock -- who are still in prison for defending their union during last year's strike. And now we have added Johnny Larry Spain of the San Quentin Six, and Black Panther supporters Edward Poindexter and David Rice.

In February 1986, the PDC issued an appeal for monthly sustaining contributors to place the PDC on a firmer organizational and financial basis. We have received an enthusiastic response and over 30 people have become regular PDC sustainers pledging a monthly total of more than \$1000.

Workers Vanguard readers have been consistently generous contributors to the cases and causes supported by the PDC. We are proud to announce that this column will appear regularly in *WV* and include biographies of class-war prisoners (see *Workers Vanguard* no 397, 14 February). Correspondence and financial contributions can be sent to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.■

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WRPer won to Spartacist League

'Fight for Trotskyism!'

Editor's Note: We publish below a letter of resignation by Comrade Chris L from the Slaughter wing of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Comrade Chris has since joined the Spartacist League.

Chesterfield
9 August 1986

Dear Comrades,

I hereby tender my resignation from the WRP (which will be no surprise to a lot of people). I was a member of the Young Socialists' National Committee for eight months. I joined in 1984, six or seven weeks into the miners' strike, after leaving the Labour Party. Kinnoek attacked the miners from the beginning. The WRP seemed to have a perspective of what the strike was about and seemed to be 'building'. Though I had some doubts, like when I found some militants (around the Scarsdale hospital strike) had previously cancelled their deliveries of *News Line* after the 1983 Blackpool TUC, I thought the WRP was the Trotskyist party and worked to build it. I soon found out otherwise.

Gerry Healy had taken the organisation into alliances with all sorts of forces such as the Arab bourgeoisies in Libya and Iraq in exchange for funding (the set-up on Iraqi CP members in 1978-79 and subsequent executions is one example), taking the organisation out of the workers movement. The recent ousting of G Healy opened the door for the WRP to re-orientate itself along Trotskyist lines. This opportunity, in my opinion, has not been taken. I now have irreconcilable differences with the party on a number and variety of issues. The most important will be touched on here.

The main difference centres on the Soviet Union and the attitude to the other deformed workers' states. The WRP flatly fails to defend the Soviet Union. After two US Navy ships came within eight miles of Sevastopol naval base in the Crimea as a blatant provocation, next to nothing was said about this by the WRP. The subsequent bombing of Libya, seen as a surrogate of the Soviet Union by Reagan and Thatcher, was wrongly taken up as defence of the 'Arab revolution'. There was no link made with US imperialism's war drive against the Soviet bloc and Reagan's attempt to kill the 'Vietnam syndrome' once and for all. Defence of the Soviet Union as fundamental to the attack on Libya was raised by me at the East Midlands District Committee (the Midlands DC) and met only with political hostility.

I recently attended one of a series of meetings organised by the WRP (with the help of the Labour lefts) where Polish counter-revolutionary Stefan Bekier (who the party had the gall to call a Trotskyist) was the main speaker. His attempt to link the heroic British miners jailed during the 84-85 strike and the Polish 'Solidarity' activists jailed during the attempted counterrevolution is an absolute insult and is frankly an outrage. This goes hand in hand with the defence at this meeting of the 1983 Scargill letter, with the WRP lining up with anti-Communists Thatcher, Chapple etc to isolate the miners leader at a crucial moment (with the strike ballot looming). Would the Polish working class really thank us for supporting the re-introduction of capitalism, bringing mass unemployment and all the other evils with it? Workers Power, also present at this meeting, began with an attack on the call to release the KPN prisoners, dropping it later so as not to cause waves in their attempt to fuse with the WRP at any price. They clearly offer no Trotskyist alternative to the WRP.

Does the WRP support the overturn of the property relations in order to smash the Stalinist bureaucracy? This poses the question of social counterrevolution versus workers political revolution. You seem to support the former. In the Transitional Programme Trotsky clearly states that there is but one party that can lead the masses to power in the deformed workers' states and that is the party of the Fourth International, not Walesa or

Bujak or any left covers for them. Their programme is clearly for the reintroduction of capitalism and it is clearly no defence to cite the bureaucracy's crimes in not defending the property relations (apart from such acts as putting down Solidarity).

We must be the best defenders of the property relations despite the bureaucracy. The Hungarian uprising in 1956 was not led by Trotskyists but the leaders of the rising put down counterrevolutionary elements in their midst and clearly defended the property re-

I have reached these conclusions through reading Trotsky as advised by a WRP comrade at one of the first conferences after the split ('In Defence of Marxism', which outlines the fight against adaption to the bourgeoisie against the USSR; 'The Class Nature of the Soviet State', which illustrates Trotsky's analysis of the dual character of the bureaucracy). I have also over several months had discussions with the Spartacist League. After playing devil's advocate for several months the Libyan events finally pushed me towards



Workers Hammer
Spartacist contingent at 18 April protest against Libya bombing in London. WRP pushed anti-Sovietism and anti-American nationalism; we said: Hands off Libya! Defend the Soviet Union! The main enemy is at home!

lations -- see, for example, the resolutions of the Budapest Workers Council. They did not want a reversal of socialist property relations but an end to the repressive bureaucracy. Hungary also showed the dual character of the bureaucracy as it split during the uprising, with a section going over to the insurgents.

It was noticeable at the recent WRP congress that the call for a Labour electoral victory seemed to be the main goal. Revolutionaries are supposed to be the memory of the working class. Does nobody remember Kinnoek's role in the miners' strike? It was argued to me at the congress that a further term of the Tories would lead to mass demoralisation of workers. How demoralising do comrades think a term of the TUC's darling Kinnoek would be? Look at the recent French experience with Mitterrand. Is the call for a Labour vote at all times the way to go about breaking worker militants from reformism? Why do you, like the rest of the British left, fear standing as a political alternative to Labour? Trotskyist strategy must always be to split the body from the head of the Labour Party, exposing the so-called socialist leadership as pro-capitalist and winning the mass trade union base to the revolutionary organisation.

My impression is that there seems to be little appetite for reconstructing the Fourth International and no inclination towards breaking national isolation. This is leading to cross-class alliances on a lot of questions. 'The United Front Against British Imperialism' with Sinn Fein, who need the WRP for left credentials at the moment, is a set-up for the comrades in the Irish Socialist League when these credentials are no longer needed (read Trotsky on Stalin's 'anti-imperialist united front' and its consequences in China). The disasters brought by cross-class alliances (the Popular Front) were vividly portrayed in France and Spain in the thirties.

their positions. I hope to join the Spartacist League and the struggle for the Trotskyist programme and reforging of the Fourth International.

Yours sincerely,
Chris L.
(formerly Chesterfield WRP, YS)

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Application to Spartacist League

From 'Militant' Labourism to Trotskyism

We print below an application letter, shortened for space, recently submitted to the Birmingham local of the Spartacist League. Comrade Dave E has since been accepted into membership. Other young working-class militants fed up with kowtowing to Kinnock are urged to follow in his footsteps.

Dear Comrades,

I first became active in politics around the time of the beginning of the miners strike, when I attended a Militant public meeting on the Liverpool crisis, after which I read a little and discussed a little (and it was a little) and after two or three weeks I agreed to join. A strong programme and the need to forge a party which is capable of leading a successful proletarian revolution on that programme, seemed of little importance to me then, though I now realise how wrong I was. Militant seemed like the organisation to join at the time: a large campaign was going on around Liverpool, the organisation seemed to be growing quite rapidly, a building fund had been set up to buy some new larger offices and with the possibility of a daily Militant in the not-too-distant future, with the greatest class battle of the century about to begin. And to top it all Militant had its two very own 'Marxist' MPs.

For the first few months I was happy to just plod along, reading the paper, selling the paper, going on a variety of demonstrations, attending various meetings and giving money to Militant's wide variety of funds of one sort or another. But inevitably as time went on differences began to arise over various questions including the miners strike and the role of the Labour/TUC misleaders, over the police and the role of the state, Ireland and the question of NATO. On the miners strike [there] was a certain frustration at Militant's inability/unwillingness to offer alternative leadership and to denounce Kinnock as the scabbing bastard that he is. But I never, neither did Militant, have any perspective of splitting the Labour Party or the need to break the bureaucratic stranglehold on the miners of both right and 'left' misleaders. On the police it seemed a little bit weird to me to call for cops to [be] unionised while they were killing and injuring heroic pickets at Orgreave and on the picket lines. On the state I raised points at branch meetings regarding the 'Enabling Act' [Militant's strategy of introducing socialism through an act of parliament] and various other points after which I was told off for raising such points when newer comrades had been there. These differences were not sorted out and eventually I quit and after a couple of months I lost all interest in active politics.

Now this brings me to the SL/B. I first came into real contact with the SL/B at the end of April this year when I attended a Libya meeting in Birmingham. I was in two minds about attending because during my time with Militant I heard rumours of 'CIA money' and that the 'Sparts' were that mad that they were funded by the American government to discredit the rest of the left. But after some indecision I decided to attend. Looking back I realise that that was the most important decision I've made in my life, after which I agreed to discuss with the SL on a weekly basis.

Reagan's murderous attack on Libya really began to bring home to me the importance of the Russian question. One would have to be blind (or alternatively a member of the SWP, RCP, WRP, or some other ORO [ostensible revolutionary organisation]) not to see that this act of military aggression was aimed at what Reagan saw as a 'Soviet surrogate' as part of his godly quest to 'roll back communism'. The OROs marginalise the Russian question -- eg Workers Power -- or completely ignore it like most of the OROs in the name of the 'third

camp', but there is no 'third camp' because that is the imperialist camp.

Afghanistan was one question on which it should have been easy for communists to come out with a correct position. But instead of hailing the Red Army's intervention the left moved into line with the Labourite/imperialist rantings about 'Soviet totalitarianism' and jumping on Carter's 'human rights' bandwagon. In stark contrast the SL hailed the Red Army's intervention where it stands against the inhuman treatment of human beings, especially women (the veil, the bride price, being forbidden to learn to read and write) all of

a strike is to break it. But even as the great strike was being sold out by Kinnock, Willis and Co, NUM leader Arthur Scargill still refused to break with these scabherders instead placing his faith in the 'next Labour government' as if it's going to be any different from the last one (Social Contract, strike-breaking, virginity tests for Asian women as well as drawing up the blueprint for the racist Nationality Act).

The need to split the Labour Party was posed point blank in the miners strike, the need to split its working-class base away from the arch class traitors. During my time in

Militant defends Labourite traitors against Trotskyists: at October 1982 LPYS demo, Militant thugs tried to tear down Spartacist banners defending Soviet Union and denouncing Labourite reformism.



which is enshrined in Islamic law.

Poland was a more complex and difficult question. The blame for the crisis which brought Poland to the brink of bloody counter-revolution must be laid firmly at the door of the treacherous Stalinist misleaders who have consistently undermined the social gains inherent in a bureaucratically deformed workers state, by leasing the Polish economy to the imperialist bankers and by taking a conciliatory attitude towards the Catholic Church. This undermining of the Polish state led directly to the creation of the Spencerite Solidarnosc company union, and when Solidarnosc [consolidated] itself around an openly counterrevolutionary programme it had to be stopped by any means necessary. In contrast to this principled position the fake Trotskyists of all stripes all backed Lech 'Margaret Thatcher is a wise and brave woman' Walesa.

For the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counter-revolution! For proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy!

The absolute bankruptcy of the official leadership of the Labour and Trade Union movement was shown starkly during the miners strike, the misleaders right and 'left' were practically falling over each other to distance themselves from 'picket line violence'. The SL's slogan of 'Bollocks to the ballot' was in contrast to a variety of OROs led by the weird 'Revolutionary' 'Communist' 'Party' who campaigned full out for a ballot and various other OROs -- Workers Power, the Leninist -- who made their own calls for 'workers votes'. The truth about the ballot was that in this concrete circumstance that it was being used as a strikebreaking tactic; after all the only reason to hold a ballot in the middle of

Militant the need to split the Labour Party was never mentioned; everything was subordinated to the SDP fifth columnist CIA-lovers in the party and some mythical belief in a 'Labour government to power on socialist policies'.

The question of special oppression is another vital area for communists. In South Africa with the latest upsurge of black resistance to the vile racist apartheid regime the need to forge a Bolshevik party fighting under the banner of permanent revolution is a critical task facing Trotskyists on a world scale, also the need to draw a sharp line against capitulation to black nationalism and the popular frontism surrounding the sanctions call. With the decay of British capitalism there looms the menace of fascism, as shown by the growth of Le Pen's Front National in France; only mass trade union/minority mobilisations like a counter-demonstration of the type of the 27th November 1982 in Washington DC initiated by the SL/US can drive these fascist scum back into the sewers where they belong. The question of women's oppression is a cutting edge for any revolutionary organisation. The political potential of women was shown brilliantly during the miners strike by the women against pit closures movement but also again raised the question of leadership of such a movement -- a communist women's movement linked to a mass revolutionary party is an indispensable necessity for the struggle for socialism and through that women's liberation.

Out of the organisations I have met I believe that only the iSt has a programme capable of leading to the conquest of power by the proletariat on a worldwide scale and I want to join the organisation because I want to join you in that war.

Yours comradely,
Dave E

Canadian Trotskyists demand political asylum for Tamils

Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka flee Germany

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard no. 410 (29 August 1986), paper of the Spartacist League/US.

For 155 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka (Ceylon), after a trip of horror and despair Canada was the end of the line. Originally escaping from the murderous state terror of the Lankan government of JR Jayewardene, more immediately they were fleeing West Germany, where they had been placed in virtual concentration camps with little hope of obtaining asylum. From the starvation conditions on their overcrowded lifeboats, they were rescued off the coast of Newfoundland. Canada is granting them asylum for one year, though in true Reagan style Ottawa threatened to deport any refugee found to be a 'terrorist' -- ie, who supports 'Tiger' guerrillas fighting for a Tamil Eelam separate from the majority Sinhalese Lanka state. Meanwhile they have become the targets of racist outcry in Canada.

The exodus of this group of Tamil refugees has received wide publicity, coming to symbolise the plight of thousands of dark-skinned Third World refugees who increasingly find the borders of the imperialist countries closed to them, and who, if they manage to get past the borders, fall victim to virulent chauvinism and discrimination.

The Tamils paid \$340,000 to West German captain Wolfgang Bindel to take them to Canada. Like the mercenary, racist slave traders, Bindel kept them like animals in the cargo hold of his ship. One of the refugees described the conditions: 'We were fed tinned soup, liquidy rice, mouldy bread and dirty water from two barrels aboard. Inside the boat was a nightmare.... We slept crowded together in lifeboats and on the floor' (*Toronto Sun*, 17 August). After 16 days in these hideous conditions the 155 men, women and children were crammed into two lifeboats and left to drift on the icy waters of the North Atlantic for three days before they were picked up by Canadian fishermen.

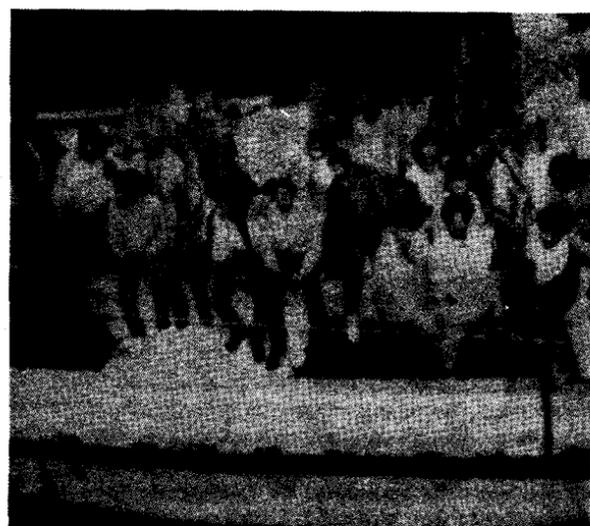
When they arrived there was none of the warm welcome given to Nazi war criminals, Polish anti-Communists and all manner of counterrevolutionaries who have found safe haven in Canada. Instead, the Tamil refugees were met with a backlash of white racism. Fomented by the bourgeois media with headlines screaming 'Send them back', 'Close doors to phony refugees' and 'Canada's sucker for illegals' (all from the *Toronto Sun*), this chauvinist hysteria has been picked up by the fascists. A former leader of the paramilitary Western Guard, now with the anti-Soviet 'Canadian Coalition for Peace Through Strength', has called a race-hating anti-Tamil demonstration in Toronto.

These racist terrorists have us all lined up in their crosshairs! Yet Ed Broadbent, leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party, scandalously called for 'a tougher look at all our immigration procedures' to prevent 'abuse' by 'quick-buck artists'. The Trotskyist League of Canada issued a press statement demanding: 'The labor movement, socialists, blacks, East Indians and other minorities must mobilize together with all fighters for social justice and opponents of racist terror to demand: full, immediate and unconditional political asylum for all Tamil refugees and full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!'

Since 1983, when hundreds of Tamils were burned and hacked to death by the racist mobs and troops organised by the Jayewardene government, over 300,000 have fled Sri Lanka. Many took one of the few means of escape from the island that exists -- a Soviet Aeroflot flight to East Berlin and then travelling by subway across the open frontier to West Berlin. They did not run into Western patrols as the dividing line between the two halves



Zitty



Anstey/Canadian Press

Driven from Sri Lanka by racist terror, Tamil refugees fleeing German camps arrive in Canada after ordeal at sea (right). Third World refugees seek asylum in West Germany (left), face racist immigration laws.

of Berlin is not recognised as a border by the American, British and French NATO allies who still share with the Soviet Union occupation rights over the city. In the first half of this year alone, some 40,000 political refugees fleeing terror in Iran, Turkey, India and Ghana have made use of the West Berlin loop-hole.

However, passing through this 'gateway to the Free World' they are met with contemptuous treatment showing that the West German successor state to the Nazi Third Reich has forgotten nothing of its Hitlerite past. At first they were dumped on the streets and in train stations; later it was tent camps and boxcar-like barracks. From there they are shipped to special camps for political refugees, where they are effectively imprisoned. They are not allowed to leave city or (in most cases) village limits, and applicants for political asylum are routinely prohibited from working. West German citizens are banned from entering these heavily guarded stalags without special permission. Refugees have been attacked on the streets and camps have been firebombed by skinheads and neo-Nazis.

The West German state obviously hopes that this barbaric existence will force refugees to leave 'voluntarily' to return to torture and death at home. Alternatively, it is common to force refugees to sign statements in a language they do not understand agreeing to deportation. According to *Der Spiegel* (11

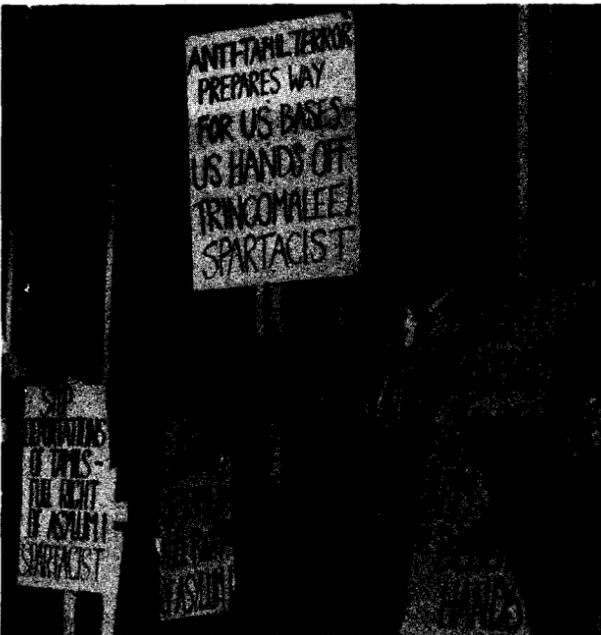
August) this method was used by the Bonn government to get rid of over 400 asylum seekers in the month of July alone. Also in July, Francis Asare, a refugee from Ghana, hanged himself in his prison cell after signing such a statement claiming that he was not a political refugee, but had just wanted to escape poverty.

The plight of these refugees highlights the intersection of Cold War anti-Sovietism and racist terror. For the desperate Tamils, the seemingly generous constitutional provision granting the right of asylum to 'all political refugees' is a cruel hoax. The frontier is only meant to be 'open' to anti-Communist refugees fleeing the Soviet bloc. No East German or Pole is ever rejected, and 72 per cent of Afghans are accepted -- but those fleeing 'Free World' terrorism need not apply. The 25th anniversary of the Berlin Wall, a bureaucratic measure to stem Western attempts to drain the East German economy of skilled labour, led to an orgy of anti-Sovietism from the Vatican to the White House. West Berlin mayor Diepgen demanded: 'Berlin's border has to become more penetrable.' This is the same man who, as part of the right-wing German nationalist backlash against 'foreign infiltration', complained about open borders!

Others are even more frank. *Der Spiegel* (28 July) quoted a woman saying, 'We should re-open Bergen-Belsen', the Nazi concentration camp. The ruling Christian Democrats (CDU) and Bavarian *Fuehrer* Franz-Josef Strauss are playing with the resurrection of this brownshirt nationalism to bolster their chances in the 1987 elections, calling for restrictions on the right to asylum proclaimed in the West German constitution. This is opposed by the Social Democrats (SPD), but not out of any concern for or defence of the political refugees in West Germany's camps. The SPD government of Helmut Schmidt deported over 800,000 foreign workers. The SPD shares the revanchist appetites of German imperialism, the *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East) which was Hitler's battle cry. The Social Democrats seek to pose as the 'democratic' alternative to the Stalinists with the aim of 'rolling back Communism' through counterrevolution from within.

The Stalinist rulers of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), meanwhile, have struck a treacherous and criminal deal with Bonn, which the SPD hails. In July 1985, in return for an interest-free 'swing credit' from West Germany of \$404 million a year, the East German government agreed to prevent Tamils without valid visas from entering West Berlin. This outrageous action is part of the reactionary logic of 'socialism in one (or in this

continued on page 11



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League protests against deportation of Tamils from racist Britain last year.

Speech to Communist miners

Our aims and tactics

in the trade unions

We reprint below a speech by James P Cannon to a conference of American Communist Party coal miners in St Louis, Missouri, 27 July 1924. It was first published in the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* (2 August 1924) and reprinted in the American Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party's journal, *Fourth International* (November 1941), from which we have taken the text.

At the time of this speech, the rise of Stalinism had not yet had a decisive impact on the revolutionary principles upon which the CPUSA and the Communist International had been founded under Lenin and Trotsky. Cannon remained loyal to these principles when he joined the Trotskyist Left Opposition in 1928 and became the founder and leader of the American Trotskyist movement. The perspective Cannon discusses below provided the foundation stone of the Trade Union Educational League, the early CP's trade-union arm, which fought for a communist programme of transitional demands within the trade unions, including the call for a workers republic. This perspective was vindicated with dramatic results a decade later, when the Trotskyists led the Minneapolis general strike to a powerful victory paving the way to the development of mass industrial unions in the US.

John L Lewis, the head of the American coal miners union then, was on occasion quite militant, but always within the framework of pro-capitalist 'bread-and-butter' unionism. Two of the points made by Cannon are particularly noteworthy: the necessity to mobilise against the fascist Ku Klux Klan, which was particularly active and growing at the time, and the fight to defend the young Soviet republic against imperialism. These issues are equally burning for communist trade union militants today in Britain.

by James P Cannon

Comrades:

These conferences of Party members in the important trade unions in which representatives of the Central Executive Committee take part are becoming frequent occurrences. We must regard this as a healthy sign. It indicates that we are maturing as a Party of theoretical and practical revolutionists, and getting a firm grip on our basic tasks. The close collaboration between the active comrades in the field and the leading organ of the Party has a beneficial result all the way around.

The close and intimate contact with the practical problems of the daily struggle and with the comrades who directly face them, serves as an unerring corrective to any tendency there might be in the Party to deal with these problems in an abstract or purely doctrinaire fashion. On the other hand the participation of the Party representatives insures that the fundamental political aspect of the trade union struggle will be brought to the front in these trade union conferences. The importance of this cannot be over-estimated. Otherwise there is constant danger of the work of our trade union comrades being influenced too much by expediency and so-called practicality. One-sided conceptions, purely trade union points of view, take the upper hand and the general class issues of the struggle are pushed into the background. Such a state of affairs must be guarded against. We know too well that it leads to reformism and futility.

We are meeting here today to consider the problems of the particular trade union you belong to, from the standpoint of the Party, which is the standpoint of all Communists. And I think I will be proceeding in the proper or-



'Battle of Deputies Run', Minneapolis, 1934: Under communist leadership, general strike went forward to a historic victory over the bosses.

Minnesota Historical Society

der if I put forward as a premise the revolutionary aims of our Party and propose that we weigh and judge every trade union question that comes before us, no matter how small or practical it may appear to be, in the light of our final aims.

A revolutionary party

Our Party is a party of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian revolution is the only solution of the labor problem and all our work must lead to this goal. This is our starting point in the trade unions, as in every field of activity in the class struggle. It is this fundamental conception that distinguishes us from all other parties and groups in the labor movement. It is the band of steel that binds us together into one Party.



Pathfinder Press

James P Cannon, veteran American communist.

Our revolutionary goal shapes our policy in the daily struggle. The revolutionary aspirations of our Party comrades generate the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice that give the Party its driving power. Woe to us if we become so 'practical' as to forget this for one moment. All our work must lead toward the proletarian revolution. If we keep this always in mind and measure all our daily work by this standard we will keep on the right road. The revolutionary principles to which we are committed put upon us responsibilities and duties

which cannot be shifted or evaded if we are to live up to our conception of the Party as the vanguard of the workers. We have to stand up and fight for the true interests of the working class as a whole, at every turn of the road.

With the masses, but leading them

We want to be with the masses, but we must also be ahead of the masses, and not be afraid to take an unpopular stand, when it is necessary in order to combat their prejudices. Take for example the Ku Klux Klan. Here is an organization that is anti-labor in its very character, -- yet large numbers of coal miners are misled into supporting it. To fight the Ku Klux Klan, to expose its reactionary nature and win the workers away from it is a difficult and somewhat hazardous task in certain sections of the country, but it is our duty to the working class to make such a fight. We would not be worthy of the proud name our Party bears if we evaded such a fight on any pretext.

Our work in the trade unions is developing. Evidence of this can be seen on every side. Such conferences as this are proof of the rapid strides we are making. We have already accumulated rich experience, and this experience is bringing to light both positive and negative sides in our work. One of our main duties is to review the whole activity from time to time, to strengthen and improve what is good, and discover what is bad in order to reject it.

It goes without saying that we Communists esteem each other very highly, but when we meet together in conferences such as this, it is not for the purpose of extending bouquets and empty compliments, but to speak out openly and frankly; to subject all our work to thorough-going examination and criticism in order that errors may be discovered and overcome. You have the right to expect plain speaking from the Central Executive Committee. I feel quite confident that if some errors in your work are mentioned here in this discussion, if some of the mistakes that individual comrades made, are pointed out in a friendly and brotherly, but nevertheless frank manner, as is the custom among Communists, that none of you will feel offended. The discussion is only for the purpose of improving our effectiveness and strengthening the Party for the fight.

Our valuable experiences

The power of a disciplined Party, founded

on revolutionary principles, and concerning itself in a business-like fashion with all aspects of the trade union struggle, has already begun to manifest itself. At the last convention of the Illinois miners, for example, everybody could see that the Party is beginning to grow up, to stretch its shoulders and take its place on the stage of events. Our Party appeared there as the leader of the fight for the interests of the men in the mines. It was in the forefront, dealing the heaviest blows against the agents of the bourgeoisie, who have usurped the official positions in the Miners' Union. The work of our comrades in this convention added greatly toward making the Miners' Union a better union for the class struggle, thereby increasing the prestige of our Party. That must be acknowledged at the very beginning.

In a whole series of trade union conventions held in recent months the same phenomena were to be observed. Our small Party, which only yesterday emerged from underground and began to collect the scattered forces of the revolutionary workers, was the storm center of the fight against reaction in the labor movement. We have not yet become the leader of the masses in the trade unions, but we have become the leader in the fight for their interests. The rest will follow in good time. Of this we can be confident.

It is no accident that our Party is pushing forward everywhere and putting itself at the head of the struggle. The reason for this is that ours is the only Party willing to fight for the immediate interests of the workers, and the only Party standing for the solution of the labor problem by means of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. All of the interests of the working class, immediately and ultimately, are indissolubly bound up with the revolution. And if we make mistakes here and there, if we fail to take the fullest advantage of opportunities which arise in the course of the struggle, it is because our comrades in the unions, due mainly to inexperience, have not fully mastered the art of taking a practical stand on every question that arises, and relating it skillfully to the final aims of the movement.

Correcting our mistakes

To do practical work, and at the same time to deepen and extend the class-consciousness of the workers, and lead them toward the struggle for power -- this is the heart of our task in the trade unions. From this point of view an examination of events that transpired at the last convention of the Illinois miners will bring forth fruitful results. Our power will be multiplied at the next convention, if we frankly recognize the negative as well as the positive sides of our activity at the last one.

One of the main errors made by our comrades there, was the failure to realize fully that the brazen scheme of class collaboration presented to the convention in the report of Frank Farrington, revealed the political and ideological basis of all the corruption and betrayal of the whole bureaucracy of the United Mine Workers of America, from Lewis to Farrington. Our comrades should have attacked this report in the most militant fashion. They should have shot it to shreds on the ground that it represented the theory of the mutual interests of the coal diggers and the parasites who exploit them and fatten on their toil and misery. Against it they should have set up the principle of the class struggle, the theory of the salvation of the workers through uncompromising struggle against their exploiters.

Such a fight would have been a dagger aimed at the very heart of the corrupt and treacherous trade union bureaucracy, because it would have been aimed at the false system of ideas with which they poison the labor movement. Such a fight should have been seized upon as the best means of opening the eyes of the miners, and making them see their real problem. All the other fights in the convention, the fight over the appointive power, the fight for better legislation in union affairs, for the reinstatement of Howat, etc., should have been regarded by our comrades and explained to the delegates, as related to the basic fight for the principle of the class struggle, and subordinate to it. This would have been the best means of awakening the honest rank and file delegates, and of binding them more closely to us.

Another error at the convention occurred in the handling of the resolution on the recog-

nition of Soviet Russia. Here again the principle of the class struggle was involved. The Farrington machine played a clever game with the delegates on the resolution, by calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia in one paragraph, and then nullifying the whole effect of the resolution by adding the qualification that Soviet Russia should recognize certain obligations -- the very obligations which the capitalist governments of the world have been vainly trying for six years to impose upon her. Our comrades made the mistake of thinking that the question of formal recognition of Soviet Russia was the real issue, and of considering such a resolution a victory for us.

This was entirely too 'statesman-like'. We are for the recognition of Soviet Russia, because it is a working class state, and because we recognize that the interests of the working class all over the world are bound up with it. The recognition of Soviet Russia is for us an issue of the class struggle, and we should have made the fight purely on that basis, and hammered home again to the delegates the idea that the solidarity of labor, the world-wide union of the working class in the fight for the overthrow of capitalism, must be accepted as the guiding principle of the labor movement. We might have failed to get a majority of the convention if we had put the fight on this basis, just as we might have failed to get a majority in a clear-cut class struggle fight against Farrington's scheme of class collaboration, but that is a secondary matter. We would have brought the principle to the minds of many of the delegates, and tied them more closely to us. It is not the formal victory but the fight that is important.

From the same point of view the inadequate development of the left-wing caucus at the convention should be pointed out. Some comrades objected to these caucuses on the ground that Farrington's spies might be present and learn something in advance about the fight we intended to make in the convention. This attitude is erroneous. It is the result of over-caution and too much concern for immediate legislative and technical victories. Moreover,



Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters union organised union defence guard to fight fascist terror, 1938. Pathfinder Press

it represents, to a certain extent, an unconscious yielding to the position of the reactionary officials who naturally resent any attempt to organize the rank and file against them. This question goes much deeper than appears at first glance. The failure to organize the left-wing delegates at the convention into a fighting body, if carried to its logical conclusion, would lead to the failure to organize the left-wing forces throughout the union. It means giving up, under pressure of the officialdom, the right to organize the Trade Union Educational League. 'Don't make a mole hill into a mountain', is a good maxim; but it is just as good if we turn it around and say to the comrades who are willing to concede this small point: 'Don't make a mountain into a mole hill.' If we are making a serious fight to break the control of the trade union bureaucracy we must not neglect to organize our troops.

Our fight for the conquest of the union is at bottom a fight to organize the rank and file workers together with us on the basis of the class struggle. Therefore, they must be enlightened as to our aims and plans.

Conventions should be regarded as the best occasions to advance this process. The conventions afford us the opportunity of coming into close contact with rank and file delegates, of combatting by discussion and argument their prejudices and misconceptions, and of uniting

them with us into an organized body to fight for the regeneration of the labor movement. The left-wing caucus is necessary for this work.

It is far more important to us if we get acquainted with ten new workers and make them a part of the organized fight, than if we pass a dozen resolutions in the convention by an accidental majority.

The conscious support of the workers is what we want. We are fighting for their minds and hearts. Do not forget that, comrades. The officialdom can turn our best resolutions into scraps of paper. They can retain office by stealing elections, but they can not run away from us the workers we have won over to our way of thinking and fighting. The officials can maintain themselves in power, for a time, by a thousand tricks and fraudulent practices. But once we have won the masses over to our side, we can snap our fingers at them. The control of the unions means for us the control of the masses. This, and this alone, will insure our final victory.

Communists and union offices

I want to pass over now to another question which will become more and more important as our strength develops in the trade unions. It has confronted us already a number of times. That is the question of comrades holding office in the unions and becoming candidates for office. This may become one of our greatest dangers, and one of the greatest sources of corruption of party members, if we do not properly estimate this question and take a resolute stand on it at the very beginning.

In the discussions which took place here today, we heard the remark made by one of the comrades that our struggle in the unions is a struggle for strategic positions. This is a one-sided view and if we allow it to stand alone, we will fall into a serious error. We must adopt the point of view that our struggle is a struggle to develop the class consciousness of the rank and file workers and to win them over to the principle of the revolutionary struggle against Capitalism under the

leadership of our Party. If we will connect the fight for strategic positions with this broad political aim and subordinate it to this aim, we will be on safe ground. Otherwise, we will be confronted with the spectacle of Party members regarding the fight for office as an end in itself; of evading or putting aside questions of principle with which the masses are not familiar; of scheming and calculating too closely in order to get into office. Of course the comrades will justify all this on the ground that once they get into office they will be able to do big things for the Party. But quite often we will be apt to find the very comrades who adopt this method of getting into office falling into the habit of continuing it in order to hold the office. They will thereby degenerate into mere office-holders and office-hunters. They will lose the confidence and respect of the militant rank and file workers, and our Party, which stands responsible for them, will have its prestige greatly injured.

Strategic positions, however, are very important and we must not take a doctrinaire view in regard to them. The opinion expressed here by one comrade that men become petty bourgeois in their interests and outlook as soon as they are elected to office and that, therefore, we should have nothing to do with office, is not correct. It is true that of-

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Trade unions...

(Continued from page 7)

ficial position, especially in the American trade union movement, has led many men in the past to corruption and betrayal of the workers, but that does not say the Communists must be corrupted. We have to hold the conception that a true Communist can go anywhere the Party sends him and do anything, and still remain a Communist -- still remain true to the working class. Comrade Lenin was an official. He had more power than Frank Farrington, but he did not become like Frank Farrington. The guarantee against corruption of Party members who become officials is that they remain close to the Party and that they base their fight for office on the support of the rank and file for the policy of the class struggle, and do not become too expedient and too 'clever' -- do not try to 'sneak' into office by soft-pedaling and pussy-footing on questions of principle which may be unpopular, but which Communists, nevertheless, are duty-bound to stand for.

A party of struggle

Our Party is a party of rank and file revolutionary workers, a party of revolutionary struggle against capitalism and all its works, and we expect comrades who are put into official positions to retain that fundamental conception and carry it out in all their official work. They must not allow themselves to be influenced by their positions into an attitude of overcaution. Above all, they must not acquire an 'official' psychology, and fail to do their duty by the Party for fear of jeopardizing their positions. We do not put Communists into office in order that they may do less for the Party, but more.

The atmosphere of American trade union officialdom is a fetid one. It is permeated thru and thru with customs and traditions of a non-proletarian character. Take care, you comrades who become officials, that you do not sink into this swamp. Remember always that you are Communists and hold on to your rebel Communist spirit. Do not succumb to the customs and traditions of office developed by the agents of the bourgeoisie, who have fastened themselves upon the labor movement in official positions,

South Africa...

(Continued from page 1)

interests at risk. He condemns apartheid but he refuses to back it with meaningful action. In doing so he gives black South Africans no choice but to accept support from other nations who offer it. That does not serve our long-term strategic interests.'

Despite the exaggerated claims on both sides, disinvestment and the sanctions proposed will not seriously damage the South African economy nor are they intended to. Reagan himself pointed out that foreign banks have stopped lending to South Africa, and many Western businessmen have already pulled out. We might add that these divestors continue to superexploit South Africa's black labour. They've sold their operations to South African or other foreign capitalists, mainly in exchange for interest-bearing notes. So instead of getting profits out of South Africa, they're collecting interest payments, which in the present crisis of apartheid rule is a far safer means of investment.

As for sanctions, neither the Commonwealth, the Common Market nor the Congress has proposed anything more than wrist-slapping measures -- like cancelling landing rights for South African Airways or barring new investment in that country (at a time of massive capital flight!) -- or import curbs (eg coal and steel) which dovetail with domestic protectionist requirements. Even the 'tough' US House bill exempts imports of South African gold, manganese, chromium, etc, that is, 75 per cent of all South African exports. No way is Congress going to do anything to disrupt the Pentagon war machine and the industries on which it is based.

While having none of even these minimal sanctions, Reagan did try to undercut his opponents by mooted a black as the new ambassador to Pretoria, North Carolina business-

but take your own revolutionary ethics and customs with you.

Party discipline

The question of Party discipline becomes especially important in connection with comrades in official positions. Comrades so situated must tie themselves closely to the Party, make themselves one with it, and regard the Party always as their best friend. The close union of a Communist official with the Party will be the best guarantee that he will be able to retain his revolutionary point of view and do his duty by the working class. The Party expects even more discipline to be shown by comrades who become officials and leaders than by other members of the Party. It does not fear even the biggest officials who go against the decisions of the Party and follow a policy in conflict with it. Comrades who hold offices, no matter how important they may be, cannot act as independent individuals without being called to order by the Party.

The test of our work

We can sum up the whole question in a few words. We are not Progressives, but Revolutionists. Our role in the union movement is to organize the masses for the proletarian revolution and to lead them in the struggle for it. All of our daily work must be related to this, and subordinated to it. The test of our work can never be made by formal victories on paper, but by the development of class consciousness in the ranks of the workers, the degree of their organization on that basis and the increasing influence and leadership of our Party. Strategic positions in the labor movement are of importance chiefly from the standpoint of enabling the Party to advance and develop its work of revolutionizing the masses.

Let us be shrewd and practical by all means. Let us learn how to meet every question that arises in the union in a realistic and businesslike manner. Let us become experts in the daily work of the unions, and in maneuvering for strategic positions, but let us also remember always the danger of degenerating into mere professional office seekers.

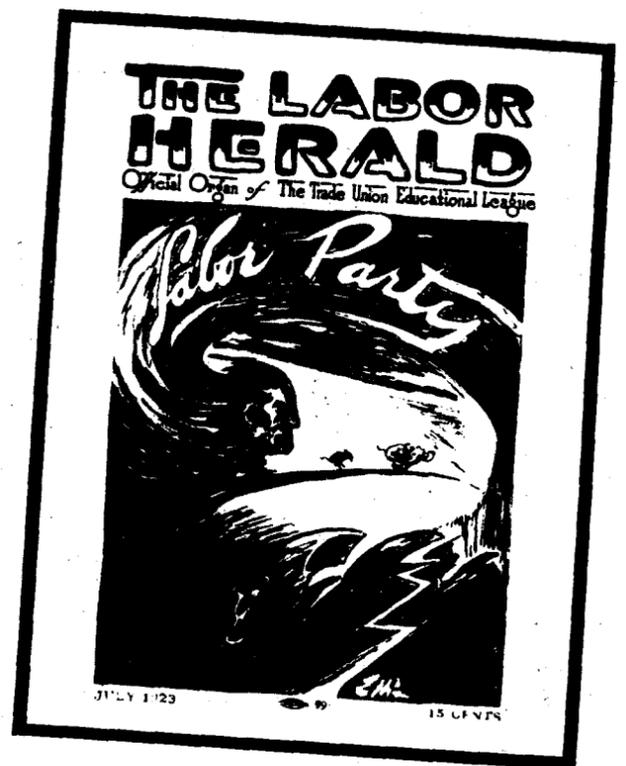
Active unionists, especially those who hold office, are beset by a thousand temptations to turn aside from the road of the class struggle.

man Robert J Brown. But Brown was soon exposed as a professional union-buster and all-round shady operator and, under a barrage of bad publicity, soon withdrew from consideration. It is testimony to the power of South Africa's black workers movement that being a union-buster is viewed as a disqualification for US imperialism's top agent in that country. After all, probably half the imperialist ambassadors around the world are drawn from the ranks of union-busting capitalists.

At the same time, the 'free world' yellow trade-union bureaucracy, the Cold War International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, sent to South Africa a delegation from Britain, West Germany and the US headed by none other than AFL-CIO (better known in Latin America and elsewhere as the 'AFL-CIA') chief Lane Kirkland and including backstabbing TUC chief Norman Willis and TGWU 'left' Ron Todd. Kirkland, Willis and Co no doubt want to leash black union leaders in South Africa to the same kind of sellout treachery -- exemplified by their role in the miners strike -- that is destroying the organisation and living standards of labour, particularly minority and migrant workers, in the US and West Europe.

Willis put his social-imperialist credentials as a spokesman for the interests of the historically rapacious British ruling class squarely on the table, warning Thatcher 'that there is a big well of bitterness in South Africa towards the Government. There will be a change of regime there, and our cards are being marked. If we don't adopt a different attitude towards sanctions we will feel the pinch when the time comes' (*Guardian*, 22 July). And the 'left' Todd insisted that if the government refused to impose sanctions, the unions should act in its place. What clearer evidence could there be that the fake-lefts' favoured 'workers sanctions' are the bosses' game! We say: The main enemy is at home!

Closely bound up with the debate over sanctions within the imperialist ruling circles are differences over the nature and



Labour Herald, journal of the early CPUSA's Trade Union Educational League, July 1923.

Only their close union with the Party will enable them to overcome these temptations. With the assistance of the Party they will learn how to serve the workers in the daily struggle and to connect all their activity with the task of leading the masses toward the final revolution. They will learn how to measure their progress at every step, not by formal victories on paper, but by the development of the class consciousness of the workers and the influence of the Party, by the extent to which their activity inspires the workers with that spirit of determined struggle, which is the spirit of Communism.

Many difficulties will confront us in the task we have undertaken, but, with the assistance of the Party and the International, we will solve them all. We will win over the masses to the side of Communism; we will wrest the labor movement from the hands of the agents of the bourgeoisie and convert them into mighty instruments for the proletarian revolution. ■

goals of the ANC. For the likes of Reagan and Thatcher, the ANC consists of little more than KGB agents in blackface. Defending spying on the ANC for Pretoria, an intelligence officer in the Reagan administration stated, 'we target the A.N.C. We've always considered them to be the bad guys, to be Soviet pawns, stalking horses for the Soviets' (*New York Times*, 23 June).

While the ANC gets most of its arms from the Soviet bloc, these petty-bourgeois nationalists are not fighting for red revolution. On the contrary, their goal is a 'power-sharing' deal with 'progressive' white capitalists like Anglo American's Gavin Relly, the biggest exploiter of black labour on the African continent. This utopian programme of class collaboration dangerously diverts the black toilers from revolutionary struggle against apartheid capitalism.

However, the imperialists' fear of socialist revolution in South Africa, shared by both Reagan/Thatcher and Kennedy/Healey, has a basis in reality. The red flags with hammers and sickles displayed at black funerals demonstrate a widespread sympathy for communism, such as it is understood, among the oppressed masses. The young, combative black workers movement, especially since the 'state of emergency' was declared on 12 June, has moved into the forefront of resistance to apartheid terror.

Today in South Africa all of the elements of a prerevolutionary situation are there, and yet there is one absolutely vital element missing: a Leninist vanguard party. Without revolutionary proletarian leadership the rebellious black masses can be played off against one another (eg along tribal lines), isolated in the segregated townships and crushed in a bloodbath of historic dimensions. What is desperately needed to prevent this outcome is a racially integrated Bolshevik party fighting for a society based on the principle that he who labours must rule. Forward to a black-centred workers government in South Africa! ■
Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no. 409, 1 August 1986

Forge a Bolshevik party in South Africa!

Centrists tail imperialist 'sanctions'

On 23 July an obscene collection of most of the British pseudo-Trotskyist left (reformists and centrists at one) gathered to cheer on the TUC General Council -- just back from its 'free world' (read: CIA-sponsored) mission in South Africa -- to lobby for 'workers sanctions' in order to 'Blockade the apartheid state'. The lobby was initiated by Workers Power (WP) and the Slaughterer wing of the multi-split Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). At a meeting organised by the lobbyists later in the morning, attended by about 70 leftists pretending to be 'simple trade unionists', a motion was adopted calling on the TUC to organise a 'union boycott of goods and services to and from South Africa'. WP and the WRP and *tutti quanti* joined in a call for 'workers sanctions' which is in reality a betrayal of the South African exploited and oppressed masses. Only the Spartacist League stood out, clearly counterposing our programme for the forging of a Bolshevik Party that can lead the proletariat to the overthrow of apartheid capitalism.

A Spartacist spokesman opposed the call for sanctions and exposed the lash-up of these pseudo-Trotskyists as a pro-Kinnock popular front which stretches as far as the British queen. We made it clear that when the conservative *Economist* says 'Go for gold'/'Free Nelson Mandela' on its front cover, echoing Tory 'wet' Edward Heath and Labourite CIA-lover Denis Healey, it does so because they are all afraid of a genuine communist revolution in South Africa. Puncturing the hypocritical 'internationalist' pretensions of the centrist tails of Heath, Healey and Co, the Spartacist speaker pointed out that, if they were consistent with their call for sanctions against South Africa, WP, the WRP and Co should be calling for a total boycott of Britain, which is to this day pursuing its policy of imperialist rampage in Northern Ireland!

The main enemy is at home!

In fact, with their call for sanctions -- 'workers' or otherwise -- this lot foster the illusion that British imperialism is indeed 'democratic', holding up the bloodstained 'mother of parliaments' as a beacon to the oppressed of South Africa. The absurd lengths to which this goes is the call for an end to 'British collaboration in South Africa' as the slogan of the regular pickets outside South Africa House -- as though this country which is the architect of the South African racist state would otherwise have clean hands. Indeed with all the trappings of parliamentary lobbying, *London Labour Briefing* (July-August 1986) announces that there are special picketing hours reserved for women, for lesbians and gay men and ... 'Saturday afternoon is children's hour'! Why not balloons and candy floss? This while blacks are being massacred wholesale in the streets of Soweto!

To cover for their wretchedly pro-imperialist line, the centrist swamp hides behind the sanctions call of the official black leadership in South Africa. They cynically confuse the aspirations of the black masses with the aims of those nationalist trade union officials who can make it to Europe and request imperialist sanctions against South Africa, no matter how much this will affect the conditions of living of black people. What the nationalists aspire to is a 'Zimbabwe-writ-large'; they want to put pressure on bloodthirsty Reagan and Thatcher so that they in turn put pressure on their Cold War ally PW (Butcher) Botha to introduce some cosmetic 'reforms' in apartheid and get a few 'black faces in high places'.

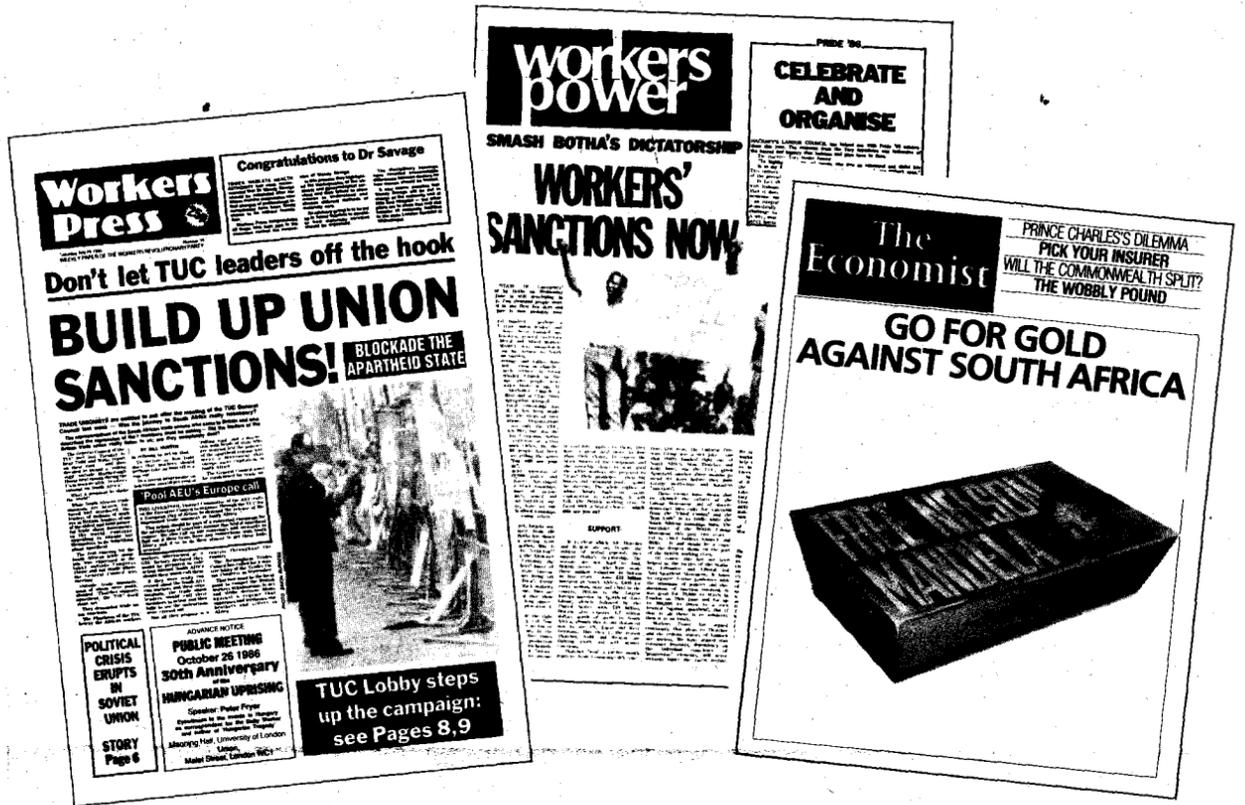
To be sure, the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the African National Congress (ANC) hold a strong sway over the South African working class, not least the trade union bureaucrats. But this is by no means unchallengeable. And the task of Trotskyists the world over is precisely to fight to win militant workers in South Africa to the struggle to forge a Bolshevik party. This necessarily

involves exposing the class collaborationist treachery of the nationalists and their left apologists such as the Stalinist South African Communist Party (SACP). And with their call for 'workers sanctions' the virulently anti-Soviet WRP/WP lash-up line up behind nothing other than the ... Stalinist SACP!

Workers solidarity against apartheid

It is not only the fake revolutionaries who call for 'workers sanctions'. Echoing Ron

less than 'Ramsay MacKinnock'. Prominent among those present at the lobby were pseudo-Trotskyist Labour deep-centrists as well as Labourites outside the Labour Party (like the state capitalist Socialist Workers Party). Even Steve Potter of the Pabloite *International* (formerly boss of the IMG, before it became *Socialist Action* and then fragmented) came out of the woodwork to join in this zoo. The message they all want to give is very simple and clear: Down with Thatcher -- put Kinnock in Number Ten and everything will be



Centrist fake Trotskyist *Workers Press* (26 July) and *Workers Power* (July-August 1986), 'left' tail of imperialist sanctions strategy pushed by bourgeois *Economist* (19 July).

Todd's insistence that if Thatcher won't impose sanctions, the trade unions should act on her behalf, Workers Power chanted at the recent pro-sanctions march in London, 'Don't wait for Thatcher -- workers sanctions now!' Behind the thin workerist veneer, WP's strategy is in fact focussed on pressuring the Thatcher government. Thus it pleads, 'Break all diplomatic links with the Apartheid regime' (*Workers Power*, September 1985). While a strategy of genuine international proletarian solidarity with the struggling black masses of South Africa would include such actions as trade-union bans on military shipments to the apartheid state, time-limited labour boycotts with clearly-defined aims (eg an attempt to prevent the hanging of anti-apartheid activist Benjamin Moloise) and protest strikes by British workers in solidarity with strikes by fellow workers in South Africa against common multinational employers, what the Labourites and their centrist friends have in mind is *tying the workers to the imperialists'* interests. Trotsky exposed the pretensions of these types well over fifty years ago, when the Stalinists and sundry reformists appealed for 'workers sanctions' in harmony with the imperialist League of Nations:

'Most dangerous of all, however, is the Stalinist policy. The parties of the Communist International try to appeal especially to the more revolutionary workers by denouncing the League (a denunciation that is an apology), by asking for "workers' sanctions," and then nevertheless saying: "We must use the League when it is for sanctions." They seek to hitch the revolutionary workers to the shafts so that they can draw the cart of the League.'

(*Once Again the ILP*, *Writings 1935-36*)
In reality, they all know that their call does not have very much to do with South Africa, apartheid, the South African black masses and so on and so forth. What they are doing is campaigning for the election of a new Labour government, which will be led by no

fine! Tell that to the jailed miners, to the Asian women subjected to 'virginity tests' and to Republican prisoners in Northern Ireland!

'Democratic' Britain is the country that introduced concentration camps to the world in the course of its bloody war against the South African Boers during 1899-1902. The struggle for a Bolshevik party in South Africa is integrally linked to the struggle for a similar party here in counterposition to bankrupt Labourite reformism. In this struggle militant workers and minorities in Britain have a direct and crucial role, not least because of the historic role of racist British imperialism in South Africa, but also because of the large South African emigre milieu in this country, a reservoir of energies and militancy which must be tapped in the fight to build a genuine communist party in South Africa. From Southall to Soweto the struggle against racist capitalism is inseparable from the struggle to break the working class from their illusions in reformist misleaders, the fake left as well as the right. ■

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Wapping...

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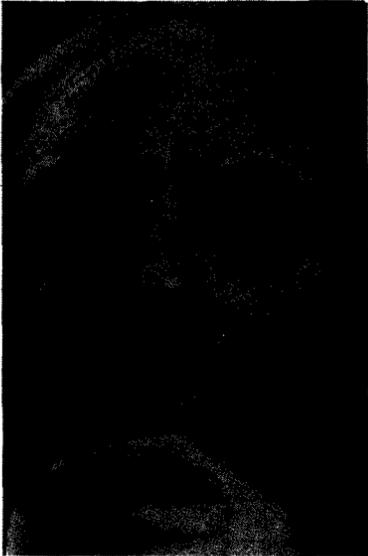
about how Murdoch is 'an American' who is 'taking his profits out of this country and investing them abroad'. This nationalist vitriol is of a piece with protectionist calls for import controls and the Labour Party's viciously racist anti-immigrant record in office. As for the 'lefts', the likes of Mick McGahey and Ron Todd are all 'new realists' these days. Indeed it is Todd and McGahey who are most vocal in preaching 'unity' with Willis as he seeks to give Wapping the coup de grace at the TUC conference in Brighton.

defended on the picket lines, not at the ballot box. And in the circumstances the idea of voting for the man who stabbed the miners in the back should turn the stomach of any decent militant. But for the Labourites and their 'left' tails everything begins and ends with putting Labour on the front benches. After the Social Contract, Lib-Lab pact and 'winter of discontent', they still called for a vote to Callaghan, just as today they all campaign for scabherder Kinnock. In contrast, from the standpoint of revolutionary opposition to Labourism, in 1979 we advanced the tactic of union candidates opposed to strike-breaker Callaghan. Today we would love to have a militant veteran of the miners strike stand openly against Judas Kinnock's Labour Party

The situation cries out for the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the workers and oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution. The conditions are indeed ripe for a regroupment of class-struggle militants into a Bolshevik party, forged in opposition to Labourite reformism. The Labour Party must be *split* on the anvil of social struggle, its working-class base won away from the pro-capitalist misleaders of 'left' and right persuasion.

Within the context of the fragility of British capitalism and the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive, there is a deep and persistent Cold War polarisation within British society and the working class movement. During the miners strike, the most violently anti-Soviet bureaucrats were also the most open scabherders, while the so-called 'lefts' proclaimed their support (in words) for the miners. With their position at the head of strategic unions like the dockers and railwaymen, we demanded that they break in struggle from the open class traitors and form a fighting Triple Alliance to spread the miners strike. But to shut down the country would pose the question of who would start it up again -- the question of state power, of which class shall rule. And this the 'lefts' fear no less than the right. Thus TGWU 'left' Ron Todd sabotaged the two dock strikes and turned a blind eye to scabbing by his lorry drivers. And the rail union heads suppressed any sentiment for strike action even as their members were victimised for honouring miners' picket lines. In the final analysis it was the treachery of the 'lefts' in refusing to spread the strike that defeated the miners. Today they all rally to Kinnock and dispense with even the pretence of supporting serious struggle.

Remember the traitors!



No Credit



Workers Hammer



The Guardian

Strikebreaking lackeys for Thatcher/Murdoch (from left): Neil Kinnock, Brenda Dean, Ron Todd.

And Arthur Scargill, who at least was prepared to lead his members in struggle against Thatcher and is still hounded by the Kinnockites and their 'left' allies like McGahey, offers nothing more than to call on the strike-breaking TUC to assist the printers while parroting the plea for unity to elect a Labour government.

Playing by Kinnock's rules spells defeat

From the beginning of Murdoch's lockout we insisted that the key question facing printworkers was to shut down production at Wapping and that a serious fight to do so necessarily meant politically tackling the Labourite misleaders who would fight that strategy tooth and nail. We warned, 'Don't play by Kinnock's rules' and called for militant mass picketing, enlisting the aid of others like the thousands of miners who want another crack at Thatcher. Instead militant miners have been told to stay away, and on top of the usual Kinnockite denunciations of 'violence', union officials act as agents for Murdoch and the courts, distributing scabby warnings to pickets not to try to stop lorries.

On numerous occasions, the printworkers -- their backs up against the wall -- have shown their yearning for a militant lead. But what never emerged was a conscious policy of opposition to the sabotage at the top. On 15 March militants tore the fence down at Wapping, creating an opportunity to seize and shut down the plant; SOGAT stewards rushed in to form a human fence to protect the scabs -- talk about 'mending fences'! -- giving the cops time to regroup and attack with horses and teargas. In early June the workers overwhelmingly rejected Murdoch/Dean/Dubbins' sellout deal; but *Morning Star* supporters Hicks and Freeman and their fellow 'lefts' channelled that opposition right back into impotent boycotts and peaceful 'picketing'. At the SOGAT conference a week later these 'lefts' put the final seal on their treachery. Dean railed that 'We must not allow anything [including her members' jobs and union] to come in the way' of electing a Kinnock government. Hicks, Freeman and Co showered her with praise and appeals for 'unity'.

Subordinating everything to Labour's electoral prospects, these misleaders foster defeatism. At a recent Wapping support group meeting in London, many of the militants present threw up their hands in despair over the failure to beat Murdoch and could see no way forward but to elect another Labour government. The workers organisations are built and

in the next election, thus drawing a sharp class line in the election between the class struggle which the miners strike symbolised and the pro-capitalist strikebreakers who sought to strangle it.

The miners strike shook the social fabric of capitalist Britain to its very foundations. Traditional barriers and divisions among the working class and oppressed were broken down, as Irish, blacks, Asians, women and gays rallied to the miners' cause. The Labourite illusions in parliament and bourgeois-democratic reformism of many workers were shattered. The government has teetered from one crisis to another -- with Westland, British Leyland, variegated opposition to its NATO Anglo-Irish deal and widespread hostility to its policies over Libya and South Africa. The social overhead of Thatcherism is widespread discontent. Sensing their chance to be Her Majesty's next government, the Labour Party chieftains -- backed by their cohorts in the trade union bureaucracy -- know they must demonstrate that they can run capitalist Britain by policing and stifling any resistance and militancy.

Object lesson in Labourite treachery

The Labour Party is a crucial institution of capitalist parliamentary democracy, and the Labour lieutenants of capital are working overtime to show they are worthy of the capitalists' trust. Since there is no room for credible reform today, this means increasingly overt strikebreaking of any social struggle.

Forge a Trotskyist party!

A syphilitic chain stretches from Healey, Kinnock, Benn, Todd to Scargill, through to the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party to the fake-Trotskyist groups that orbit in and around the Labour Party. While the more leftish links in this chain will occasionally mutter a denunciation or two of Kinnock, their fundamental loyalty is assured: come election time this Cold War strikebreaker will be their man. Thus the centrist Workers Power barely raises a word about the role of the 'lefts' at Wapping and never mentions the connection between the Wapping sellout and Labour's electoralist ambitions, and alibis the bureaucracy by claiming that 'even a well organised and defended picket at Wapping could not be sustained long enough to drive Murdoch to defeat' (*Workers Power*, April 1986). The job of militants, insists WP, is 'to organise to force Willis and company to act'. This isn't even the classic British centrist policy of 'make the lefts fight' but rather 'make the rights fight'. Rather than this Labourite cretinist bullshit about putting pressure on the betrayers, there must be a fight for a revolutionary leadership. Rather than refurbishing illusions in the Labour Party, there must be a fight to *split* it.

The defeat at Wapping is an object lesson in Labourite treachery. While 'rank and file' fetishists like the SWP will echo the defeatist conclusions of the Labour traitors with their 'downturn' rubbish, militants who want to fight must look for a different alternative. The chief lesson of the miners strike was the need to forge a revolutionary party, and that is the central question of working-class struggle in this country today. Remember the traitors -- Forge a Trotskyist party! ■



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Brixton...

(Continued from page 12)

ferent addresses, including First Generation, an advice/welfare agency and a playground where only one day before First Generation had organised a party to celebrate the royal wedding. A number of those arrested are charged with 'offences' arising solely out of the police operation itself, ie self-defence. At least one of those taken away included an eleven-month-old baby with its mother. Release all victims of cop terror -- drop all charges!

One year after these thugs in blue tried to murder and rampage their way through Brixton, Handsworth and Tottenham, the latest cop invasions have all the hallmarks of a calculated state provocation. Only a couple of weeks beforehand, a Metropolitan police report highlighted the area as 'one amongst several in London that were potential 'riot' flashpoints. Before the cops waded in, Brixton had been set up by the media for a vicious 'law and order'



Workers Hammer

Brixton, 11 November 1985: Spartacist supporters, London Transport NUR militants call for trade union/minority mobilisation to smash cop/fascist terror.

crackdown. For weeks the local *Evening Standard* ran hysterical articles screaming about rape, murder, drugs and the 'Stockwell Strangler' turning Brixton into 'Murder Mile' -- the place where no 'decent' (ie white) person could go down to the grocers for a pint of milk.

On the same day as 'Condor', a similar provocation was staged in the Villa road area of Handsworth -- scene of last year's government conspiracy to foment interracial blood-letting between blacks and Asians, and where two Asian men burned to death because the order was 'let Lozells burn!' The fire services received no less than four 999 calls from the men but ignored their pleas to be rescued from their burning post office. The state murdered them and then they tried to pin it on the blacks.

Two weeks after 'Condor', it was Tottenham's turn. The police are trying real hard for another cop riot. Minorities in this country have long felt the cold lash of racist police violence. But particularly in the aftermath of the miners strike, which pierced traditional racial/national barriers among workers and oppressed, Thatcher vindictively unleashed the full force of police terror against all those who had stood with the miners in their heroic struggle. That's what lay behind last year's cop riots. But at Tottenham's Broadwater Farm, the cops came up one short after a 'bloody good hiding' by local youth who courageously defended their community against the cop invasion.

Ever since then, Broadwater Farm has been under a state of siege. The cops act like they think they're the South African Defence Force and the Farm is Soweto. Delivery vans get routinely turned away, postal services are frequently stopped -- this on an estate where half the residents are reliant on Social Security giro's. The police regularly bust down doors and steal food and clothing for 'forensic tests', in one instance dragging away a young pregnant black woman and denying her access to a doctor for three days. Three people still face trumped-up charges for the killing of a police constable during last year's cop riot.

The pretext for all the operations was to seize drugs. On Broadwater Farm police attempted a forced entry into the offices of the

youth association, ostensibly to arrest cannabis smokers. The estate was sealed off as police vans and a helicopter descended looking for trouble. Youth in Handsworth tell how cops were planting drugs on them as they were being arrested. The government-manufactured 'anti-drugs' hysteria -- first and foremost directed against minorities -- apes Reagan's 'moral majority' drive in the US to regiment the population in preparation for anti-Soviet war. Meanwhile the fascists have been increasingly crawling out of the woodwork to provide a bolder racist alternative to the crisis-ridden Thatcher government, dangerously escalating their attacks on minorities and leftists.

The organised working class must combat these attacks on Britain's minorities. When the cops murdered Mrs Jarrett in Tottenham and attempted to murder Mrs Groce in Brixton last year with their RUC-style 'shoot to kill' policy, we said 'Jail the killer cops and throw away the keys!' It's not only racial minorities who have been on the receiving end of trigger-happy cops. Last year, a five-year-old white kid, John Shorthouse, was blown away in his bed when the cops broke in looking for his father. The killer is not only back on the street, he even got promoted! Every cop has effectively been told not only that he can get away with murder, but be rewarded for it. If the people of these islands had the right to bear arms, these cowardly racist killers might think twice before barging into someone's home.

The recent cop provocations are a slap in the face for 'left' Labourites, 'radical' black councillors and their fake-revolutionary sycophants who believe that a few more inquiries here and there or a little more monitoring of police actions can shame the cops into becoming nice guys. Behind this lies the reformist illusion that the armed servants of the capitalist state can be brought to heel and made accountable to workers and minorities. The social-democratic/fake-left calls for democratic accountability/community control of the police politically disarm the victims of cop terror. A key lesson for many militants from their living experience of the miners strike is that the bosses' state with its cops and courts is an instrument of capitalist class rule; it cannot be reformed but must be smashed through the struggle for working class rule.

The increased police powers embodied in the new Police and Criminal Evidence Act and Public Order Bill target anyone and everyone for cop assault. Used against hippie convoys to hound them from county to county, the application of such measures has in fact been part of a racist vendetta against Gypsies for decades, under both Tory and Labour governments. And now they're trying to impose flagrantly racist visa requirements for visitors from black and Asian -- But not white! -- Commonwealth countries. We fight for full citizenship rights for all minority and foreign-born workers and their families. Stop racist deportations -- smash the Nationality Act!

Self-defence by blacks and Asians, while heroic, is not enough. It is necessary to link the anger and outrage in communities like Brixton with the social power of the working class. Three years ago the Spartacist League/US initiated a trade union/minority mobilisation of over 5000 largely black trade unionists to drive the fascist KKK scum off

the streets in Washington DC. In London, London Transport workers -- many of them from racial/national minorities -- suffer in their daily working conditions the same atrocities faced by their families in the areas where they live. ASLEF and NUR members could have spiked 'Operation Condor', but that means fighting against the trade union bureaucrats who don't lift a finger to defend the membership at work, let alone in their communities. It also concretely means mobilising the working class against the Labour traitors who only promise more of the same capitalist austerity and racist 'law and order'.

A revolutionary leadership in these unions would fight for solidarity strike action with the oppressed against the racist killers and strikebreakers. Last year, *Workers Hammer* supporters in London Transport NUR fought to get the union to endorse a motion outlining such a perspective but the trade union tops and cowardly 'lefts' like the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Action criminally joined forces to knife it.

In Britain today the stinking corpse of decaying capitalism cannot be resuscitated through Labourite tinkering. Increasingly there are only two alternatives posed: socialist revolution or barbarism. The only way forward for workers and oppressed lies in building a Bolshevik party -- the kind of party which under Lenin and Trotsky in Russia united the power of the proletariat with all the oppressed in the October Revolution of 1917 which swept away the capitalists and race-terrorists. ■

Tamils...

(Continued from page 5)

case, half a) country', in which the lives of refugees from racist terror are traded off in the narrow nationalist interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The West German left and petty-bourgeois radicals like the Greens, themselves standard-bearers of German nationalism, offer no effective opposition to the chauvinist persecution, harassment and violence against political refugees. The social-democratic-led West German DGB trade-union federation has been largely silent. But it is the organised proletariat, with its sizeable immigrant component, that has the power to defeat the racist, nationalist backlash. What's needed to mobilise this power is an internationalist Trotskyist party, recruiting heavily among foreign-born workers; unconditionally defending the DDR and the rest of the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism; and raising the banner of revolutionary reunification of Germany, through socialist revolution in the West and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

Under Lenin and Trotsky, Red Russia established the principle of extending citizenship rights to all foreign workers in the land of the Soviets, and to all refugees from rightist persecution. Only international workers revolution can forever end the bloody rule of capital that breeds racist terror from Sri Lanka to Europe and North America. ■

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6000 jobs sacrificed to strikebreaker Kinnock

Defeat at Wapping

Over the last seven months nearly 6000 SOGAT and NGA printworkers have been locked out by Rupert Murdoch's premeditated union-busting mass sacking. Saturday after Saturday, thousands have converged on Murdoch's barbed-wire scab fortress, to confront an army of strikebreaking cops. Hundreds have been arrested and pitched battles fought with the cops. Miners, women inspired by the example of the coalfield women during the miners strike, Turkish and Kurdish contingents on May Day, local residents repulsed by the brutal cop rule in their streets have lent their support. Yet, trapped and strangled in a vice of Labourite treachery, this is a *defeated* struggle.

The printworkers' struggle against Murdoch's lockout has been strangled by Neil Kinnock's Labour Party, a sacrificial offering to the bosses to convince them that Labour in government can 'control the unions' and wage war on workers and the oppressed in the interest of the anti-Soviet war drive. From Brenda Dean and Tony Dubbins to the Labour/TUC 'lefts' to so-called Communists like London SOGAT leaders Mike Hicks and Bill Freeman, Wapping has been run as the model Neil Kinnock 'strike'. The print union bureaucrats have done their best to make the weekly demonstrations nothing more than rallies for a next Labour government: the sacked printers are marched through the streets up to the gates of Fortress Wapping -- only in order to listen to speeches and march away again. 'Picket lines' that do not (and are not designed to) shut down production are not picket lines. A 'strike' in which production is *never* stopped is not a strike.

The miners understood that. For twelve hard and bitter months they fought scabs and cops from one end of the coalfields to the other. And that's why, even though they were finally dragged down to defeat by the same treacherous Labour/TUC misleaders, their union emerged proud and intact and their strike became a symbol of class struggle to workers and the

Wapping militants after throwing back bureaucrats' sellout proposal; Labourite misleaders, 'left' and right, knifed their struggle in order to accommodate strikebreaker Kinnock.



oppressed here and around the world. And since that time the labour traitors have worked overtime to bury the memory of that heroic struggle as some sort of 'unpleasant interlude' in their desire to maintain class peace at the expense of workers' livelihoods. So they have been busy 'mending fences': trying to repair torn and tattered illusions in Labourite parliamentarism and the bourgeois 'democracy' whose naked fist came crashing down on the miners and their families. So 'lefts' embrace rights, phoney revolutionaries applaud open reformists, self-styled 'Commun-

ists' suck up to Cold Warriors -- all in order to replace the Iron Bitch by Ramsay MacKinnock.

Thus over Wapping we have seen a unity of 'lefts' and rights aimed at containing and defusing any possibility of militant struggle. Instead of appeals to the labour movement for militant solidarity, Dean and Dubbins have from the start pushed an impotent TUC-endorsed consumer boycott strategy intended as a diversion from shutting Murdoch's operation down tight. Scurrilous propaganda worthy of the National Front has been produced, railing

continued on page 10

Brixton, Handsworth, Tottenham

Racist cop provocations



Brixton: racist cop invasion encounters black outrage.

For trade union/minority mobilisation to smash racist cop terror!

On 25 July London police launched a massive, militarised invasion of Brixton's 'frontline' area. 'Brixton became like Belfast' headlined the following week's *Caribbean Times* (1 August), but 'Operation Condor' looked and felt more like a mini military coup. The same day the cops rampaged through Handsworth in Birmingham. This was an orchestrated attempt -- the second in less than a year -- to trigger a racist bloodbath in Britain's ghettos. Smash racist cop terror!

'Operation Condor' was the product of weeks of detailed secret planning with only senior police in the know. At 4.30pm precisely, 340 cops arrived at the focal point of the operation, the Afro Caribbean Cultural Centre. Some came in camouflaged vans at the front, others on a commandeered British Rail commuter train on the tracks at the back. The wire fence surrounding the centre had already been cut. Then the cops smashed their way in. Another 1600 cops equipped with the new riot gear and 20 armed officers from Scotland Yard's firearms unit were on standby throughout the night. Key roads and the underground were sealed off for hours. Leaders of the London Transport Unions could not have been ignorant of this operation -- tubes had to be rerouted to get that cop-laden train to Brixton.

Over 60 arrests were made, half of them at the centre. Other arrests were made at 15 dif-

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