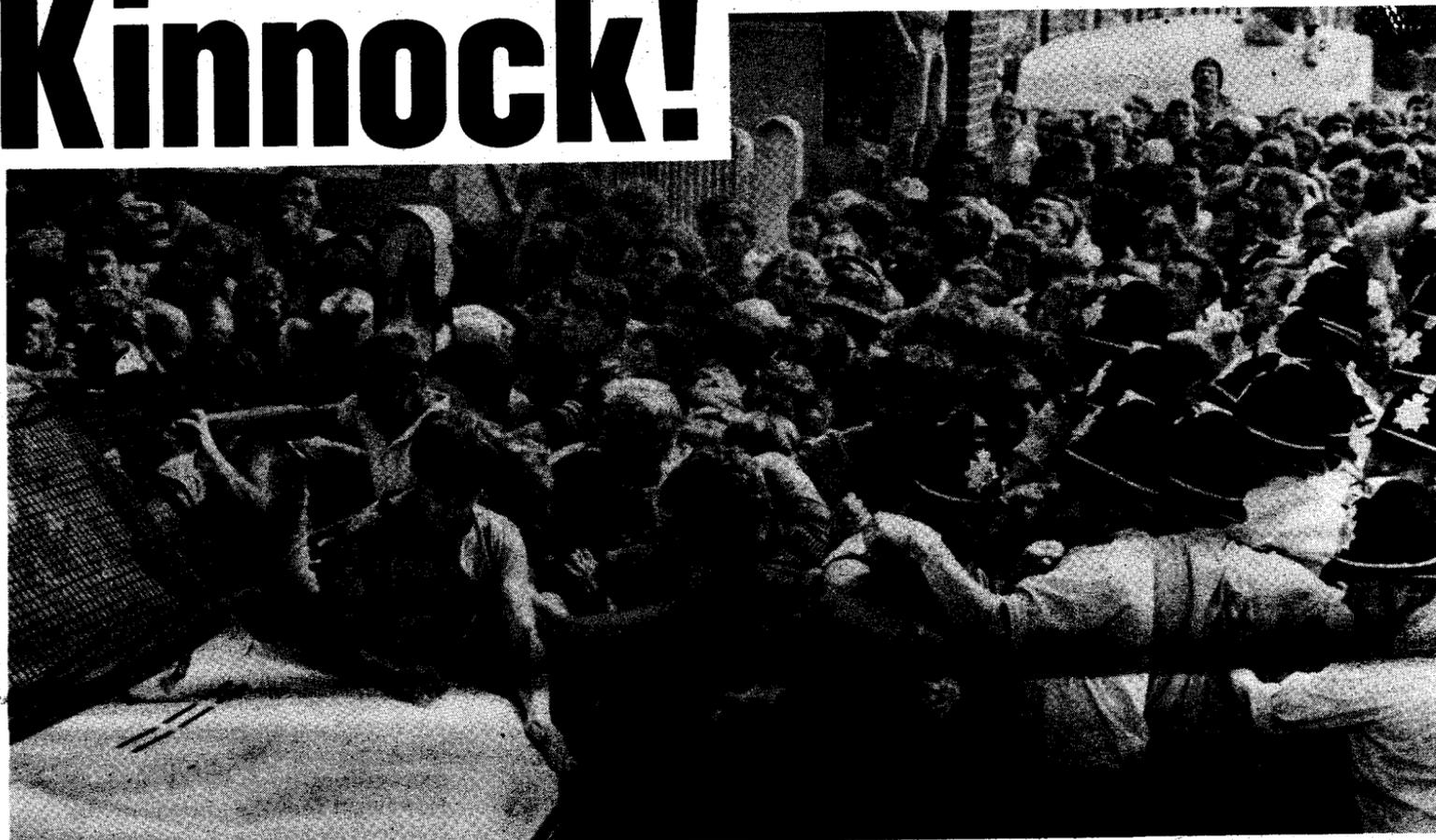


Workers, oppressed need a Bolshevik party!

No vote to Judas Kinnock!



Evening Standard



Times

Labour traitor Neil Kinnock was Thatcher's hiring against the heroic 1984-85 miners strike. Left, miners battle strikebreaking cops.

The general election called for June 11 offers no choice for the working class of Britain. Decaying British capitalism demands ever heavier "sacrifices" from the unions, the poor and elderly in order to pay for its economic crisis and its partnership in the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union. Between the sinister Tory Thatcher who would be prime minister for life, the bourgeois Liberal/SDP Alliance and the loathsome Neil Kinnock, Labour traitor, there are but tactical disputes over how most effectively to "discipline" the masses, the potential "enemy within". We communists of the Spartacist League say: no vote to Labour on June 11 any more than to the Tories and the other bourgeois parties.

Capitalism in its death agony finds leaders suitable to such a system, now openly reactionary and ever more repressive, then lulling the workers with class-collaborationist schemes for a few more crumbs—the better to pacify them before the next wave of attacks. But in fact Labour offers not even crumbs. Kinnock is standing proudly if ineptly on his record as one of the key architects of knifing the heroic year-long miners strike of 1984-85.

He and his fellow Labour traitors can lay no claim of "anti-Thatcherism" since they were her loyal lieutenants in that greatest class battle in decades. The miners rallied to their cause vast numbers of the oppressed:

the inner-city black and Asian youth, the vulnerable homosexual population, the Irish. Their battle against armies of Thatcher's strikebreaking boot boys and the murderous coal bosses was joined by many who saw the possibility of bringing the hated Tory regime down by hard class struggle.

But the treacherous Labour/TUC misleaders knifed the miners strike. Judas Kinnock they called him in the mining villages of England, Scotland and Wales. So hostile to the miners' fight was he that Kinnock not only condemned the strikers defending their picket lines but wants to throw away the keys to the prison cells where militant miners languish. A disgrace to every Welsh miner's son, Kinnock truly fits Jack London's description of the scab, the lowest of creatures "with a cork-screw soul, a water-logged brain, a combination backbone of jelly and glue".

KINNOCK: THE SCAB FOR ALL SEASONS

Labour's record as Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in Thatcher's Britain is an unbroken chain of anti-working class, anti-Soviet, anti-black, anti-gay, anti-Irish atrocities. Since the miners strike and the onset of the pre-election scramble, this has become a blatant and conscious attempt to out-Thatcher Thatcher on every front. Kinnock has bared his teeth against the "loony left", the black sections, the gay rights advocates to

prove that once in Number Ten he can bash the militants as well and better than Thatcher.

On the anti-Soviet war drive: Kinnock travelled across the Atlantic twice to let the US warmongers know that Britain under his governance would be no less an ally in global counterrevolutionary terror. As the statement issued by our American comrades, who picketed Kinnock in Washington DC and Boston during his first trip, put it: "British capitalism is too decrepit to afford a credible nuclear arsenal anyway, so Kinnock wants to throw more NATO 'non-nuclear' forces against the Soviet bloc. The British armed forces, dispatched to Northern Ireland by a Labour government, didn't need nukes to do their dirty work there, or to sink the Argentine cruiser *Belgrano*, wantonly killing more than 300 sailors on board, in bloody Thatcher's Falklands/Malvinas adventure. Maggie's war was supported by the Labour

Party maggots of rotting British imperialism." A special *Workers Hammer* supplement widely distributed covered the SL/US protests and told the truth about Kinnock's treachery. Now even Labour's paper opposition to Cruise has been ditched in order to reassure the Pentagon.

Kinnock also managed a trip to the Berlin Wall to listen to British officers brief him on how the city could be "defended...as it was in the final days of the Hitler regime" against the victorious Red Army. At home he actually succeeded in out-doing Thatcher when howling for suppression of exposure of the spy satellite Zircon on grounds of "national security". His Labour Party mentors like Denis Healey have beaten a well-worn path to the CIA over the decades, helping to wreck left-led unions across Europe.

On racial oppression: Kinnock is a racist cop-loving swine.

continued on page 4

Zionist Big Lie targets Perdition

SEE PAGE SIX

Miners blast anti-red ban

10 May 1987

The Editor
Workers Hammer

Dear comrade,

When I read about the Hatfield Main NUM ban on *Workers Hammer* my reaction was first of all amazement: that a branch of the union that's had such strong links with the *Workers Hammer* could just from one article, that put forward constructive criticism about the Guinness Wharf affair, come to the decision to ban members of the Spartacist League and its publications. I read the article and I could not see where the criticisms from the *Workers Hammer* implied Hatfield Main were anything but misled. Neither did it call them "racists" or "liars" or "fascistic". How they came to that conclusion is just beyond me. I feel that a reply is warranted, from a fellow striker.

What kind of democratic organisation are we if constructive criticism can't be argued out on a political basis, without resorting to the exclusion of members of one organisation or another including the most important aspect of any political party, ie its paper.

The whole issue hinges on the policy of sanctions - asking an imperialist government to impose sanctions on a country like South Africa. To ask the government of a class which

has waded knee-deep through the blood of India, Ireland and South Africa, to ask it to change - there is no way that will happen.

What do these sanctions mean, like the call to "Ban South African Coal"? This is a call for import controls, whatever words you use. Coal is insignificant, nothing to South Africa, which stands on the basis of strategic minerals. It means what happened in America with the question of Japanese car imports - with Japanese cars being smashed up and attacks on Asians in the streets. It inflames people to nationalism: just what the ruling class want. They want you to feel nationalistic fervour, to "protect" yourselves against "the rest". What they're really doing is putting worker against worker. Once they've got that they've got it made: it is the basic way of capitalism. For a so-called progressive section of the union to do exactly what they want is to follow a disastrous road, which is just inconceivable if they call themselves progressive.

The sanctions policy is the policy of Neil Kinnock. *Workers Hammer* is the only paper not to be drawn into the void of support for this pro-capitalist enemy. When you think back to '84-'85 Kinnock supported the cop terrorism within the coal-mining industry. This man calls himself a socialist! He wants to bury the militancy after the strike, chan-

nel it into parliamentarism. To be a safety-valve to dissipate the political arguments amongst the militants and bring it down to the idea that Labour is preferable to Conserva-

door to Thatcher's attack on the NUM. Don't get me wrong: I'm not for banning them either, but who do you prefer in your meetings? Someone who stood for the working class



Workers Hammer
Guinness Wharf
march on 8
November 1986
raised
protectionist
call to "Ban
South African
Coal".

tism, no matter what degenerate state Labour is in. When looked at logically - where's the difference? I honestly believe if Reagan had invited Kinnock to Bitburg to salute the SS he would have gone. From sanctions to NATO: where's the real difference between him and this bitch Thatcher? They're bedmates.

Is the Hatfield Main branch really serious in banning from meetings comrades like Patrick Sliney, who during the '84-'85 strike organised in the fight against scab coal going into the car factories? As a consequence he was hounded by management, with the complicity of the unions within that industry. Because of his stance against scab coal and his stand for the working class and the striking miners and because of his basic belief that no-one and nothing should cross picket lines, this class-warrior lost his job. I and other miners from my pit stood on the gates of Land Rover with Patrick Sliney to call for his reinstatement. Are you going to ban this man from your meetings?

You in Hatfield Main seem happy to allow people in your meetings who supported the WRP's action in 1983 to set up Arthur Scargill for a rabid anti-communist attack from the press and the TUC, opening the

and socialism or the so-called lefts who are willing to score a cheap political hit at the expense of the union. Who are you going to listen to?

Yours comradely,
Wally Roberts
(A Staffordshire NUM member)

Dear Comrade Editor,
I feel I must comment on the recent controversy within the columns of the paper concerning the question of South Africa & Hatfield Main.

I myself am an active member of the A/A group, and an enthusiastic supporter of the boycott campaign. However I feel the actions of the Hatfield Main Branch smack of the worst traits of Stalinism. Surely socialists should attempt to win the argument, by the power of persuasion never by the means of exclusion. For if we can't debate & criticise with fellow socialists in a constructive & comradely manner, then we may as well rug up now.

Yours fraternally,
Dick Hall
Branch Pres
Warsop Main



Lenin on the Labour Party

Russian Bolshevik leader VI Lenin argued at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 against those who called the Labour Party "the political organisation of the trade union movement" and "the political expression of the workers organised in trade unions". While advocating tactics

TROTSKY

to split this bourgeois workers party, Lenin insisted that the starting point was an understanding of the treacherous nature of the Labour Party. Today, with the British fake-left prostrate before the unspeakable Neil Kinnock, comrade Lenin's characterisation made over 40 years ago, is a stinging indictment:

Of course, most of the Labour Party's members are workingmen. However, whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat. Regarded from this, the only correct, point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie. It is an organisation of the bourgeoisie, which exists to systematically dupe the workers with the aid of the British Noskes and Scheidemanns.

-VI Lenin, "Speech on Affiliation to the British Labour Party" (August 1920)



LENIN

WORKERS HAMMER

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

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Free South African black unionist

Moses Mayekiso must not die!

Moses Mayekiso, head of the 61,000-member Metal and Allied Workers Union in South Africa, is under threat of execution by the vicious apartheid regime. Accused of having tried to "overthrow, usurp or endanger the authority of the state", Mayekiso is being tried on treason charges. Four others are also facing the death penalty for their political activism in the black township of Alexandra: Mayekiso's younger brother Mzwanele Mayekiso, Paul Tshabalala, Richard Mdakane and

Obed Dapela.
In Britain, National Union of Mineworkers leader Arthur Scargill, Labour MP Tony Benn and others have called for his release. The international workers movement must be mobilised to demand freedom for Mayekiso and all victims of apartheid repression. Messages of support may be sent to: MAWU, Fourth Floor COSATU House, 268 Jeppe Street, Johannesburg 2001, South Africa.

Troops out of Ireland now!

Labour champions SAS terrorists

On 25 April the Provisional IRA blew away Lord Justice Gibson, the second most senior British judge in Northern Ireland. Gibson was notorious for his endorsement of Royal Ulster Constabulary "shoot to kill" missions against unarmed Irish Catholics. The bomb that dispatched him also blew a large hole in the Thatcher government's pretence that "security" in the Six Counties was much improved since the Anglo-Irish accord of November 1985.

Immediately the pro-imperialist Labour Party rushed to demand increased British repression. Official spokesman Peter Archer flew to the Six Counties to demand "security" be stepped up. In parliament, former "left" Stuart Bell conjured up visions of the blitz: "To paraphrase Sir Winston Churchill, what kind of people does the IRA think we are?" And former Northern Ireland secretary Roy Mason urged that more troops be sent in and "facilities" be increased for special forces like the SAS to make "retaliation and capture easier". Criticising Tory Northern Ireland minister Tom King from the right, Mason demanded he "turn the tide and retaliate more effectively against terrorists" (*Times*, 28 April).

Less than two weeks later the Labourites got their wish, as dozens of SAS and RUC special unit police ambushed a team of IRA volunteers attempting to blow up a police station in Loughgall, County Armagh. In another straight "shoot to kill" operation, the troops and cops killed eight IRA men plus a passing motorist. A *Sunday Times* (10 May) report de-



Labour Herald

British imperialism's dogs of war run riot in Northern Ireland. Labour government sent them over in 1969, now Kinnock & Co cheer their state terrorism against Irish Republicans.

spokesman Bell predictably rose again to praise the murderous operation. What can you expect from the party which in government sent in the troops in 1969, which enacted the Prevention of Terrorism Act and unleashed the SAS killers in the mid-1970s, which obscenely told Bobby Sands to go ahead and die in 1981? The hands of Her Majesty's Labour Party are literally dripping with Irish blood.

NO TEARS FOR THE LORD "JUSTICE"

The departure of Lord "Justice" Gibson, caught at the border and sent on his way to join other imperialist notables like Airey Neave and Lord Mountbatten, was certainly fitting. In 1984 Gibson earned notoriety for exonerating a police murder squad which killed three unarmed IRA members. Declaring the cops "absolutely blameless", he added his personal "commendation" for bringing these Irish fighters to "the final court of justice". On another occasion he freed a soldier who killed a twelve-year-old girl on the grounds that he must have been firing at a gunman. He presided over the no-jury Diplock courts, the "supergrass" frame-ups and trials that relied on "confession" by torture. Unlike indiscriminate Republican bombings that target civilians and communities in general (like the La Mon pub bombing of 1978), this was a defensible act against a prominent instrument of imperialist oppression. And unlike fawning Irish premier Charles Haughey, revolutionaries assuredly feel no "heartfelt sympathy" over Gibson's death.

The Gibson assassination capped a series of renewed IRA attacks following Sinn Fein's poor showing in the Southern elections (less than 2 per cent of the vote) and significant reorganisation in the North. Following the murder of IRA volunteer Pat Marley by a Loyalist death squad (with collusion by army and police), thousands turned his funeral into the largest such mobilisation in years, despite RUC provocation and harassment. In late March a British soldier was killed for the first time in nine months, and throughout April the IRA picked off members of the hated RUC. With Ian Paisley and other Unionist

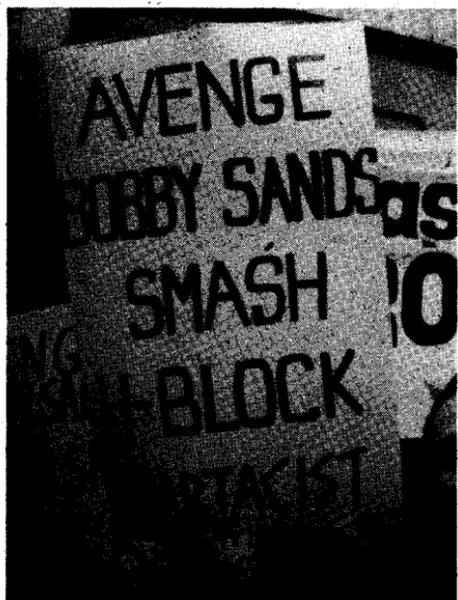
politicians screaming for retaliation and the credibility of the Anglo-Irish accord in question, the imperialist authorities staged their show of force in Loughgall.

Endorsed by Tory and Labour alike, the Anglo-Irish accord aims to enlist the aid of the Irish bourgeoisie in suppressing the Republicans' struggle against British imperialism, and to wean the Southern state away from "neutrality" to full participation in NATO's anti-Soviet war drive. Thatcher aims to ride out Protestant anger at the implicit posing of Irish reunification while her security forces turn a blind eye to much of the Loyalist terror directed against oppressed Catholics in the North. Meanwhile in the South, where the economy is a mess and unemployment rampant, Haughey's new Fianna Fail government recently clambered to power after pledging to uphold the Anglo-Irish deal.

At a recent public meeting in Britain,

Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams noted that 60 per cent of Irish people in this country vote Labour, adding "although why is beyond me". The truth is that those leftists who propound support to Labour inevitably betray the interests of the Irish people. Take *Morning Star*, paper of the supposed left wing of the Communist Party. Not only does *Morning Star* refuse to call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops, it flatly equates the IRA with the SAS! Thus the 12 May issue proudly prints excerpts from a Communist Party of Ireland statement on Loughgall which claims that "Both these forces play into each others hands."

Republican fighters must be unconditionally defended against British imperialism and its Orange state agencies like the RUC. But the IRA/Sinn Fein nationalist programme of forcible capitalist reunification of the island offers no way forward for Irish working people. The last Sinn Fein conference went so far as to reverse a paper stand in favour of abortion rights, so as not to upset the powerful Catholic hierarchy and Green bourgeoisie in the South. The Provisionals' programme and tactics are sharply counterposed to the necessity to break down imperialist-fostered sectarian barriers and mobilise Catholic and Protestant workers alike in common struggle against their common class enemy. What's needed is the forging of Bolshevik parties both sides of the Irish Sea, armed with a revolutionary perspective to resolve the national/communal divisions of Ireland and overthrow capitalism throughout these islands. Troops out now - Smash the RUC/Ulster Defence Regiment! No to forced reunification - Down with NATO's Anglo-Irish accord! Free Republican political prisoners! Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act! For an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles! ■



Workers Hammer

Spartacists say: "Westminster butchers!" in demonstration after death of martyred hunger striker, May 1981.

scribed how "They unleashed a withering hail of fire on the terrorists, several of them still crouched in the back of a Toyota van, not expecting opposition...." IRA spokesmen claimed some were simply executed after being disarmed.

Over the next few days thousands demonstrated in protest in the streets of Belfast. Youths fought police and troops with petrol bombs. Even Father Denis Faul, the Co Tyrone priest who is a sharp opponent of the IRA, had to denounce the SAS/RUC operation: "The security forces killed the IRA for a political purpose - to stop complaints from Unionist politicians" (*Independent*, 11 May). But Labour

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Judas Kinnock...

(continued from page 1)

While witchhunting disgruntled black Labour politicians like Sharon Atkin and Linda Bellos for speaking the simple truth that Labour is a party of racism, Kinnock honours the occupying police forces who rampaged in Broadwater Farm, Tottenham. He even laid a wreath at the memorial plaque for Blakelock, the cop who expired during the police riots against the largely black community there and for whose death three young men have been framed up, convicted and sentenced to prison. It was Labour who imposed the vile "virginity tests" against Asian women immigrants, Labour which unleashed brutal police attacks on integrated anti-fascist protesters in the late 1970s. That Kinnock is vying with the Tories for racist votes has been noted by such mainstream liberal outfits as the Runnymede Trust. Kinnock is a certified enemy of socialism and of all the oppressed.

On Ireland and the Celtic fringe: The Westminster reformists of Labour have been ardent, bloodthirsty defenders of British imperialism

unionists and oppressed not only in Britain but internationally as well.

French miners turned over lorries of scab coal destined for Britain; Irish workers, Protestant and Catholic alike, sent significant material aid; the Soviet trade unions contributed millions. In the face of their own oppression by the hated apartheid regime, black South African miners donated £5000 to the British miners. In America the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, raised \$23,000 despite open sabotage by the American AFL-CIO. At home the dockers twice went out on strike alongside the miners, while railworkers and seamen blacked coal shipments. The pound went down to record lows; British capitalism was deeply shaken.

The Spartacist League called for a fighting Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers to strike jointly against Thatcher. This would have been in effect a general strike that would have posed not only driving out Thatcher but more fundamentally the question of *which class shall rule*. In the final analysis, it was

elections, but revolutionary class struggle. This point was driven home 67 years ago by the Communist International, which exposed the reformist lies of British social democracy:

"If the mendacious historians of the British bourgeoisie are able to convince a considerable part of the British workers that the domination of the British bourgeoisie represents a peaceful domination, and a domination of the people – that England knows no revolutions and that the English people enjoy constitutional rights to realise every kind of reform desired by the majority – this brazen lie wields influence only because the labour aristocracy of the British working class has, for fifty years and over, forgotten the turbulent history of English capitalism and the revolutionary record of the English labouring masses." ("Reply by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Independent Labour Party", 25 May 1920)

BUILD A BOLSHEVIK PARTY!

As even the Tory press is forced to concede, the majority of the British

is every reason to believe that many will vote with their feet – ie not vote at all. Critical support to a mass reformist party running formally independent of the bourgeois parties can be an effective tactic for Marxists, but only if it advances the aim of splitting the base from the top: exposing the misleaders and facilitating the regroupment of the working masses to communism. But what militant workers have illusions in Kinnock, especially since the miners strike? The fake lefts who today pimp for Labour are tailing the more backward section of the working class in an effort to tie the masses to this bourgeois workers party precisely when it is politically vulnerable.

The right-wing flight of the ostensible revolutionary "left" under the impact of Thatcher and Cold War II is evident by the fact that in their overwhelming majority they have prostrated themselves before Kinnock. The sorry handful that are standing candidates do not merit an iota of support, in fact they tend to be worse than simple-minded Labourite fake lefts (see accompanying article).

One organisation has steadfastly told the truth about Judas Kinnock and called upon working people and the oppressed in this country to remember the miners strike: the Spartacist League. We advocated and would have welcomed a genuine campaign – explicitly against Labour – in these elections. Had a militant veteran of the miners strike or victimised black Labour militants like Sharon Atkin run on such a platform, they would have not only deserved support, but received it. Such an approach is in stark contrast to the Labourite "left" whose argument to vote Kinnock in order to defeat Thatcher at any cost is nothing more than a British variant of the popular front of which the logical conclusion culminates in "tactical voting" for the Alliance. And it is no secret that in the event of a "hung Parliament", some variant of a Liberal-Labour coalition could be on the agenda, as even Labourites concede: "The dropping of all left policies, the attacks on the left, on Black Sections, the centralisation of the Party – all these make coalition with the Alliance easier" (*Labour Briefing*, 6-19 May). The sorry answer of *Labour Briefing*, of course, is to vote Labour.

In contrast, our perspective is one of revolutionary regroupment into the nucleus of a Bolshevik party of those elements outside and to the left of mainstream Labourism. In the British left today there is considerable ferment – at least one black organisation, the Black Unity and Free-



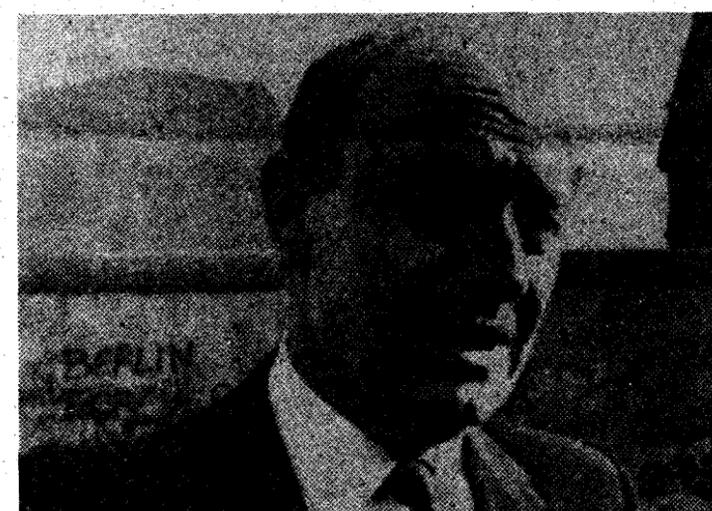
Times

against the Irish people. Labour sent in the troops in 1969 and implemented the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Today it demands *more* troops to Ireland and cheers the "shoot to kill" state terrorist attacks on the IRA. None of the Celtic peoples, including the Scottish and Welsh as well as the Irish, can expect anything but continued oppression and chauvinism from Labour.

As for the rest of the population – whether printworkers marching on Wapping and brutally charged by mounted, club-wielding cops, or homosexuals facing terror as AIDS hysteria is whipped up, or the over three million unemployed, or shivering pensioners dying of that peculiar British disease called hypothermia (known elsewhere as freezing to death) – Kinnock & Co offer more of the same.

REMEMBER THE MINERS STRIKE!

The miners strike was an acid test for evaluating all those who would lead the British proletariat. The right-wing Labourites who most hate the Russian Revolution proved themselves equally the enemy of the British revolution – they were the open scabherders. On the eve of the strike, the Frank Chapples and Eric Hammonds – in alliance with the Fleet Street press and aided and abetted by Gerry Healy's WRP – viciously witchhunted NUM leader Arthur Scargill for his correct statement that Polish Solidarnosc is anti-socialist. But for all that, the mighty twelve-month struggle by the miners enlisted the active solidarity of trade



Guardian

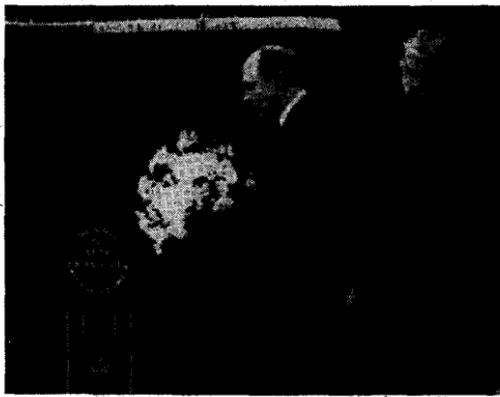
Kinnock, the all purpose scab: (clockwise from left) on guard for bloody British imperialism at Cenotaph; honouring racist cops at Blakelock memorial; on anti-Soviet pilgrimage to Berlin Wall.

the treachery of the "lefts" in refusing to spread the strike that defeated the NUM. They did not want to shut down Thatcher's Britain because they are unwilling to *fight for power*. When push came to shove, Jimmy Knapp, Ron Todd and Scargill himself chose unity with the scabherding Labour/TUC traitors, and the miners strike was defeated.

Twelve months of hard class struggle made it amply clear to tens of thousands of militants that a peaceful transformation of British society is a bad joke. But that was the constant refrain from Kinnock & Co during the strike: violence-baiting the miners for defending their picket lines against cops and scabs, the Labourites preached reliance on the ballot box. Unwilling to break from Kinnock in 1984-85, today Scargill offers £400,000 of union funds to elect this class traitor. And to hear the fake left howl, you'd think a defeat for Labour at the polls signals the end of the organised working class in this country.

This is a profoundly parliamentary cretinist, electoralist conception. What is decisive is not parliamentary

populace opposes Thatcher. Yet is it any wonder that blacks and Asians, gays victimised by increasingly brutal cops, or strike militants are not exactly rushing to Labour's banner? In the current elections, there



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League public meetings

**NO VOTE TO CLASS TRAITOR, RACE HATER,
ANTI-SOVIET STRIKEBREAKER KINNOCK**

Workers, oppressed need a Bolshevik Party!

LONDON

Islington Central Library
2 Fieldway Crescent N5
(off Holloway Rd)
tube: Highbury & Islington
Friday 12 June, 7.30pm



BIRMINGHAM

Crown Inn
Broad Street B1
Friday 19 June, 7.30pm

Rogues' gallery

A few days after Neil Kinnock finished purging black sections spokesman Sharon Atkin for calling Labour a racist party, we came across the following comment:

"What Atkin said... was considerably off beam. The Labour Party is a long way from deserving to be numbered among the active forces of racism in Britain today."

Patricia Hewitt? *Tribune* or *New Statesman*? No, this disgusting apology for Labour Party racism appeared in the editorial column of the supposedly "Marxist" *Socialist Organiser* (7 May). That's the flight to the right of the fake "left" in a nutshell.

Election 1987 brings the obscene spectacle of dozens of competing "revolutionary" groupings all trying to convince workers and the oppressed to back the execrable loser Kinnock. This election would be an opportunity to stand revolutionary class-struggle candidates against the despised Labour traitor and his henchmen. A veteran of the heroic miners strike standing, for instance, could mobilise many who correctly see no choice in the election farce. But those few groups standing token independent candidates are a sorry mix of degenerate political bandits (the formerly Healy Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party [WRP]), the abject proponents of coalition with David Owen's Alliance in the Communist Party (CP) and the strange and dubious Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

Most of the fake lefts simply supporting Kinnock don't bother to dress up their arguments with talk of "exposing" the thoroughly exposed Kinnock. It's just straight "lesser evilism". According to *Socialist Worker* (16 May), which does indulge in the occasional left-sounding grumble, "a vote for Labour is vital. For the size of the Labour vote determines the size of the opposition to the exploitation the Tories so gleefully represent." Got that? Voting for Kinnock is the way to fight exploitation! Classic economists, the SWP's pretence at trade-union militancy inexorably collapses into abject Labourism. This, as much as their peculiar "downturn" theory, led the SWP to blithely scab on the heroic 1984-85 miners strike—and publicly brag about it as well.

For comic relief, we direct our readers to the centrist Workers Power group and its "workers' manifesto" ("Vote Labour But Organise To Fight!"). Pressure on a Labour government will just about bring socialism, according to this rather pathetic tract: Kinnock can be "forced" to disarm the police, Hattersley can be "forced" to nationalise just about everything (without compensation, no less). Internation-



"Alternatives" to Kinnock? Clockwise from top: political bandits of WRP's *News Line* (7 September 1983) instigated red-baiting of Arthur Scargill; union jack, bloody butcher's apron, adorns pamphlet of sinister, bizarre RCP; CP's *7 Days* pushes "anti-Tory" popular front rubbish.

ally, a Labour government can be "forced" to introduce sanctions against apartheid South Africa, though how these would differ from imperialist sanctions is not clear. With this exception: "A Labour government must guarantee the jobs and pay of all workers involved in trade with South Africa and nationalise any firm refusing to abide by sanctions or which sacks workers as a result of them." What narrow nationalism, comrades: why not "force" Labour to "guarantee" the jobs of all South African workers, too? To cap it all, page 47 of this "manifesto" embraces the CIA slogan for "free trade unions" in Eastern Europe. Denis Healey would be pleased.

The SWP and WP naturally denounce the very idea of standing candidates against Labour (too much "force"?). And the WRP fragment which now publishes *Workers Press* has chimed in: "We also disagree with the attempt to win votes for alternative socialist candidates" (16 May). On several occasions the pre-implosion WRP did in fact stand candidates against Labour; in 1974 we called for critical support to them. But this "ultra-left" bulge has apparently been stamped out by

the "family of the left" Slaughterite WRP of today. (The same issue of *Workers Press* contains an article defending crossing picket lines in the recent teachers strike against the "left" Labour council in Brent.)

THE FOUL, THE BAD AND THE UGLY

The *News Line* version of the WRP (today led by Sheila Torrance, "founder-leader" Gerry Healy having departed from yet another of his groups) has announced ten candidates for the elections. The Healyite organisation helped set up the murder of 21 Communists by the reactionary Iraqi Baathist regime in the late 1970s, among other grotesque acts of political banditry. In schizophrenic fashion, *News Line* (12 May) pronounces Labour to be "totally discredited by the actions of Kinnock & Co." only to conclude "Nevertheless, we call on all workers and youth in those constituencies where there is not a Workers Revolutionary Party candidate to vote Labour as a class action against the Tories." We remember the class action for the Tories and their Cold Warrior Labour/TUC

Today the opportunity for regroupment, through splits and fusions of would-be revolutionary forces, is more favourable than at any time in years. Such regroupment must be soundly grounded in the programme of Leninism/Trotskyism. For the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan! Down with counterrevolutionary CIA "union" Solidarnosc! No detente illusions: disarm the bourgeoisie through international proletarian revolution!

What's needed to combat racial, sexual and national oppression is not pressurising Labour or sectoral politics, but a Leninist vanguard party

that functions as a *tribune of the people*. A heavy leadership component of blacks, Asians and people from the Celtic fringe can infuse such a party with traditions of struggle less tainted by illusions in bloodless "democratic reform". As the left-wing poet Hugh MacDiarmid wrote: "For Scottish steel tempered wi' Irish fire/That is the Weapon I desire". British troops out of Ireland now — not Green against Orange but class against class! Forge a Bolshevik party, by splitting the working class base of the Labour Party from its pro-capitalist misleaders — both right and "left".

The party of the British October will have as its goal not a Labour government in the Mother of Par-

liament which the WRP carried out, when it initiated the red-baiting of Arthur Scargill at the Blackpool TUC on the eve of the miners strike because of Scargill's correct denunciation of counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc.

The CP is also standing candidates in a few places, pushing its standard barely-to-Labour's-left reformism ("Labour's manifesto is less than perfect", mutters the 16 May *Seven Days*). A significant wing of the CP is publicly pushing "tactical" votes to the bourgeois Liberal/SDP Alliance where they are better placed than Labour to beat the Tories. While the expelled CP minority around *Morning Star* demurs from championing David Owen (a flagrantly anti-working class line which is the logical outcome of Labourite "anti-Thatcherism"), it can only counterpose the quest for "a majority Labour government which can then be won, by mass struggle and argument, for policies that can challenge big business power" (1 May). In any case, *Morning Star* (9 May) is pleased to report that elected CP candidate for Nottingham City Council, John Peck's, "intervention...did not jeopardise Labour's chances". God forbid.

Finally — and distastefully, but necessarily — we come to the RCP and its supposed "Red Front". The RCP's paper "platform for working class unity" is in fact sub-reformist piffle (with no mention of either the need to defend blacks and Asians against racist cop terror or the call for troops out of Ireland now). But this is hardly the main point with the RCP. This outfit has a peculiar habit of publishing newspaper interviews with racist punks and late last year their Sheffield branch recruited a "former" British Movement organiser (see *Workers Hammer* no 84, December/January).

Virulently anti-Soviet and unsavoury at best, this cult made a name for itself during the miners strike not only by campaigning for the national ballot, the chief strikebreaking tactic of the strikebreakers, but by organising "meetings with men presently at work" (read: scabs) (RCP "Strike Bulletin no 2", [March 1984]). RCPers might like to but probably have not forgotten how angry miners acquainted them with the pavement (and in one instance a river) for their open scabberding. This group's "alternative" to Kinnock is like the UDM candidates who stood against Labour in Nottinghamshire. (And the National Front is anti-Kinnock, too.)

That's it, dear readers: the rogues' gallery of "alternatives" to Kinnock, none worthy of the slightest support. ■

dom Party, has called for a boycott of the elections, while counterposing a sterile, sectoralist concept of organising black British workers into their own party. The Communist Party is deeply splintered. At least some of its members and supporters subjectively want to defend the USSR and wage class struggle at home; instead, they are corralled into supporting the virulently anti-communist Kinnock. As for the ostensibly Trotskyist groupings, most have barrelled headlong into Labourism and anti-Sovietism. Not surprisingly, there has been considerable organisational disintegration: preaching that the Labour Party is an instrument for progressive change flies palpably in the face of reality.

Zionist Big Lie targets Perdition

"The simple, terrible truth, is that the Jews of Hungary were murdered not just by the force of German arms, but by calculated treachery of their own Jewish leaders. In terms of salvation, the only 'chosen people' left in Budapest were these few Zionists."

— *Perdition*

One of the most sordid episodes in the unspeakable history of the Nazi Holocaust exploded to the surface when the Royal Court Theatre in London decided to stage Jim Allen's play *Perdition*. It is a powerful work about a Hungarian Zionist who collaborated with the Nazis. Its indictment of the Hungarian Zionist is based on reality and was adjudicated more than thirty years ago in an Israeli trial involving one Reszo Kasztner. Even in Israel, the government's attempt in 1953 to prosecute a man for accusing Kasztner of collaboration with the Nazis was defeated. Benjamin Halevi, Israeli Supreme Court judge — one of the three who tried Adolf Eichmann — handed down the following verdict, quoted in *Perdition*:

"The masses of Jews from Hungary's ghettos obediently boarded the deportation trains without knowing of their fate. They were full of confidence in the false information that they were being transferred to Konyermeze. The Nazis could not have misled the Jews so conclusively had they not spread their false information through Jewish channels. The Jews of the ghettos would not have trusted the Nazis or Hungarian rulers, but they had trust in their Jewish leaders. Eichmann and others used this known fact as part of their calculated plan to mislead



Zydowski Instytut Historyczny Warschau

Warsaw 1943: Nazis round up Jewish population for deportation to death camps.

trovsery" by the Zionist establishment, a storm that caused the theatre to cancel the play. Author Jim Allen is a leftist widely acclaimed for his sympathetic portrayal of the 1926 General Strike in *Days of Hope*, director Ken Loach is a well-known leftist film maker who made one of the few decent television presentations on the 1984-85 miners strike. The Zionists denounced their production as anti-Semitic and a deliberate falsification. The press and in particular

which specialises in "responsible" anti-Sovietism — warned, *Perdition* drew "conclusions not only about Kasztner but about the entire Zionist movement and the nature of the Israeli state". Israel is a strategic bulwark in the Near East for the imperialist anti-Soviet alliance; the Zionist-inspired war cry to "Free Soviet Jewry" has long been a cutting edge in the drive to "roll back Communism". For four decades the Zionist state and its apologists have offered as ultimate justification for every new conquest of *Lebensraum* ["living space"], every terrorist atrocity against the Palestinian people their own blood-stained rewrite of the Holocaust. *Perdition*, indeed mildly, dared to address their racist, murderous *raison d'etre*: the same Zionists who today carry out genocide against the Arabs in the name of the Jews collaborated in genocide against the Jews in the cause of the Zionist fatherland.

The "Big Lie" banning of *Perdition* is an obscenity. Let it play and let the guilty, hypocritical censors be damned.

KASZTNER'S "DEFENCE": WE ALL DID IT

Set in a British courtroom shortly after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, *Perdition* is a dramatised re-trial of the Kasztner libel trial. In 1953 Kasztner, then a minor Mapai (Israeli "Labour" Party) politician, was publicly accused of collaboration in the Nazis' deportation-to-death of more than 400,000 Hungarian Jews and subsequent perjury before the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal to save the neck of one of his former SS patrons.

Under the pro-Nazi Horthy dictatorship, Hungary in 1944 contained

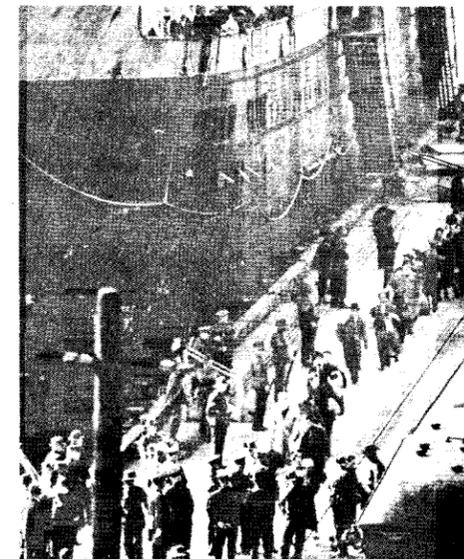
the only major concentration of Jews remaining in Nazi-dominated central Europe. With the victorious Red Army rapidly approaching and Horthy contemplating a break with Germany, chief Nazi exterminator Adolf Eichmann was sent in on the heels of the Wehrmacht to make Hungary, too, *Judenrein* ["cleansed of" Jews] — as fast as possible. After illusory negotiations to ransom all of Hungary's Jews came to naught, Kasztner struck a private deal with Eichmann: to ensure that Jews would accept deportation as peacefully as possible in exchange for the release of some 1700 "prominent Jews" — Zionists, capitalists, friends and relatives of Kasztner. Kasztner's collaboration aided the Nazis in carrying out their last major extermination campaign in record time, rounding up more than half of the 800,000 Jews then in Hungary for the Auschwitz death camp in less than two months. This massive transport operation took place when all trains were needed by the Nazis for supplying men and materiel to the front. It involved an incredible speed up, trainload after trainload of Jews, as the Russians approached.

Eichmann described Kasztner as an "ice-cold lawyer and a fanatical Zionist" in interviews published in *Life* magazine (5 December 1960). The Nazi technician of mass murder went on to explain:

"We were political opponents trying to arrive at a settlement, and we trusted each other perfectly.... With his great polish and reserve he would have made an ideal Gestapo officer himself...."

"I believe that Kasztner would have sacrificed a thousand or a hundred thousand of his blood to achieve his political goal.... And because Kasztner rendered us a great service by helping keep the deportation camps peaceful, I would let his groups escape. After all, I was not concerned with small groups of a thousand or so Jews."

The hate-*Perdition* gang tread about this treachery in the manner of a bad joke: Kasztner didn't do it; if he did, he wasn't representa-



John Fairfax & Sons Ltd

1940: Jewish prisoners deported by British imperialism disembark from ship Dunera.

tive; if he was...anyone who says so is an anti-Semite! At the time of the original trial, when the memory of the Holocaust still burned vividly among the many survivors living in Israel, Kasztner's defenders did not even attempt to dispute the facts. The attorney-general's appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court, which overturned the earlier decision several months after Kasztner's timely assassination in 1957, was based precisely on the argument that Kaszt-



Pathfinder Press

the Jews. They were able to deport the Jews to their extermination by the help of Jewish leaders."

But *Perdition* was spiked in London. Less than 48 hours before the first of a series of sellout performances was scheduled, the Royal Court Theatre management cancelled the play. It still has yet to be seen by an audience.

An article entitled "Rewriting the Holocaust" in the 14 January *Guardian* unleashed a vindictive "storm of con-



American SWP pickets German consulate, 1938 (left); above, paper distributed by heroic Brest Trotskyists who built cell in German army and were arrested by Gestapo in 1943.

the *Guardian* ran and continues to run a plethora of letters on the ban of *Perdition*. Loach correctly and bitterly denounced the paper for "columns of inaccurate and wildly untrue allegations about the play" (*Guardian*, 22 January).

Why can't *Perdition* be seen? And why did the liberal *Guardian* choose to run point for this Zionist witch-hunt? Because, as the *Guardian* — a "responsible" bourgeois mouthpiece

ner was completely representative of Zionism:

"Kastner did nothing more and nothing less than was done by us in rescuing the Jews and bringing them to Palestine....It has always been our Zionist tradition to select the few out of many in arranging the immigration to Palestine. Are we therefore to be called traitors?..."

"There was no room for any resistance to the Germans in Hungary...." (Ben Hecht, *Perfidy*, quoted in Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, p267)

The impact of the Kasztner trial was sensational, leading to the downfall of the cabinet and figuring heavily in the Israelis' belated apprehension of Eichmann in 1960, years after he'd broken anonymity in Buenos Aires. Among then prime minister Ben-Gurion's motives in bringing Eichmann to trial, as Hannah Arendt put it in her *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, was to show "how the establishment of a Jewish state had enabled Jews to hit back...the difference between Israeli heroism and Jewish submissive meekness". To that end, it was necessary not only to steer clear of implicating any of the many "former" Nazis active in the West German government allied with Israel, but to suppress any evidence of responsibility for "submissive weakness" (let alone col-



Workers Vanguard

September 1982: Spartacists protest against Zionist state's genocidal massacre of Palestinians at Sabra/Shatila (right).



Times

Europe *Judenrein*. When Nazi mobs lynched Jews and burned synagogues throughout Germany on the infamous *Kristallnacht* of 1938 with the cry, "*Juden nach Palestina!*" [Jews to Palestine], the Zionists could only nod their heads. Even as the Jews of occupied Europe were being herded into ghettos and concentration camps, one wing of Zionism still sought an outright alliance with Nazi Germany. In a document dated 11 January 1941, the fascistic "Stern Gang" offered itself up to the Nazis: "The indirect participation of the Israeli freedom movement in the New Order in Europe, already in

these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriages and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group....

"For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration even of a government fundamentally hostile to Jews...." (Brenner, pp48-9)

Hitler's ultimate aim was the extermination of Zionist and non-Zionist Jews alike, but more than once in the meantime the Nazis acknowledged the Zionists as their "favourite Jews". While active socialists, Communists and Jewish assimilationists were banned and thrown into Dachau, the Zionists were for years the only non-Nazi political group allowed to function legally, the Zionist banner the only flag aside from the German swastika to fly on German soil.

This was a source of no small embarrassment to the World Zionist Organization (WZO), as American Zionist leader Stephen Wise himself admitted. Of course, the Zionists abroad had first of all to accommodate their own bourgeoisies, while trying simultaneously to stem the outcry of Jews for some sort of action against Hitler. Forced to call an impotent economic boycott of Nazi Germany, the WZO sabotaged it themselves to appease Nazi threats of retaliation against Jewish property in Germany, even signing a secret pact with Hitler - the so-called *Ha'avara* (Transfer) Agreement - which made Jewish-owned businesses in Palestine one of the main outlets for German exports as a way of "rescuing" Jewish-German capital!

Kowtowing to Churchill and Roosevelt, both notorious anti-Semites, the British and American Zionists suppressed early reports documenting the scale of Nazi genocide to prevent mass pressure for action. One of the first reports was a Soviet document - a detailed report called the "Molotov Announcement" issued in January 1942 which analysed the workings of the SS extermination squads in occupied Russia. It was dismissed as "Bolshevik propaganda" by the WZO in Palestine.

The Zionist response to domestic fascism was predictable. When tens of thousands of London Jews, Communists, workers mobilised to stop Mosley's Blackshirts in the pitched "Battle of Cable Street" in 1936, the Zionists took a back seat. When the then-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) organised a similar demonstration two years later in New York, the Zionists publicly denounced it. Even as American Zionists opposed any change in racist immigration restrictions, the SWP demanded in 1938: "Let the Refugees into the US!" Its newspaper, the *Socialist Appeal*, wrote: "The Brown-shirted monsters do not even bother

to conceal their aim: the physical extermination of every Jew in Great-Germany." For its revolutionary defeatism against the US rulers in World War II, the leadership of the SWP was imprisoned for 18 months.

SOVIET RUSSIA DEFEATED THE NAZIS

To justify their criminal policy of collaboration, the Zionists claimed there was no other way: resistance was impossible without a Jewish state. The Zionist Big Lie is multi-faceted: having preached non-resistance and worse in the face of fascist genocide, the Zionists now denounce as a slur on the entire Jewish people the Zionists' refusal to fight. Thus, according to London Zionist spokesman Stephen Roth what makes *Perdition* "clearly anti-Semitic" is "suggesting that the Zionist movement had to cooperate with the Nazis.... Perdition is a libel against all those who lived through, fought and mostly perished in the Holocaust" (*Guardian*, 14 January). It is Roth who equates the millions of European Jews with a handful of Nazi collaborators. Which takes some chutzpah. There was resistance, inspired not by the reactionary ideology of Zionism but by the proletarian and socialist traditions which motivated and permeated broad masses of East European Jewry.

Not only were there the heroic uprisings in the Warsaw Ghetto, underground resistance in Vilno and rebellions in the concentration camps - in which Jewish Communists often played leading roles - but tens of thousand of Jews fought in the ranks of partisan bands allied with the Red Army in East Europe. Pro-

continued on page 8



No credit

Proletarian traditions of East European Jewry, despised by Zionists. Above, mass demonstration of Jewish, Polish socialists in 1905.

laboration) by Israel's "heroic" founders. A key witness at the Eichmann trial, another Hungarian Zionist, was not allowed to testify because he refused to suppress evidence of collaboration with Eichmann in his testimony.

ZIONISTS AND NAZIS—"A CLEAR AND SINCERE RELATIONSHIP"

As documented in Lenni Brenner's *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, a source for Allen's script, the history of Zionist relations to the Nazi empire is a gruesome, perhaps unparalleled, record of treachery to the very people it claimed to represent. From the first days of the Third Reich, the Zionists in Germany and abroad either passively acquiesced to Hitlerism or sought to collaborate with it - excepting only when they served as tools of Germany's imperialist rivals. With their project of transporting the Jews of the "diaspora" to a national homeland in Palestine, they deluded themselves that they could cut a deal with the Nazis on the basis of a common aim - to make

the preparatory stage, would be linked with a positive-radical solution of the European Jewish problem in conformity with the above-mentioned national aspirations of the Jewish people. This would extraordinarily strengthen the moral basis of the New Order in the eyes of all humanity." (quoted in Brenner, pp267-8)

Operations commander of the Stern Gang was Yitzhak Shamir, now prime minister of the state of Israel.

The German Zionists not only eschewed, but positively opposed any struggle against Hitlerite anti-Semitism as a futile diversion. They not only accepted, but fervently endorsed the 1935 Nuremberg Laws ghettoising Germany's predominantly assimilated Jewish population. A secret Zionist memorandum to the Nazi regime enthused over the racial policies of the New Order:

"Our acknowledgement of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify



Einsatzgruppen carries out mass murder against Jews.

Perdition...

(continued from page 7)

imperialist nationalist partisans like the Polish Home Army either refused to accept Jewish fighters or simply slaughtered them. Within the Soviet armed forces, more than 200 generals and some half million troops were of Jewish origin, while the Red Orchestra espionage network of Leopold Trepper in Western Europe and Germany was composed largely of Polish and Palestinian Jewish Communists. Despite subsequent Stalinist perfidy (which expressed itself in anti-Semitism as well), the beacon of the Bolshevik Revolution—which did more to emancipate millions of Jews in its first few years than decades of Zionist prostration before imperialism—had not been extinguished.

In 1938 Leon Trotsky wrote: "It is possible to imagine without difficulty what awaits the Jews at the mere outbreak of the future world war. But even without war the next development of world reaction signifies with certainty the physical extermination of the Jews.... "Only audacious mobilization of the workers against reaction, creation of workers' militia, direct physical resistance to the fascist gangs, increasing self-confidence, activity and audacity on the part of all the oppressed can provoke a change in the



Arthur Grace

Bitburg, May 1985: US and West German fuhrers salute Nazi SS. Israel is key part of "free world" anti-Soviet axis.

colonies and markets. In fact the real war against Nazi Germany took place on the Eastern Front: 20 million Soviet citizens died fighting the Nazi scourge! While Britain and the US accepted in total some 220,000 Jewish refugees from Nazi terror, nearly 80 per cent of the 2.5 million Jews who fled the Nazis found refuge in the Soviet Union, the only country to open its doors to Jewish refugees en masse. Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union linked to socialist revolution against the imperialist bourgeoisies. While Zionist leaders

opponents return frequently. The Board of Deputies of British Jews, among others, claims the "entire exercise" is nothing more than a longstanding Moscow plot to "perpetuate the libel of Zionist-Nazi collaboration" (*Guardian*, 24 January). Among the handful of pro-Zionist holocaust experts wheeled out by the *Guardian* and subsequently invoked ad nauseam is Martin Gilbert, official biographer of Winston "Iron Curtain" Churchill and most recently the author of a panegyric to Soviet "dissidents" (like convicted spy Natan Shcharansky, whose wife is a supporter of the clerical-fascistic Gush Emmunim) entitled *Jews of Hope*. Then Bernard Levin, rabidly Thatcherite columnist for Murdoch's scab *Times* (2 February), leapt into the fray, ranting against the "anti-Semitism of the aptly-named Fascist Left" while insisting that real anti-Semitism is a "negligible phenomenon" in Thatcher's Britain.

So British imperialism is a tribune of the Jewish people, according to Gilbert and his ilk. Not bloody likely. Only a couple of years ago, the British establishment passed off with a nod and a wink the revelation that the father of a member of the "royal family" (Princess Michael of Kent) had been in the SS.

From Lord Balfour on, Zionism's imperialist godfathers tended to be notoriously anti-Jewish. Churchill early on railed against "too many" Jews in the Cabinet (quoted uncritically in Gilbert's biography) and went on to echo his White Guard pogromist allies after the Russian Revolution in denouncing Trotsky and "his schemes of a world-wide communistic state under Jewish domination". But Churchill, too, had his "good Jews": "The struggle which is now beginning between the Zionist and Bolshevik Jews is little less than a struggle for the soul of the Jewish people" (quoted in Brenner, p10). The British issued the Balfour Declaration which promised a "Jewish national home" in Palestine in order to mobilise both Jewish support behind the war effort and Zionist support behind Britain's imperial ambitions in the Arab East. The Balfour Declaration, issued on 2 November 1917, was part of this "struggle", to enhance Zionism's capacity as a tool of imperialist anti-Bolshevism.

During the Second World War, Britain not only closed its borders to Holocaust refugees, but even set up its own concentration camp. Some 1500 of the 50,000 mostly well-off German and Austrian Jews who managed to get into Britain before the war were rounded up in an indiscriminate dragnet—which picked up Jews in London's East End as well—and

thrown aboard the tramp steamer *Dunera* bound for a concentration camp in the Australian outback. An earlier "cargo" of Jews to Canada, on an unescorted vessel, was torpedoed by the Germans, killing hundreds.

Despite emphatic appeals spirited out of East Europe from victims of the Nazis, the British and Americans consistently refused to bomb the extermination facilities at Auschwitz. Nor did the British Zionists do much to pressure their friend Churchill; their great concern, as Zionist leader Lady Reading put it, was to avoid "continental Jewish habits" like "nagging". The middle-class British and American Zionists shared their anti-Semitic friends' fear and loathing of an influx of impoverished "Ostjuden" [East European Jews].

Anti-communism makes strange bedfellows. Shamir's Stern Gang, which was deemed terrorist in the eyes of the British ruling class not for its fealty to Hitlerism or its wholesale massacre of Arab civilians but rather for a couple of successful operations against British diplomats, has had its sins cleansed. And lots of others, too, like Begin's Irgun were "forgiven". Today the terrorist Shamir commands an entire army and Britain stands guard over his "honour". The anti-*Perdition* cabal couldn't care less about anti-Semitism!

In Allen's play, a former Polish Communist Party member is questioned during the trial; he is asked if "the alternative presented to the European Jew of your generation—especially the intellectual Jew—were either Communism or Zionism". "Yes" is the answer. While clearly a victim of anti-Communist apologists for Zionism, Allen in fact tends to downplay the role of the Soviet Red Army in smashing the Hitlerite forces and liberating Eastern Europe. The former Polish CP member testifies to a grisly Stalinist betrayal during the Stalin-Hitler pact when some 500 German and Austrian Communists were handed over to the Gestapo by Stalin's NKVD. But there is scant acknowledgement in *Perdition* of the heroic struggle of the Soviet people in defence of the workers state against Nazi invasion.

ZIONISM AND RACISM

Despite various "labour" and "Marxist" currents, like that of Ber Borochov, the Zionist movement from its earliest origins had a profound hostility to the oppressed plebian Jewish masses. At the end of the nineteenth century the Dreyfus affair galvanised French society and particularly the socialist movement. Zionist founding father Theodor Herzl heaped contempt on French Jewry at the time:

"They seek protection from the Socialists and the destroyers of the present civil order.... Truly they are not Jews anymore. To be sure, they are no Frenchmen either. They will probably become the leaders of European anarchism." (quoted in Brenner, p2)

Many Jews did indeed become militant fighters and leaders in the proletarian movements of Europe, driven by their special oppression to seek the road of revolutionary struggle. The Zionists of all persuasions denounced them as assimilationists and self-haters. Until the Holocaust literally liquidated the once-powerful pro-socialist Jewish workers movement of East Europe, Zionism was a despised, isolated sect. In polemicising against the Jewish



No credit

On the barricade during heroic Warsaw uprising, 1944. While Zionist leaders like Kasztner collaborated, Jewish masses resisted Nazi terror.

relation of forces, stop the world wave of fascism, and open a new chapter in the history of mankind." ("Appeal to American Jews Menaced by Fascism and Anti-Semitism", *On the Jewish Question*)

In Germany the Trotskyist Left Opposition fought during the crucial years 1930-33 for a united front of the Communist and Socialist parties to smash the Nazi bands. The fundamental betrayal which allowed Hitler to crush the German proletariat and carry out his programme of mass murder lay in the refusal of the Socialist and Communist misleaders of the mighty German workers movement to fight, to sweep Hitler and his rabble away before they came to power. Millions of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, socialists, Communists, homosexuals and others paid for this betrayal in the death camps.

During the war, the Trotskyists continued their revolutionary efforts, valiantly and at terrible cost organising internationalist cells within the German armed forces in occupied France, seeking to tap the revolutionary traditions of the German proletariat. Unlike the Stalinists—or for that matter the Zionists—the Trotskyists understood that the imperialist "democracies" were not waging a "war against fascism" but a war for redivision of imperialist

like Nahum Goldman admitted afterwards that they remained silent about Nazi atrocities so as to "not disturb the war effort of the free world against Nazism by stormy protests", the American SWP's *Militant* (19 September 1942) broke the government/Zionist news blackout. It wrote:

"The State Department has meantime—so we are informed—suppressed information that it received from its consular agents in Switzerland. This information has to do with the treatment of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. Evidence of the greatest atrocities has occurred there in connection with the renewed campaign to exterminate all Jews. Rumor even has it that the Ghetto no longer exists, that the Jews there have been completely wiped out. The reason this report has been suppressed by the State Department is that it does not wish any mass protests here that will force its hand on policy."

ZIONISM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM

If the Zionists appear oblivious, indeed hostile, to any mention of these facts of Soviet and Communist-led resistance against the Nazis, it is because they are committed to the war effort of the "free world" against the Soviet Union, a theme to which *Per-*

Zionism, anti-Semitism and the fake left

The anti-communist Zionist cabal that spiked *Perdition* have friends in some unexpected quarters. There is, for one, Socialist Organiser and its magazine *Workers Liberty*. The April/May issue contains an article by SO leader John O'Mahony which equates Zionism with the Jewish people and hurls the accusation of anti-Semitism at Jim Allen's anti-Zionist play:

"The theme Allen puts forward ... is that Zionists, ie Jews, and today the dominant political current among Jews, share responsibility with the Nazis and the East European collaborators for the massacre of the Jews. This is a vastly enlarged version of the blood-libel of Christian anti-Semitism against the Jews."

O'Mahony avers that *Perdition* "should be produced" - but goes on to recommend that "those who feel badly stung by it" have "the right to protest, denounce, clamour against it and picket it. At a certain point such an outcry may convince some of those involved in the enterprise to abandon it."

We note too that the same issue of *Workers Liberty* odiously states that the Soviet Union "is an imperialist system, and one which today holds far more peo-

ple in direct subjugation than any other imperialist power now existing". (A formal line change, for SO previously held on paper the orthodox Trotskyist position that the Soviet Union was a degenerated workers state.) O'Mahony's line up with the Zionists is not just a capitulation to Labour's pro-Israeli commitment; it's an apology for part of the anti-Soviet "free world". The equation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism is the basis of contemporary defence of the murderous Zionist state of Israel in its genocidal war on the Palestinian people.

The people who produce *Jewish Socialist* (Spring 1987) seem to be of several minds on the civil libertarian question of whether or not the play should be staged. David Cesarani is flatly opposed to it - his starting point is best revealed when he describes the play's "heroes" as: "anti-Zionist, or communist, or non-identifying or totally assimilated Jews". He would prefer Begin and Shamir as heroes? Cesarani is no sideline academic, either. During the flood of Zionist vilification heaped on *Perdition*, he had several letters printed in the bourgeois press, red-baiting Allen for using the "historical debate" to

"provide ammunition for this or that political line" (*Guardian*, 7 February). Roberto Sussman's piece defends the right to stage the play, concluding with the admission that he hadn't even read it. But Sussman doesn't want to touch the debate about Zionism's role in World War II: "Although a critical examination of the role of the Zionist movement in Europe will have to be brought to a public forum sooner or later, making the Jewish public aware of the long term danger of providing unlimited and uncritical support for the policies of the State of Israel is a far more urgent task." This is a false, self-serving counterposition: precisely because he supports the state of Israel, in however "limited" and "critical" a fashion, Sussman doesn't want to recognise the fact that the Zionist criminals running that country are the people exposed in Allen's play.

The Workers Power group is similarly queasy about the central historical question at issue in the *Perdition* controversy. Its editorial (*Workers Power*, January 1987) manages to say not a word about it. The main purpose of the editorial seems to be to establish WP's credentials as "democrats", presumably for its Labour Party

audience. The conclusion is willfully inane: "Tomorrow we may have to stand shoulder to shoulder with Zionists against fascism and real anti-Semitism" (!) Apparently WP doesn't recognise that within Zionism there is a fascist wing (eg Kahane and his ilk) and that the struggle against real anti-Semitism is anathema to Zionism.

Meanwhile Workers Power showed where it stands on fighting special oppression when it built a joint contingent with the dubious Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) for this year's Bloody Sunday demonstration. Known not only for its recruitment of a "former" fascist in Sheffield, the RCP's rag *the next step* (20 June 1986) announced that "anti-semitic prejudices" have "little consequence either for Jewish people or the rest of society" because in Britain today Jewish people are not oppressed "as they were in Germany, in the thirties"! The RCP even went so far as to compile a list of the "non-oppressed" which happens to include Jews, Gypsies and homosexuals - those exterminated in the Nazi death camps.

Allen's play is a powerful and fundamentally truthful depiction of Zionist collaboration with the Eichmann SS in war-time Hungary. It is a staunchly pro-Jewish piece, aimed in Allen's words, "to free the Jews from Zionism" - the death trap for the Jewish masses.

nationalism of the Bund, which though anti-Zionist argued for "cultural autonomy" and separate organisation of Jewish workers, Lenin observed: "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the 'most just', 'purest', most refined and civilised brand" ("Critical Remarks on the National Question", 1913). And Zionism, born long after the bourgeois nation-state had outlived its progressive role, distinguished itself only in being a particularly venal and racist brand of nationalism. For all the continuing attempts to sanctify Zionism as a "movement of national liberation", its task of necessity was not to liberate a non-existent Jewish nation from the yoke of imperialist oppression but to create and implant a Jewish class society in Palestine in alliance with imperialism and over the body of the Arab population.

Ideologically nurtured in the cradle of German national "awakening", Zionism embraced the reactionary Nietzschean ideals of *Blut* [blood] and *Volk* [race]. As a young liberal Zionist, Martin Buber waxed lyrically that "blood is a deep-rooted nurturing force", while others of his time upheld the Jews as "a nation of pure blood, not tainted by diseases of excess or immorality" (Brenner, pp20-1). And the true Jewish *Übermensch* [superman] was the Zionist. The false, facile and fundamentally racist equation that Zionism equals Jewry - that the only real Jew is a Zionist - is what allowed Kaszner and his ilk to see millions sacrificed for their reactionary "ideal".

From Herzl on, many leading Zionists were openly anti-democratic; many extolled the Mussolini regime. Jabotinsky's Revisionists, which spawned the Irgun, and their brown-shirted Betar youth (whose Polish section was headed by one Menachem Begin) consciously modelled themselves on the Italian Fascisti. The

admiration was mutual: Betar was allowed to set up a training squadron at Mussolini's maritime academy at Civitavecchia, where chants of "Viva l'Italia! Viva il Re! Viva il Duce!" would ring from the young Zionist thugs (who went on to become the founders of the Israeli navy).

Abba Achimeir, Jabotinsky's lieutenant in Palestine and close friend of Begin's, authored a regular column entitled "Diary of a Fascist"



Soviet red flag flies in Berlin, May 1945. Red Army crushed Nazi scourge in Europe.

and berated his youth: "Not one of you is capable of murder after the manner in which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered" (Brenner, p116). They looked for inspiration to the proto-Nazi Freikorps murderers of internationalist Communists and Jews. When the British discovered Achimeir's diary, they found the murderous logic of this Zionist brutally put: "I wish that a million Polish Jews might be slaughtered. Then they might realize that they are living in a ghetto." And

then the remainder might flee to Palestine.

Jabotinsky himself finally put a leash on Achimeir, whose extremism was "discrediting". But the ideological outlook behind it was bedrock Zionism; the numerous splits and squabbles in prewar Zionism tended at root to reflect differences over which imperialist power to chase after. While Weizmann and the "mainstream" Zionists denounced

Jabotinsky for wheeling and dealing with Ukrainian pogromist Simon Petliura (who slaughtered 100,000 Jews during his futile attempt to create an anti-Soviet Ukraine in January 1919), they prostituted themselves before Petliura's British imperialist backers.

The Zionist "ideal" finally reached its consummation in one of the most racist and militaristic states on the face of the earth. It is also deeply, vilely anti-Jewish. As even

the Labour Zionist *Jewish Frontier* (March 1942) admitted: "it used to be fashionable for Zionist speakers (including the writer) to declare from the platform that 'To be a good Zionist, one must be somewhat of an anti-Semite.'" In the Zionist contempt for Yiddishkeit (East European Jewish culture) is expressed disdain for the best, most internationalist aspects of that culture. To create a Hebrew nation required the resurrection of this dead language. Indeed, from its origins, Zionism was a break from Judaism, deeply contemptuous of the Jews of the "diaspora", blamed by the Zionists for their own persecution by anti-Semites.

Within the Zionist state itself the right-wing Likud, whose mass base is among the Arab Jews, exploits resentment of Euroracist "Labour". And Arabs, particularly the Palestinian masses driven from their homeland, are simply "terrorists", "animals", *Untermenschen* [lesser people]. From the bloody massacre of Deir Yassin and innumerable others which drove the Palestinians into their own diaspora 40 years ago to Sabra/Shatila, the Israeli state has sought to carry out its "Final Solution" to the Arab question. In "democratic", "free world" Israel it is a punishable crime even to speak to a member of any organisation deemed to be "terrorist" - the Nazis termed it "rassenschande" [race betrayal].

As the history of Zionism demonstrates, nationalism is a dead end for the oppressed. Trotsky predicted that the establishment of a Zionist state in Palestine would become "a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system" (*On the Jewish*

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Perdition...

(continued from page 9)

Question). The only just solution today to the conflicting national claims of the Hebrew-speaking and Arab peoples of the Near East will be realised through workers revolutions throughout the region and a socialist federation of the Near East. Such revolutionary upheavals would sweep away not only the Zionist rulers but the venal sheiks, colonels and mullahs. What is required in order to bring liberation to the terrorised, war-ravaged masses is a revolutionary Trotskyist party committed to uniting the toilers and oppressed against their "own" rulers.

FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

At the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, we ran the headline "Reagan, Begin & Hitler" and noted in the same issue: "The destructive expansionism of the Zionist state is directed not only at exterminating the Palestinian people but, through its alliance with the vastly more destructive powers of U.S. imperialism, toward obliterating the Soviet Union as well. Israel's invasion of Lebanon has brought the world a giant step closer to the ultimate holocaust" (*Workers Vanguard* no 308, 25 June 1982). In *Perdition*, the defence counsel confronts the collaborator:

"Israel today is the most dangerous place on earth for a Jew....

"The Arab countries can absorb defeat. Israel cannot. In which case the temptation to use nuclear weapons will be great. Then what? Another holocaust? Computerised, clean, more efficient? You should have stayed in Europe, Doctor Yaron..."

Today Ronald Reagan salutes the Hitlerite SS killers at Bitburg in pursuit of a new "Operation Barbarossa", while his Zionist partners scream for Russian and Arab blood. Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli technician whose revelation of the scope of the Zionist state's nuclear arsenal made headlines around the world, still faces treason charges in Israel. Vanunu disclosed the Israeli nuclear force of 100-200 bombs which means the anti-Soviet Zionist madmen have a bigger target than the likes of Syria in mind. If sentenced to death, Vanunu's would be the first legal execution there since Eichmann.

One character in *Perdition* asks: "If another major economic crisis occurs at some time in the future, can we not with confidence assert that Fascism will not arise again like a broken sewerage pipe disgorging its filth and corruption on society?" The question is left unanswered in the play (which loses much of its power at the end with the phoney confessional breakdown of the collaborator). The answer to this question rests, as it has throughout the epoch of imperialist decay, on resolving the crisis of revolutionary leadership - constructing Bolshevik parties of the type which led the Russian workers and the oppressed to power.

In the throes of the Nazi nightmare, the young Belgian Trotskyist leader Abram Leon, a former "left" Zionist about to be cast into the gas chambers of Auschwitz, wrote in his incisive study on *The Jewish Question*:

"Thus the tragic fate of Judaism mirrors with singular sharpness the situation of all humanity. The decline of capitalism means for the Jews the return to the ghetto

- although the basis for the ghetto disappeared long ago, along with the foundations of feudal society. Similarly, for all humanity, capitalism bars the road of the past as well as the highway to the future. Only the destruction of capitalism will make it possible for humanity to benefit from the immense achievements of the industrial era." (pp260-1)

We as revolutionary Trotskyists can claim the tradition of the only political grouping to have consistently defended the Jewish masses against the Nazi Holocaust. The Western "democracies" betrayed them, the Stalinist bureaucracy was, as is its nature, contradictory, the Zionists treacherous. *Perdition* brings but some of this to light. The cabal which seeks to obliterate the history of the Holocaust, to defend the Zionist state, are the sworn enemies of the Jewish people and the workers of the world. Let *Perdition* play! ■

Apartheid...

(continued from page 12)

largest anti-government gathering since emergency rule was imposed in June" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 May). The success of the two-day stayaway of 5-6 May, called by COSATU and the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, proved again that the combativity of the black proletariat continues unabated.

FISSURES IN THE LAAGER

Within the confines of the evermore-constricted apartheid white "democracy", the elections registered a shift to the right - particularly among the English-speaking voters - no doubt the product of the racial hysteria generated by the ruling National Party of PW Botha. The "liberal" Progressive Federal Party (PFP), political arm of the English-speaking bourgeoisie, lost seven of its 26 seats in the all-white parliament, while the diehard reactionary Afrikaner Conservative Party emerged as the main parliamentary opposition to the National Party.

But at the same time, major fissures to the left have appeared in the white laager (camp). At Stellenbosch University, the centre of Afrikaner nationalism and political elite, comparable to Oxford or Cambridge, a group of senior lecturers resigned from the ruling party in a bitter protest against Botha's failure to institute "reforms". There is a developing split in the Afrikaner ruling class - reflected as well in the courts, which briefly relaxed press restrictions on coverage of the unrest, while Pretoria ordered the police to ignore the court rulings in many places.

Far more significant is that anti-apartheid protest shut down Witwatersrand University. Even after the police attacked the largely white protesters with tear gas, beat them with whips and coshes and arrested 120 students and teachers, the crowd defiantly regrouped with the help of sympathetic teachers. "Dancing, chanting students cheered professors wearing academic gowns as a faculty spokesman, Prof. Doug Hindson, said they would back the students' call for a two-day closure of the university to protest the white election" (*New York Times*, 5 May). Clearly many South African white youths do not look forward to living in Botha's police state. There is even a growing "End Conscription Campaign" which opposes the drafting of youth for the oppressive army.

This development provides opportunities for revolutionary proletarian

class struggle in South Africa: Guaranteeing a place for white South Africans in a black-centred workers government could assist in neutralising the dangerous military machine of apartheid which threatens a genocidal slaughter. Moreover, whites can



Independent

Integrated anti-apartheid protest by students and staff at the University of Cape Town.

provide technical and cultural skills which will help secure a decent life for all in a socialist federation of southern Africa.

FORGE A BOLSHEVIK PARTY

Brutal repression against anti-apartheid organisations like the ANC-backed United Democratic Front has made the black-centred trade unions, particularly the 600,000 strong COSATU, the principal vehicle for protest. But the ANC and their supporters, including the top leadership of COSATU, seek to shackle the power of black labour to pull the cart of nationalism. Thus instead of making use of the polarisation among privileged whites to press for workers revolution, COSATU is shackled by the nationalist-reformist perspective of seeking to pressurise the (increasingly less) "liberal" wing of the ruling class.

Before the elections, the ANC had correctly ridiculed the upcoming vote, but after PFP member of parliament Helen Suzman attacked the ANC's comments as "sinister" for "not giving us a last chance", Winnie Mandela came out for a "vote against apartheid" at her planned speech at the University of Witwatersrand. This could only mean a vote for the PFP, the political arm of the mammoth Anglo American mining and industrial conglomerate.

Internationally, the ANC's strategy (propounded here by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and sundry fake-leftists) centres on imperialist "sanctions" and "disinvestment". But the flight of foreign capital like the pull-out by General Motors and Barclays Bank has been motivated by capitalist profits, not student protest, and it has been accompanied by busting the independent black-centred unions. Instead of being pressurised into "reform", apartheid police-state terror has grown only more savage - and the fascist far-right has grown dramatically. Since the emergency regulations which permit indefinite detention without charge and without access to family and lawyers were introduced last June, it is estimated that 30,000 people have been jailed, including 10,000 black children and youths under the age of 18. The detentions are supplemented by the widespread use of death squads to murder labour and anti-apartheid activists.

Such a strategy can only lead to disaster by politically disarming the

black proletariat and fostering illusions in their exploiters. Class exploitation is the motor force for the disenfranchisement of apartheid's victims; their emancipation requires a social revolution. What is urgently needed in South Africa is an in-

tegrated revolutionary workers party, a Bolshevik party, committed to the expropriation of South Africa's wealth by its producers in a black-centred workers government. Smash apartheid - For workers revolution!

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 428, 15 May 1987

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 12)

ingly civilians, though some 30 off-duty servicemen were among them.

Four days later a powerful bomb blew up at the main bus station in the heart of Colombo during the evening rush hour, killing over 100 people and wounding hundreds more. The station is adjacent to the Pettah market area, where burned out buildings from some of the worst anti-Tamil attacks of 1983 still stand, and is the central transit point for workers and peasants travelling into the countryside, as well as civil service employees going home to the suburbs.

Colombo teetered on the brink of a mass anti-Tamil pogrom. In the Pettah, crowds of Sinhalese chauvinists attacked Tamils and tried to loot Tamil shops but were stopped by police firing tear gas. In Welikade prison, scene of the notorious massacre of Tamil political prisoners in July 1983, Sinhalese prisoners tried to break into the areas holding Tamil detainees. But the government is terrified of an Indian invasion as well as of the tremendous economic dislocation of uncontrolled communalist bloodletting. Unlike 1983 when the army and police permitted and indeed joined in the killings of hundreds of Tamils, this time the government tried to hold the line against massive pogroms, while promising the enraged Sinhalese chauvinists that the government would keep order in the south and retaliate militarily against Tamil strongholds in the north. Perhaps recalling the partition of India, when trains carrying Muslim and Hindu refugees were stopped and trainloads of passengers massacred by opposing communalists, the army boarded a train carrying Tamils back from New Year holidays in the north and gave it a military escort. A curfew was slapped on Colombo for five days while helicopters with searchlights patrolled above the city.

The Jayewardene government re-

mains uneasily poised atop a seething cauldron of communalist hatreds and fears. While Sinhalese-chauvinist "hard-liners" howl for an unrestrained "military solution", the J R regime is not unaware of the power politics of the region. Sri Lanka is a tiny island of 16 million people which could be easily swatted by its giant neighbour to the north. India, with a population of 770 million, will risk massive unrest in the state of Tamil Nadu, where 50 million Tamils live, if it does not prevent the destruction of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

A recent statement by Lanka's sinister "National Security" minister, Lalith Athulathmudali, seemed also to signal awareness of the India factor. "Up to now we have had the power, but we did not want to kill civilians. After all, they are our own people", said Athulathmudali (*New York Times*, 23 April). The government's conduct has amply shown that it considers the island to be solely the property of the Sinhalese Buddhist majority; it's the spectre of Lanka's Indian "big brother" that prompts these hypocritical protestations of family feeling.

If the Indian rulers think that the situation is getting out of hand, they could be forced to intervene. They don't like the presence in Lanka of advisers from what Lankan premier Premadasa calls the "loyal ally" Pakistan. (India and Pakistan were again on the brink of war earlier this year.) And the Indian government, which is diplomatically aligned with the Soviet Union and sees the region as its own sphere of influence, opposes US imperialism's appetites toward strategic Trincomalee harbour. Nor does India like the increasingly frequent US navy visits to Colombo (which earlier this year reportedly led to a hushed-up "incident" between US warships and a Soviet merchant ship in Colombo port). But Gandhi will bring no progressive solution to Lanka as some Tamil nationalists claim. Capitalist India is itself a prison house of peoples from the Sikhs to the untouchables. Last year the Indian government showed what it would do to anyone they consider out of line by detaining Sri Lankan Tamil guerrilla leaders in Madras and seizing their arms and supplies.

DUAL POWER AND STATE TERROR IN THE NORTH

The anti-Tamil pogroms of 1983 instigated by elements within Jayewardene's ruling UNP forced hundreds of thousands of Tamils to flee to the Northern and Eastern Provinces and India. The de facto partition of Lanka was reinforced by increased administrative state power in the north by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the concomitant isolation of the government forces. This unstable, dual power situation has led to constant war conditions in the north. Repeated artillery and aerial bombing in Jaffna, where the army has been holed up in a few bases, has killed hundreds. Schools and the main hospital have been targets. Jaffna district under virtual "Tiger" control has been subjected to a brutal blockade - rail, phone and fuel have been cut off for months. Lack of fuel has not just halted transport but stilled the irrigation pumps vital to agriculture. Even firewood supplies have been stopped.

In the Eastern Province, policies of Sinhalese colonisation have aimed at driving out the Tamils, especially from the area of Trincomalee harbour. The Trincomalee district has been the stomping ground of the notorious Special Task Force police com-

mandos, trained by "ex"-SAS mercenaries from Keany Meany Services (KMS - which is also assisting the contras in Nicaragua). A British cabinet minister, David Waddington, who was in Sri Lanka at the time of the attacks, officially admitted the presence of the KMS mercenaries. Waddington, who has spearheaded the Tory government's drive to deny political refugee status to Tamils, blandly admitted that life was "very unpleasant" in Lanka for Tamils but hastened to deny that they are "conventional refugees". Thatcher stands by her butchers, and JR's other friends, the US imperialists, want the Trincomalee port as a base for their anti-Soviet war drive.

Negotiations and truces have been followed by renewed massacres, with the government using "cease-fires" to build up its armed forces and to try to consolidate its hold in the east. Despite occasional flurries of Indian-brokered negotiating proposals, at the beginning of this year the government hardened its drive towards a military solution in the north though last May an army offensive against Jaffna Peninsula ground to a humiliating halt. Underlining its military control of the Palk Strait separating Lanka from India, the Lankan government on April 24 sank a boat alleged to be carrying munitions from India to the Tamil fighters.

Prodded by the recent terrorism, the government launched the wave of bombing raids on Jaffna, then extended the bombing further into the Northern and Eastern Provinces, reportedly killing hundreds of Tamil civilians. A dragnet of 5000 troops was deployed and new plans to settle 5000 armed Sinhalese in the Trin-

comalee district were announced. And Parliament has again extended the four-year draconian "State of Emergency".



London, July 1983: Spartacist contingent at protest against anti-Tamil pogroms.

MURDEROUS NATIONALISM

The Sri Lankan government has blamed the LTTE and the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation (EROS) for the recent attacks, though both organisations have denied responsibility. Provoking an orgy of Sinhala communalism against the Tamils would certainly suit strong forces among the Sinhala-chauvinists, including in the army and UNP, but the Tamil petty-bourgeois nationalist groups are quite capable of carrying out such acts of murderous indiscriminate terrorism in pursuit of their perspective of looking to India for salvation. After the massacre of 150 Sinhalese in Anuradhapura in

May 1985, the Tigers officially denied carrying out the attack while justifying it as a reprisal and demonstration of the ability to strike in the Sinhala areas. EROS claimed responsibility for the bombings of an Air Lanka plane which killed 15 foreign tourists and of the Central Telegraph Office in May last year.

In a leaflet published on 14 August 1986, the Spartacist League/Lanka, sympathising section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote: "It is the main responsibility of all Tamil militant groups who are struggling for Eelam to prevent such racialist activity and whoever indulges in such activities must be exposed and strongly criticised and should be rooted out. Tamil militants have not reacted because they do not consider it to be important."

The sordid character of the Tamil groups' nationalism is also shown by their murderous internecine conflicts. The Tigers have effectively wiped out the TELO, PLOTE and EPRLF Tamil guerrilla groups in the Jaffna area, though the latter retains strength in the east. On this basis the LTTE are claiming the mantle of undisputed sole representative of the Tamil people.

The bonapartist Jayewardene regime is mindful of Indian reaction and its own basket case economy. J R has also attempted to reinforce the division between the economically critical Tamil plantation workers, imported by the British in the 19th century, and the "Ceylon Tamils", who have shared the island for many centuries with the Sinhalese. The plantation workers historically have not sympathised with the

separatist struggle for Eelam, and Jayewardene has co-opted their union leader, the despicable Thondaman, as a UNP minister and even granted citizenship to many of the formerly "stateless" plantation workers.

At the same time, the regime is under attack from the rival Sinhala communalists of the SLFP led by Mrs Bandaranaike, who say the government is "incompetent" in suppressing the Tamils, while fanatical Buddhist monks demonstrate demanding the president's resignation. In the government and the army, including at the top, there are mutinous elements who think that J R is "soft". The government has accused the petty-bourgeois, Sinhala-racialist, ex-Guevarist JVP of raiding army camps for arms. It is widely alleged that the JVP was responsible for the murder of Daya Pathirana,

president of the Independent Students Union, a grouping espousing a "Nicaraguan road" of joint Sinhala/Tamil struggle, in December last year at Panadura near Colombo. The Sinhala communalist forces whipped up by the UNP may well swamp the regime, leading to unrestrained communal civil war.

In a case which encapsulates the ruling powers' worst fantasies, 23 Sinhalese and Tamil radical intellectuals in Colombo have just been indicted under the Emergency Regulations and the Prevention of Terrorism Act for an alleged plot to overthrow the government. The utter paucity of proof in this case exposes the fact that the real "crime" is the mere thought of joint Tamil/Sinhalese struggle.

REVOLUTIONARY CLASS STRUGGLE THE ONLY ANSWER

Ceylon, as Sri Lanka was known for centuries, used to be called the Jewel of Asia. At the time of independence from Britain in 1947, it had the highest standard of living and literacy of any rural country in Asia. Ceylon was a polyglot community - in fact, aboriginals who predated both the Tamils and Sinhalese still existed. Historically in Ceylon there was heavy Arab influx from the 10th century, and European colonisation from the 16th century onward. The Muslim population is presumably derived from both Moghul and Arab antecedents, with Malay immigrant inclusion. There are also Christians among both the Sinhalese and Tamil populations.

From independence on, the Sinhalese Buddhist majority pressure has been relentless against the ethnic minorities. First to be destroyed were the few but very valuable Eurasians, the "Burghers", at the top of the civil service and military cadres. Then came the abandonment of the English language in order to eliminate the hold by the island Tamils on the bulk of the substantial civil service, centrally through the "Sinhala Only" campaign of the mid-1950s. The bloody anti-Tamil pogroms of 1983 were the extension of this policy in the face of mounting Tamil discontent.

The peoples of southern India and Lanka are part of one interpenetrated gene pool. In Lanka, Sinhalese and Tamils can tell one another apart only by small details of dress and, of course, by their language. And the Buddhist revival, the basis upon which Sinhalese nationalism rests, is purely a 20th century invention.

In Ceylon, once freed from colonialism, but unable to satisfy the expectations of the masses given the failure of struggles for social revolution, the pressure toward a unitary national entity - one language, one religion - has been merciless and bloody. The former Jewel of Asia has come increasingly to resemble Northern Ireland.

For the oppressed Tamils of the north and east, the strategic Tamil plantation workers, the young women textile workers of the Colombo sweatshops and the peasants fighting multi-nationals' seizure of their land - for all the oppressed, Sinhalese and Tamil alike, ground down by the miserable poverty and bloody warfare - the plight of Sri Lanka, "a tropical paradise in perdition" (*Le Monde*, 23 April), cries out for a revolutionary class answer. Down with the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the "Emergency Regulations"! No to communalist bloodletting! For the right of Tamil Eelam! Trinco must not fall into the bloody hands of US imperialism! For the federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

South African student revolt

Black workers strike against apartheid elections

One and a half million black workers and students shook the foundations of apartheid capitalism on 5-6 May in a two-day nationwide stayaway from work. South African president PW Botha had planned to bolster the racist Pretoria regime by conducting another racist "election" among the 2.5 million white voters - entirely excluding the country's 25 million blacks. (The fake parliaments for three million mixed-race coloureds and one million Indians were not up for a vote.) "If voting could change the system, it would be illegal", was a telling comment on a badge in Cape Town, noted South African trade union organiser David Lewis (*Nation*, 25 April).

But the massive display of black proletarian power exposed the election as a futile exercise in white supremacy. On 5 May, for instance:

"More than half of the black workers in the Witwatersrand industrial area around Johannesburg refused to go to their jobs, and in the eastern Cape Province region, the walk-out of blacks was 98 percent effective, according to the independent Labor Monitoring Group.

"Three-quarters of the black public transport workers here and in Natal Province stayed home....

"The Durban area reported 60 percent absence of black factory work-



Johannesburg: striking railworkers battle apartheid police, 22 April. Sunday Times

ers in one of the most sweeping strikes in the region in years." (*Washington Post*, 6 May)

For almost three years the South African state has been wracked by massive black resistance in the face of savage police-state terror and repression. White support to these anti-apartheid struggles has been pretty much limited to a small number of courageous individuals. But this time, significantly, students and

lecturers at the predominantly white Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg joined the stayaway protest against the racist elections. Police using tear gas attacked 3000 Wits students who had gathered to hear African National Congress (ANC) leader Winnie Mandela.

RAIL STRIKERS DEFY REGIME

The whites-only "elections" took place in the aftermath of a militant

six-week strike by black railway workers which paralysed the apartheid state's commercial centre. The strike began in mid-March at the City Deep rail station in Johannesburg after a black worker was sacked for having been one day late in turning over £12 in fees collected for the state-owned rail service. It spread rapidly to stations throughout the heavily populated industrial region around Johannesburg, disrupting commuter and freight traffic. At the strike's sixth week, the railway company's losses were estimated at £60 million. Heavily armed police began patrolling commuter trains and stations after more than 60 carriages were set ablaze at stations in and around Johannesburg on the line to Soweto.

The strike was only suppressed with massive police raids, in which several strikers were killed, followed by the mass sacking of 16,000 strikers who defied a back-to-work order. The police also raided the Johannesburg headquarters of the black-centred labour federation COSATU. Yet on May Day, even though the regime banned 20 protests, mass defiance of the police continued as the workers dared to celebrate the traditional proletarian holiday with demonstrations. In Cape Town 10,000 people came out for a May Day rally, "the *continued on page 10*

Sri Lanka

State terror, bloody communalism

The following article first appeared in *Workers Vanguard* no 427, 1 May. Sri Lankan President Jayewardene justifies anti-Tamil terror by saying that civilians were also killed "in the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima". As we go to press, a big army buildup may be the prelude to a bloody assault on the Tamil Jaffna peninsula.

In recent weeks, Sri Lanka has been wracked by communalist bloodletting and government terror on a scale not seen for two years. In a series of indiscriminate terrorist attacks, attributed by the government to Tamil nationalist groups, hundreds of people were killed in the east and the southern capital city of Colombo. These attacks increased the pressure of ultra-chauvinist Sinhalese forces

on the right-wing United National Party (UNP) regime of JR Jayewardene, which unleashed bombing raids in the northern Jaffna Peninsula aimed at demolishing Tamil guerrilla bases, which are in heavily populated areas. Groups monitoring the north have reported heavy civilian casualties.

The wave of killings began during a holiday week when many people were travelling to visit relatives. On April 17, in the northeastern Trincomalee district, men in military dress stopped three buses and two lorries. Reportedly, after freeing the Tamils and Muslims, they simply massacred as many of the remainder as they could, including children. Using machine guns and grenades they killed 127 people, overwhelm-

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Wreckage of bus station after bomb killed and wounded over a hundred in Pettah area, Colombo. Times