



## Kinnock loses big **Labourite treachery paves Thatcher's way**

**Workers, oppressed  
need a  
Bolshevik party!**

Margaret Thatcher has won and won big in the general election. The vicious Tory bitch took an even larger majority – 101 seats – than the unctuous Tebbit had hoped. In their third term, the Tories can be expected to go after the working class, poor, elderly, young, minorities with renewed zeal. And for this one can thank the wretched Labour Party losers who consciously knifed militant workers' struggles – especially the heroic 1984-85 miners strike – and disarmed the working class with treacherous blather about the power of the polling booth. Don't fight on the picket lines, the Kinnocks, Hattersleys and Benns warned, or Labour's chances to get to Number Ten will be hurt. The payoff for this class treason is Thatcher's victory on June 11.

In Britain today, with "official"



Workers Hammer

Thousands of militant coalfield women march through London in August 1984. Judas Kinnock and his henchmen acted as Thatcher's agents against the heroic miners strike. Down with the traitors – For a Bolshevik party!

unemployment at three million and 11.7 million below the poverty line, devastated mining villages from Kent to South Wales, ravaged cities like Liverpool and squalor in the inner-city minority communities, Thatcher's re-election is *obscene*. But just as parliamentary elections are not the road to victory for the proletariat, so they are not the last word in the triumph of Thatcher's labour-hating agenda. The trade unions are not smashed, the economic conditions are rotten ripe for class struggle against the coupon-clipping bosses presiding over massive misery and Thatcher continues to be widely hated. She was elected with 43 per cent of all votes cast, with a quarter of those entitled to vote not doing so – ie in purely electoral terms she has the support of less than a third of the population.

Judas Kinnock, already gearing up for an assault on the Labour Party "hard left", can be expected to treat any outbreak of social struggle with the same fear and loathing he had for the miners. Wait another five years, Kinnock & Co will say, and we'll beat the Tories at the ballot

continued on page 10

## Sri Lanka bloody offensive against Tamil north **Indian jets over Jaffna**

The following article was first published in Workers Vanguard no 430, 12 June 1987.

On Thursday 4 June, five Indian Air Force Antonov 32 cargo planes escorted by Mirage fighters flew over northern Sri Lanka in a demonstrative drop of desperately needed relief supplies to the Jaffna Peninsula, the besieged Tamil area of the island. The Sri Lankan armed forces, which have been indiscriminately bombing and shelling the Tamil populace in the north for weeks, offered no resistance. With its act, the Indian government asserted suzerainty, posing possible annexation of northern Sri Lanka. New Delhi is determined that henceforth the bloody

Sinhala-chauvinist regime of president JR Jayewardene will heed India's dictates regarding the Tamil areas or face more decisive military measures.

On 6 June, in the largest Tamil demonstration in London since the 1983 pogroms in Lanka, many were chanting "Well done India" and "Carry on Rajiv". While in the short run an Indian invasion could provide relief from the murderous onslaught of the Sri Lankan army, illusions in the Indian ruling class are deadly dangerous. Notably, Gandhi's gesture was made only after the Lankan army had scored its successes against Tamil-held areas, killing hundreds of civilians. And the record of Gandhi is

continued on page 9



Workers Hammer

London, 6 June: Spartacists march on Tamil protest against bloody JR's invasion of Jaffna.

# Gay oppression and religious reaction

London W13  
29.4.87

Dear Comrades:

I thought you might like to hear two funny stories about the North tendency. At a public meeting in Bristol, Hyland, their local ersatz Healy, when questioned about the genesis of Healyism by someone who referred to Al's book, said that Richardson and Bornstein were making a good living out of their publications. One cannot but admire the fluency and ease with which lies slide off the tongues of these people. Since I know poor Sammy has put his life savings into the book to produce it and we are only paying him back, without interest, as the money comes in, I tend not to believe that Joseph Hansen was a GPU agent either. The other story concerns North himself who was recently in London. He went into the WRP (Slaughter) bookshop near Tottenham Court Rd, and started to throw his weight about, threatening and abusing people. There happened to be, unusually I believe, a genuine non-political customer in the shop. As North finally flounced out the lady looked up and observed, "What a very disturbed man!"

I have some disagreements with

you, and indeed with most other groups, about the gay issue. In Britain, I cannot speak for the USA, there is NOT a politically inspired wave of sexual repression sweeping the country, though to read the left press you might think so. One must not confuse repression with prurience for commercial gain which is what happens in the popular press. When the Billericay Conservative Association backs its MP, Harvey Proctor, it is not because they do not believe the stories that they read about him but because they think this is irrelevant if he is a *real* racist and fascist. The Princess of Wales publicly shakes the hand of a dying AIDS patient on TV, and the government propaganda here about the dangers of AIDS does seem very explicit and lacking in moralism. Part of the problem is that young people today cannot remember what sexual repression was like before the middle sixties. In any case human sexuality is often quite comical and people are so serious, not to say leaden, about the whole thing. I think your people in the UK are mechanically assuming that American conditions apply here, and since the rest of the idiot left is obsessed by the issue they are confirmed in their beliefs.

We do not have either a nutty re-

ligious right in any real sense. A colleague of mine, a theologian, just back from Dallas where he met all these people including Fallwell, tells me that the press here has missed the point. These people are not nutcase maniacs but the *Established Church* in the southern USA and their political alliance with the far right is now coming apart. Thanks to Mammon rather than Marx. I shall pump him further about these funny people. Europe is very different you know. Here the religious right are young fogies attacking modernist doctrines in the C of E. On aesthetic grounds I agree with them that King James' Bible and Cranmer's Prayer Book are better literature than the products of the Rev J.C. Flannel atelier which have updated them into very dull English. All the poetry has gone. Like our intelligence services the C of E has great difficulty in recruiting full-timers who are both intellectually able and NOT marxists or homosexuals.

frats,  
Ted Crawford

*Workers Hammer* replies: We thought our readers would appreciate the two stories Comrade Crawford has passed on about David North and his British affiliates. His observations on the Church of England and the religious right in the US are enjoyably to the point. Sure enough, Britain and the US are not the same. However we think you have to be living on Saturn to deny that there is "a politically inspired wave" of anti-homosexual hysteria in this country.

What we find "idiot" about the fake "left" is not any "obsession" with defending gays in the face of firebombings and vicious assaults. These anti-gay attacks escalated as part of AIDS hysteria and as we noted in *Workers Hammer* no 86, Labour's Neil Kinnock was pleased to do his bit as well. Not only is the man a bigot personally, noted for his "anti-homosexual jibes" but he launched a witchhunt against gay activists and the "loony left" after Labour's defeat in the Greenwich by-election. What we find "idiot" about the pro-Labour "left" is that they are so abased before this self-confessed reactionary. Tory Councillor Brownhill publicly advocated the gas chamber for gays as his "final solution" to AIDS and Kinnock's press secretary Pat Hewitt wrote in her infamous note that "the gays and lesbians issue is costing us dear amongst the pensioners..."

In fact, since the date of Comrade Crawford's letter, even the racist swine Harvey Proctor had to resign from standing as MP for Billericay in the general election. Proctor offended the hypocritical sensibilities of his Tory fellows by getting caught and charged with "gross indecency". Some people we know in the Lesbian and Gay Youth Movement came up with an appropriate slogan on the case: "Hang Harvey Proctor! Drop all the charges!"

The role of the church and religious reaction in this anti-homosexual, anti-sex government AIDS scare is not identical to that in the United States. But it exists. The C of E

began babbling about a "return to biblical restraints" on sexual behaviour to combat the "moral danger" of AIDS in an attempt to cash in on that horrible disease and boost their flagging church attendance (probably the lowest of any in Western Europe). But the C of E is not the only



Women and Revolution

**New York City Gay Pride Day, June 1986: Spartacists protest sex witchhunt.**

conduit of religious reaction in this country. The impact of Methodism on the early workers movement remains, as can be seen in the licensing and Sunday trading laws – and even the fact that until recently you couldn't watch TV much after midnight. As for sexual prudery, John Wesley's doctrine "Avoid all manner of passions" predates the Victorians' "lie back and think of England". Most of Wesley's ravings were aimed at men, since women weren't supposed to feel a thing. And it's no accident that one of the longest running plays in London is "No Sex, Please – We're British". The government's AIDS propaganda is hardly lacking in moralism ("It is safest to stick with one faithful partner") and we don't exactly know what Comrade Crawford means by the "problem" of youth not remembering what sexual repression was like in the bad old days. Would that make "safe sex" easier to take or what?

Labour and its left tails push Methodist moralism among the working class – while the ruling class drinks when it wants and screws how it wants. They may be falling down drunk in the House of Lords but you can bet that Tony Benn keeps that tin tea cup in the House of Commons filled with PG Tips. A horrible example of this moralism can be found in the Communist Party's weekly *7 Days* (13 June) and its diatribe against the Tories' "crime"... trying to relax the licensing hours!

No doubt the British bourgeoisie has a different attitude toward some of the sexual practices of its own than its American cousins do. But for the working masses and the vulnerable homosexual population what we said in *WH* no 86 is absolutely correct: in Thatcher's Britain "the tragic AIDS disease is used to frighten the population back into the Dark Ages, to relegate women to home and hearth, to terrorise homosexuals..." Fighting against such attacks is the task of a Leninist party, a tribune of the people. ■



TROTSKY

## Lenin against "the party of the whole class"

In August 1914 the parties of the Second International, including the Labour Party, definitively signalled their allegiance to their "own" bourgeoisies by pledging their support in World War I. Polemicising against the centrists of his time who sought to concoct excuses for upholding "unity" with the social-

chauvinists in a "party of the whole class", Lenin demanded a split in order to form new parties and a new International. His words could be used today against those British "Marxists" who propound allegiance to the Labour Party.



LENIN

The epoch of imperialism cannot permit the existence, in a single party, of the revolutionary proletariat's vanguard and the semi-petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class, who enjoy morsels of the privileges of their "own" nation's "Great-Power" status. The old theory that opportunism is a "legitimate shade" in a single party that knows no "extremes" has now turned into a tremendous deception of the workers and a tremendous hindrance to the working-class movement. Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean, which uses Marxist catchwords to justify opportunist practice, and tries to prove, with a series of sophisms, that revolutionary action is premature, etc.

– VI Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International" (May-June 1915)

## WORKERS HAMMER

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# Former Black Panther: "I intend to keep on struggling"

America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Black Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, was summarily denied parole on 5 May. A government conspiracy, spearheaded by Reagan's top cop Edwin Meese, locked Pratt away 17 years ago for a crime he could not and did not commit. Because this courageous black fighter for freedom refuses to deny his political commitment and upholds his innocence, the state keeps him behind bars today. But there is mounting support for the cause of Geronimo Pratt's immediate release which will not be silenced by the state's latest outrage.

Pratt was a victim of the FBI's COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program"), the government murder machine that killed 38 of his Panther comrades. Today the state treats Geronimo Pratt like the fugitive slave Dred Scott, who the Supreme Court decided in 1856 had "no rights that the white man is bound to respect". It was because Geronimo Pratt symbolises the best of the millions who participated in the civil rights and antiwar activism of the 1960s and 1970s that he was framed up and imprisoned. And the denial of Geronimo Pratt's freedom once again is openly *political*. He is "still a revolutionary", raged Los Angeles deputy district attorney Diane Vezvani at the parole hearing.

The vindictive hatred for what Pratt represents demonstrated at the 5 May hearing in California shocked even prison guards and newspaper journalists. The parole commissioners especially went after Pratt's honourable political past and arrogantly dismissed the latest in a long series of reports praising Pratt from San Quentin's own prison counsellors. Staff psychologist Randall Bruce, for instance, described Pratt as a "principled individual and an idealist and supporter of human rights" whose "prognosis for parole should be excellent". But the parole board smeared this highly decorated Vietnam veteran as a "walking time bomb".

The parole system which keeps

Pratt in prison has just caused a storm of public outrage when it released one of California's most brutal *real* murderers: Lawrence Singleton, a (white) psychopath who savagely raped a 15-year-old girl, cut her arms off with an axe and threw her in a ditch to die, just walked out of prison a free man after serving a little over half of a 14-year sentence. No one wants Singleton in their community. In stark contrast, a senior editorialist at the Oakland *Tribune* wrote on the day of the hearing that Pratt "sounds like a model citizen to me".

What Pratt is is unbowed and unbroken. He survived a 1969 murder attempt when the Los Angeles police laid siege to Panther headquarters. Because he survived, Pratt was framed on a murder rap in a travesty of a trial in which the star witness was a paid police and FBI informer who perjured himself by denying his relationship to those agencies. FBI wiretaps proving Pratt was 500 miles away from the scene of the crime were suppressed and then "lost". A retired FBI official, Wesley Swearingen, later testified: "Pratt was set up." Pratt has endured 17 long years in prison including *eight* in solitary confinement, refusing to perjure himself, to recant his deeply held convictions. And the same Edwin Meese who scrambles to save his "legacy" of repression by keeping Pratt in prison just went all-out trying to protect Nazi war criminal Karl Linnas from extradition to face justice in the Soviet Union. Such is racist "justice" in capitalist America. As Pratt's attorney Stuart Hanlon put it: the parole hearing was "rigged from the beginning in a very ugly racist and political manner".

Indeed, Assistant District Attorney Vezvani lashed out at the many who have come to Pratt's defence: "He has a network of people who will assist him in any way he wishes", she railed. This frenzy is testimony to the breadth of support for Pratt's cause. More than 100 trade union, civil rights and community organisations endorsed the 21 February



Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner.

Workers Vanguard

labour/black demonstration called by the Labor Black League and the Partisan Defence Committee in Oakland. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defence organisation in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Radio Moscow covered the demonstration, noting that Pratt is among the prominent "dissidents suppressed by the United States". Former Black Panther chairman Bobby Seale has urged support for a letter-writing campaign demanding freedom for Pratt and over 2000 individuals and organisations throughout the US responded to appeals from the PDC and others to send letters to the parole board. More than 1000 letters have been sent to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals as well where Pratt is fighting for a new trial.

It is the obligation of every working-class fighter, every defender of black freedom, to become part of the "network" which will fight until Geronimo Pratt is released! Here in Britain, support has come from National Union of Mineworkers branches in North Derbyshire and Kent (see messages printed below). *Workers Hammer* urges our readers to make Pratt's cause their own. What James P Cannon, then leader of the International Labor Defense, wrote in 1927 of the enemies of martyred Italian-American anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti applies fully to those who would rob Pratt of his freedom:

"They want to know if...they can wreak their revenge upon these rebels, who have not feared to defy them, by *burying them alive and at the same time liquidating the movement which must free them!*" (*Notebook of an Agitator*) The US government's efforts to isolate Pratt, to continue in their criminal conspiracy against him will backfire. As Geronimo Pratt said in his statement, printed below, to the rally called by the Committee to

Free Geronimo Pratt held the morning of his hearing before the California parole board: "I intend to keep on struggling." Free Geronimo Pratt now!

\* \* \* \*

The following statement from Geronimo Pratt was read by Ashaki Pratt on 5 May:

I want to thank everyone for your active support – the letters, the petitions – and your presence here today.

I want you to know that whatever the Parole Board decides today, I intend to keep on struggling – not only for my own release – but for the release of all the political prisoners and prisoners of the war of injustice, incarcerated in the dungeons of the U.S.

All around the world, human beings fight against injustice and for their people and their nations – in Azania, in Ireland, in El Salvador, in Chile. And all around the world governments lock up and criminalize people who resist oppression, racism and COINTELPRO-type repression. No matter what they do to me, I will always affirm the right to resist, the right to struggle for freedom. This is something that they can never take away. I am 100 percent innocent of the charges for which I have spent 17 years of my life in prison. But I am and always will be a freedom fighter for Afrikan people – and for all people.

In the spirit of Nelson Mandela and Leonard Peltier, and also Anna Mae Aquash, Haydee Torres, Marilyn Buck and Watani Tyehimba, I wish to thank you again for your support, and encourage you to join hands and form a solid bastion against the evils of oppression that starve and murder us and make us suffer so.

Asante,  
A luta continua,  
geronimo ji Jaga

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

## Miners demand freedom for Geronimo Pratt

NATIONAL UNION OF  
MINEWORKERS  
Derbyshire Area  
Warsop Main Branch

2 June 1987

Dear Comrade,

Just to confirm that at our branch meeting held on April 18th it was unanimously agreed by the Warsop Main branch of the N.U.M. to demand the release of Geronimo Pratt & send a telegram (of the model resolution demanding his release).

Yours fraternally  
R D Hall  
President

NATIONAL UNION OF  
MINEWORKERS  
Kent Area  
Snowdown Branch

11 May 1987

This union branch protests at the FBI frame up of *Geronimo Pratt* and demands his immediate release from imprisonment.

/s/  
Philip Sutcliffe  
On behalf of Snowdown Branch  
National Union of Mineworkers  
Kent Area  
Britain

## Contact the Spartacist League

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(021) 440 3283

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London WC1H 8JE  
(01) 485 1396

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PO Box 183  
Sheffield S1 1SU  
(0742) 552198

## Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

# Neil, Maggie and the mullahs

When the Soviet armed forces intervened in Afghanistan in December 1979, we said "Hail Red Army!" and raised the call to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!" Previously in Afghanistan women were sold like chattels under the bride-price system, the landlords and tribal khans literally held power of life and death over the mass of peasants, 90 per cent of the population was illiterate and overall life expectancy was 40. Since the Red Army's intervention against the reactionary Islamic mujahedin, whose "holy war" threatened to overthrow the modernising and leftist People's Democratic Party government, the protective wall of Soviet troops, tanks and helicopters has made possible a real social transformation in this poor, backward country.

The number of doctors has been raised 50 per cent. More than 1.5 million people have passed the state-run literacy course. The USSR has poured in millions of roubles in consumer goods and industrial projects, developing mines, petroleum wells and hydroelectric plants. Liberated from the veil, 5000 Afghan women have taken up arms as members of the Soviet-backed Afghan militia. Many women now work in Afghan industry; women workers at the Guzargah textile factory in Kabul, for example, are unionised and have access to free childcare and health care in the plant.

But for Cold Warriors in the capitalist West, the counterrevolutionary feudalists in Afghanistan have been a *cause celebre*. Reagan, Thatcher, social democrats and the fake lefts have cried as one against the Red Army and in support of the mullahs and tribal chieftains who have burned thousands of schools and murdered teachers for teaching young girls and women to read and write. So it was all too predictable that Neil Kinnock would use Afghanistan in the election campaign to demonstrate his credentials as an anti-Soviet warmonger. The *Times* (27 May) reported:

"As the Tory attacks on Labour's defence policy and his TV remarks mounted, Mr Kinnock used the resistance by Afghanistan's freedom fighters [sic] to the Soviet invasion to justify his party's non-nuclear defence policy...."

"He said: 'I see Dr Owen (the SDP leader) quoted the example of the Mujahideen in Afghanistan. Surely that demonstrates the point, doesn't it, of a monstrously sized military power unable to subdue a primitively armed people who are intent on maintaining their independence.'"

### ARMING THE REACTIONARIES: THE BRITISH CONNECTION

Murdoch's rag headlined its editorial "Mr Kinnock's Mujahadin", and the Tories and Alliance gleefully rubbished Kinnock's ludicrous notion of Afghanistan-style guerrilla war as a model for Britain. But the real point is that Kinnock is united with Thatcher & Co in supporting a gang of cutthroat Afghan feudalists at war against elementary social progress. And the support is hardly just rhetorical.



Independent



Independent

Thatcher with Afghan reactionary Abdul Haq (above). British imperialism's Blowpipe missiles (left) aimed at Red Army.

Two recent reports in the *Independent* have exposed how 80-100 British-manufactured Blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles have been supplied to the mujahedin. As the Red Army and government forces continue to win hands down in the civil war, the reactionary opposition has turned increasingly to indiscriminate rocket attacks on Kabul using long-range firepower. Like the CIA-supplied Stinger missiles, the Blowpipes manufactured at Shorts in Belfast fit the bill for such attacks. In the words of the *Independent* (21 May), they mean that "a terrorist could shoot down an airliner". Mujahedin attacks, besides hitting the US embassy in Kabul three times (!), brought down a civilian plane with 30 passengers in December 1986 and, according to Kabul Radio, another passenger plane killing 53 early this month. Terror bombing in 1984 killed a dozen children at Kabul airport on their way to school in the USSR.

The Blowpipe missiles have apparently been supplied to the Islamic Party of Yunis Khalis, a fanatical re-

actionary who wants an Iran-style "Islamic republic" and visited London in February for talks at the Foreign Office. In March last year Abdul Haq, one of Khalis' senior commanders, met Thatcher at Downing Street. The *Independent* quotes a "resistance source" saying, "Of course they would have chatted about arms." Haq has connections with MI6 going back to 1980 when he was introduced to the chief of station in Pakistan, and since then has reportedly had a number of meetings with MI6 officials.

After all the government's denials of arms supplies to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries, the lies finally dried up when the Kabul government displayed a captured Blowpipe in January. Nor could this have been some sort of freelance operation, without government knowledge, since the export of Blowpipes requires government approval. (Meanwhile, because the Blowpipes are less accurate than the Stingers, the mullahs have reportedly been selling Blowpipes at the notorious arms bazaar in Darra, Pakistan.) And it's not just

Afghanistan where the British bourgeoisie are up to their filthy necks in arming "free world" butchers: the 1 March *Observer* cites a report from "intelligence officers" claiming that "Mrs Thatcher has already given 'preliminary approval' for the sale of Blowpipes to the Contras" in Nicaragua, via the CIA.

And what has Mr Kinnock had to say about all this? Not a word beyond cheering the mullahs' blood-soaked "freedom struggle". The Labour Party is just as anti-Soviet as Thatcher and Reagan, the only difference being that Her-Majesty's Loyal Opposition believes Britain to be too impoverished to commit itself to a credible nuclear arsenal. Instead it looks to beefing up conventional forces on the front line in Germany where, as Denis Healey bemoans, the British Army of the Rhine is stuck with outdated tanks. As for Labour's "opposition" to US nuclear bases, this is as transparently phoney as the emperor's new clothes. Protesting that "we are not the French under De Gaulle. We are not going to take the attitude that peremptorily requires departure", the pro-imperialist loser Kinnock pathetically waffled on about the need for "consultation" (*Guardian*, 28 May).

Kinnock has tried to prostrate himself before Reagan twice in the last six months in order to swear fealty to NATO's plans to "roll back Communism". He also managed a trip to the Berlin Wall where he listened to British officials describe how the city could be defended "as it was in the final days of the Hitler regime" against the victorious Red Army. As a NUM member, veteran of the great miners strike which was betrayed by Kinnock and his henchmen, wrote in the last issue of *Workers Hammer*: "If Reagan had invited Kinnock to Bitburg to salute the SS he would have gone.... Where's the real difference between him and this bitch Thatcher? They're bedmates."

### DEFEND AND EXTEND THE GAINS OF OCTOBER!

Recently there have been reports of a possible Soviet pullout from Afghanistan. Moscow foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze called for a "political settlement" and declared



Friends of Afghanistan Society

Hail Red Army in Afghanistan: Kalashnikovs at their sides, Afghan women at the ready to crush the mullahs.

# Faces death sentence for exposing Israeli nuclear arsenal

## Freedom for Mordechai Vanunu!

Mordechai Vanunu is the 32-year-old Israeli nuclear technician whose spectacular revelations exposing the Zionist state's nuclear force of 100-200 bombs were published in the *Sunday Times* last October. (We first publicised Vanunu's case in our article, "Zionist Madmen Target Russia", *Workers Hammer* no 84, December 1986/January 1987.) For his courageous act, the working people, indeed all of humanity, owe Vanunu a tremendous debt of gratitude. Instead this heroic man now languishes in solitary confinement in an Israeli prison, heavily guarded by the Shin Beth, the sinister Zionist secret police which are a cross between the FBI and the Gestapo. In the Zionist fortress, "security" and the brutal secret police enforcers are treated as sacrosanct. This underscores the unprecedented ruling of the Israeli Supreme Court on 24 May that Shin Beth had tortured and framed up a Circassian Muslim army officer on charges of espionage and treason, and that he must be immediately released. Vanunu is charged with disclosing state secrets, "aggravated espionage" and aiding the enemy in wartime, charges which carry the death sentence.

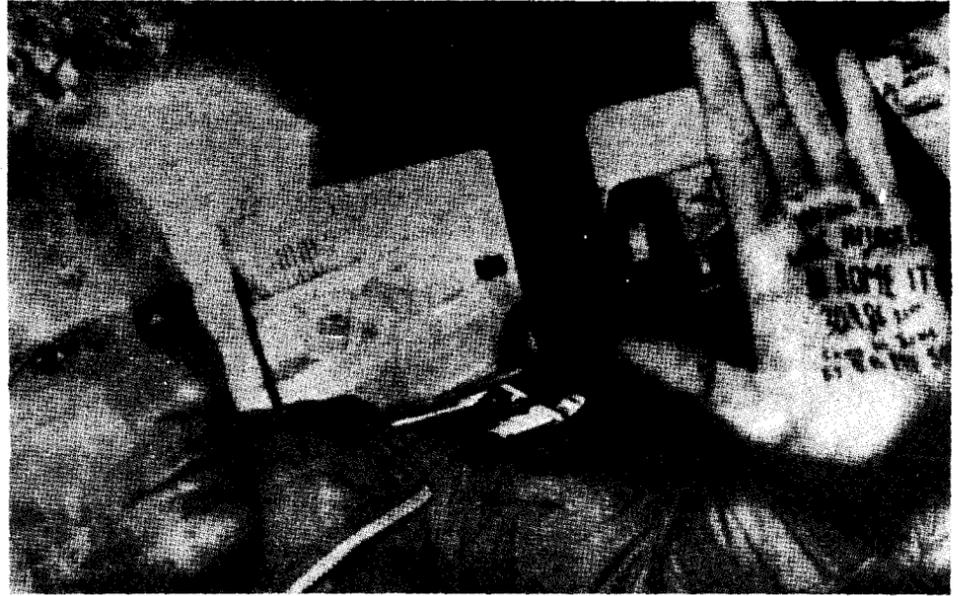
Kidnapped from Rome last September by the Mossad (the Israeli CIA/MI6) within a few hours of his arrival on a British Airways flight from London, Vanunu was spirited to Israel where he was held *incommunicado*. The *Sunday Times* Insight team had been in contact with him a couple of hours before he left for Rome at which time Vanunu told them they could expect to hear from him within 24 hours. As the *Times* (4 January) wrote of Vanunu's abduction: "His capture, on the orders of the then Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, had included strict instructions not to 'embarrass Mrs Thatcher'." But the complicity of the British authorities in this dirty business is manifest.

Indeed, the *Independent* (23 December 1986) has pointed out that despite requests by various MPs to find out just what British involvement there was in Vanunu's kidnapping, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd and the Foreign Office assured that "no British laws were broken" and have dropped the case. "Yet basic questions remain: did British Intelligence

know what was going on? Was the Foreign Office prevented from pressing the Israelis for information? Did the Prime Minister's concern to preserve Britain's good relations with Israel colour her judgement of what should be done? Just what was said in those friendly calls which Mr Peres said he had with Mrs Thatcher?" The *Independent* also carried a story on the abduction which explained that once Vanunu was back in Israel, "the Mossad chiefs gave one more order to 'tidy up' the affair. They ordered all their operatives in Britain to cease operations until further instructions. The object was to avoid drawing attention to the people concerned, and to do nothing which would force the British security services to look into the activities of the Israeli agents." Thatcher's government, in lockstep with US imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, undoubtedly had no qualms about turning a blind eye to the Mossad's operations against the courageous Vanunu.

And once incarcerated in Israel, only a protest by his family and friends saved him from possibly being "disappeared" in the Shin Beth dungeons. Even after a 33-day hunger strike Vanunu is still deprived of even the modicum of rights ordinarily granted prisoners. The legal proceedings against him are conducted behind closed doors under Israel's draconian security regulations.

In the intensely chauvinist Zionist fortress, governed by the "Labour"-Likud alliance which includes the entire Zionist spectrum and is presently headed by notorious terrorist and murderer Yitzhak Shamir, the government has orchestrated a campaign to vilify Vanunu. But Israeli society is deeply polarised. The brutally oppressed Palestinian Arabs make up 20 per cent of the population inside Israel and another 1.2 million live under the Zionist jackboot in the Occupied Territories. And even within the Hebrew-speaking majority there are deep divisions between the relatively privileged Ashkenazi (European) Jews and the Sephardic or "Oriental" Jews who, like the Moroccan-born Vanunu, come from North Africa and the Near East. While Sephardic Jews make up the mass base of the right-wing Zionist and religious parties, the discrimination they suffer can



AP  
Jerusalem, December 1986: Courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu flashes message to reporters from police van, saying he was hijacked in Rome by Israeli agents.

also produce a Vanunu. The polarisation of Israeli society profoundly deepened after the Zionist blitzkrieg in Lebanon and hideous massacre of thousands of defenceless Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra, which engendered maniacal enthusiasm from some and deep revulsion from others.

In a foreword to a recent collection of materials translated from the Israeli press on Vanunu, the distinguished Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak notes that Vanunu not only revealed the extent of the Zionist nuclear arsenal but "the changed mentality among an important part of the younger Jewish generation.... Not only in the better part of the press, but also among the wider public, including the Oriental Jews, one can hear a lot of sympathy and understanding to Vanunu, his motives, his courage and even his act" (emphasis in original).

Another example of this changing attitude was demonstrated in response to the Shamir government's announcement of a 50 per cent rise in fees for Arab students to subsidise a cut for Jews. This attempt to extend the Zionists' vicious anti-Arab discrimination to the universities was met with the largest bi-national protests in Israel's history. In May, thousands of Arab and Hebrew-speaking students marched

together demanding "Down with a racist society!" and "Stop the apartheid policies!" Vanunu's courageous stand has no doubt inspired this small but nevertheless significant Hebrew-speaking minority to question the growing militarism and racism of the Zionist state.

As we have pointed out in earlier articles on the importance of Vanunu's revelations, the extent of the Israeli nuclear strike force means the Zionist madmen have more than Arab capitals in their sights. They have a much bigger target in mind: the Soviet Union. As Dr Ernesto Kahan, chairman of the Israeli Committee for the Prevention of Nuclear War, told the *Boston Globe* (4 February): "Nuclearization of the Middle East is of concern to the whole world because if nuclear war starts here, we will all blow up."

Vanunu acted in the cause of humanity. Now the international working class must champion his cause. Support for Vanunu has come from New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Britain. We call on our readership to raise this issue in their unions, civil rights and civil liberties organisations. Hail Mordechai Vanunu - Make his freedom your fight! Donations can be sent to: Mordechai Vanunu Legal Defense Fund, PO Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145, USA. ■

that "the time for a withdrawal of Soviet troops is not far off". Last December Afghan leader Najib (just after returning from Moscow) ordered a ceasefire beginning on 15 January and called for "national reconciliation". This "peace initiative" from Moscow and Kabul is misguided and dangerous. Like any military clash between two social systems, the civil war in Afghanistan is a political struggle. The modest social gains achieved by the Soviet-backed regime are directly threatened by any kind of deal with the imperialist-backed rebels. The sooner the feudalists are smashed, the sooner the bloodshed will end and the road to social progress will be secured.

Try as they will, Mikhail Gorbachev et al aren't going to get a "neutral" Afghanistan on the Soviet

Union's crucial southern flank. Backward Afghanistan could never sustain anything remotely resembling a stable bourgeois democracy: even the most minimal reforms provoked a violent feudal reaction. And the Kremlin Stalinists' dreams of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism are impossible. The imperialists are committed to keeping Afghanistan unstable and "bleeding the Russians" as part of their war drive to "prevail" over the Soviet Union. The only "political solution" is to complete and extend the social transformation begun with the Red Army intervention, finishing the job of mopping up the reactionary cabal of landlords, tribal chieftains and mullahs. This would have a revolutionary impact throughout the region.

One need look only next door to

Soviet Central Asia to see the gains won by the proletarian liberation of these pre-capitalist areas by courageous Bolshevik agitators and the Red Army. Compared to Afghanistan today, the social progress in these areas can be measured not in decades but in centuries. Afghanistan should become an independent workers republic with an open border with the USSR and a rouble-convertible currency. Look at Mongolia for a model.

It will take proletarian political revolution in the USSR to restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to their internationalist and revolutionary mission, defending and extending the gains of the great October Revolution. Smash the mullahs! Down with Thatcher/Kinnock/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! Defend the Soviet Union! ■

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## Down with the licensing laws!

# Marx and the Chartists against Victorian reaction

We reprint below an article written by Karl Marx in 1855 describing mass working-class struggles in London organised by the Chartist movement against restrictive licensing and Sunday trading laws. Today, when virtually the entire British left is intoxicated with Labourite reformism, including its stifflingly hypocritical Methodist-inspired moralism, it is salutary to recall the *revolutionary* and *anti-parliamentarist* traditions which inspired the early struggles of the working class in this country.

Strikingly, the immediate targets of this Chartist agitation – licensing and Sunday trading laws, the Established Church, House of Lords and monarchy – all remain more than 130 years later. They are part of a bond of reactionary institutions embodying the dead weight of "tradition" which the ruling class and its Labour lieutenants have exploited over decades to keep down the "lower orders" and shore up capitalist rule.

Take the present, manifestly absurd, version of the licensing laws. These were instituted during World War I to discipline the working class for war production through industrial speed-up. Working-class drinking is supposed to be strictly limited and regimented; naturally the bosses can quaff what they like when they like in their private clubs, and the Palace of Westminster is deemed exempt from all licensing restrictions. Whilst pathetic "left" Labourites bemoan the evil effects of demon drink on young working-class lads who come south to Westminster and are "corrupted" by the all-night bars, we would note that the Tories managed to rule this country for several centuries without once drawing a sober breath. (Churchill, for one, went through World War II perpetually tanked up.) The pro-Labour reformists of *Morning Star* (20 December 1986) recently decried as "bizarre" our call for abolition of the licensing laws. Karl Marx and the Chartists most certainly would not agree.

Two other points are worth noting about the events chronicled by Marx. One is the impact of severe British military losses in the Crimean War against tsarist Russia. Tens of thousands of British soldiers had perished in bloody battles; military disaster abroad served as a spur to class struggle against the blood-soaked ruling class at home. The other is the naked fist of the state, the brutal police terror unleashed against the second of the two mass Hyde Park protests. The description of these scenes of more than 130 years ago could, with scarcely a word changed, be applied today to police violence and provocations on the picket lines or against blacks and Asians in the inner cities.

The massive size of the 1855 Hyde Park demonstrations is all the more



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**Mass Chartist meeting at Kennington Common: Chartists represent the revolutionary traditions of the British working class.**

remarkable since Chartism was by this time well past the peak of its influence. Initially organised in the 1830s to fight for universal adult suffrage, the Chartists mobilised millions of workers nationally and increasingly adopted revolutionary-insurrectionist methods of struggle. Chartism in many ways pre-figured the revolutionary upsurges of 1848 throughout Europe, the defeat of which in turn ushered in a period of severe reaction. Many leading Chartists had already been persecuted, eg Zephaniah Williams and John Frost, organisers of the failed Newport Rising of 1839, both transported to Australia. After 1848 black Chartist leader William Cuffay and two of his comrades were also transported. In 1850 Ernest Jones, later Marx's closest British collaborator, and others were jailed.

Following the strike wave of 1853-54 the Chartists strove to regain mass influence, but despite episodes like the 1855 demonstrations this was not to be. By the late 1850s Chartism was finished. Over the following decades the British bourgeoisie used increasingly sophisticated methods to "buy off" a labour aristocracy through imperialist and colonial superprofits. The re-establishment of mass political working-class organisation at the end of the century (the precursor of the Labour Party) was reformist and parliamentarist in character – as different from insurrectionary Chartism as could be imagined. But in the struggles of the 1830s-50s British workers today can derive inspiration and draw important lessons.

Marx's article was first published, in two parts, in the German newspaper *Neue Oder-Zeitung* (28 June and 5 July 1855). The English translation is taken from the compilation of Marx and Engels' writings entitled *Surveys from Exile*.

### **AGITATION AGAINST THE SUNDAY TRADING BILL**

by Karl Marx

I

London, 25 June

Obsolete social forces, nominally still in possession of all the attributes of power long after the basis of their existence has rotted away under their feet, continue to vegetate as their heirs begin to quarrel over their claims to the inheritance – even before the obituary notice has been printed and the testament unsealed; and it is an old maxim, borne out by history, that before their final death agony these social forces summon up their strength once more and move from the defensive to the offensive, issuing challenges instead of giving ground, and attempting to draw the most extreme conclusions from premises which have not only been called into question but have already been condemned. Such is the case today with the English oligarchy; and such is the case with its twin sister, the Church. There have been innumerable attempts at re-organisation within the Established Church, both High and Low, and attempts to come to terms with the dissenters so that the profane masses can be confronted with a compact force. Measures of religious coercion have followed each other in rapid succession – in the House of Lords the pious Lord Ashley bewailed the fact that in England alone five million people had become estranged not only from the Church but from Christianity. The Established Church replies, "*Compelle intrare*" ["Compel them to come in"]. It leaves it to Lord Ashley and similar dissenting, sectarian and hysterical pietists to pull out of the fire

the chestnuts which it intends to eat itself.

The Beer Bill, which closed all places of public amusement on Sundays except between 6 and 10 pm, was the first example of religious coercion. It was smuggled through a sparsely attended House at the end of a sitting, after the pietists had bought the support of the larger London publicans by guaranteeing them the continuation of the licensing system – the continued monopoly of big capital. Then came the Sunday Trading Bill, which has now passed its third reading in the Commons and which has just been debated clause by clause by the Committee of the Whole House. In this new coercive measure, too, the interest of big capital has been heeded, as only small shopkeepers do business on Sundays and the big shops are quite willing to eliminate the Sunday competition of the small traders by parliamentary means. In both cases we find a conspiracy between the Church and the capitalist monopolies, and in both religious penal laws aimed at the lower classes to set at rest the conscience of the privileged classes. The aristocratic clubs were no more hit by the Beer Bill than the Sunday occupations of fashionable society are by the Sunday Trading Bill. The working



No credit

**Karl Marx**

class receives its wages late on Saturdays; Sunday trading, therefore, exists solely for them. They are the only section of the population forced to make their small purchases on Sundays, and the new bill is directed against them alone. In the eighteenth century the French aristocracy said, "For us, Voltaire; for the people, mass and tithes." In the nineteenth century the English aristocracy says, "For us, pious phrases; for the people, Christian practice." The classical saints of Christianity mortified their bodies

to save the souls of the masses; the modern, educated saints mortify the *bodies of the masses* to save their own souls.

This alliance between a degenerate, dissipated and pleasure-seeking aristocracy and the Church—built on a foundation of filthy and calculated profiteering on the part of the beer magnates and monopolistic wholesalers—gave rise to a *mass demonstration* in Hyde Park yesterday, such as London has not seen since the death of George IV, the "first gentleman of Europe". We witnessed the event from beginning to end and believe we can state without exaggeration that *yesterday in Hyde Park the English revolution began*. The latest news from the Crimea acted as an important ferment in this "unparliamentary", "extra-parliamentary" and "anti-parliamentary" demonstration.

The instigator of the Sunday Trading Bill, Lord Robert Grosvenor, had answered the objection that his bill was directed only against the poor and not against the rich classes by saying that the aristocracy was largely refraining from employing its servants and horses on Sundays. At the end of last week the following poster issued by the *Chartists* could be seen on all the walls in London announcing in large print:

"New Sunday Bill prohibiting newspapers, shaving, smoking, eating and drinking and all other kinds of recreation and nourishment both corporal and spiritual, which the *poor people* still enjoy at the present time. An *open-air meeting* of artisans, workers and 'the lower orders' generally of the capital will take place in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon to see how religiously the aristocracy is observing the Sabbath and how anxious it is not to employ its servants and horses on that day, as Lord Robert Grosvenor said in his speech. The meeting is called for three o' clock on the right bank of the Serpentine, on the side towards Kensington Gardens. Come and bring your wives and children in order that they may profit by the example their 'betters' set them!"

It should be realized that what Longchamps means to the Parisians, the road along the Serpentine means to English high society: it is the place where in the afternoons, particularly on Sundays, they parade their magnificent carriages with all their trappings and exercise their horses followed by swarms of lackeys. It will be evident from the poster quoted above that the struggle against clericalism, like every serious struggle in England, is assuming the character of a *class struggle* waged by the poor against the rich, by the people against the aristocracy, by the "lower orders" against their "betters".

At 3 o' clock about 50,000 people had gathered at the appointed spot on the right bank of the Serpentine in the huge meadows of Hyde Park. Gradually the numbers swelled to at least 200,000 as people came from the left bank too. Small knots of people could be seen being jostled from one spot to another. A large contingent of police was evidently attempting to deprive the organisers of the meeting of what Archimedes had demanded in order to move the earth: a fixed place to stand on. Finally, a large crowd made a firm stand and the Chartist [James] Bligh constituted himself chairman on a small rise in the middle of the crowd. No sooner had he begun his harangue than Police Inspector Banks at the

head of forty truncheon-swinging constables explained to him that the Park was the private property of the Crown and that they were not allowed to hold a meeting in it. After some preliminary exchanges, in the course of which Bligh tried to demonstrate that the Park was public property and Banks replied he had strict orders to arrest him if he persisted in his intention, Bligh shouted amidst the tremendous roar of the masses around him: "Her Majesty's police declare that Hyde Park is the private property of the Crown and that Her Majesty is not inclined to lend her land to the people for their meetings. So let us adjourn to Oxford Market."

With the ironic cry of "God save the Queen!" the throng dispersed in the direction of Oxford Market. But meanwhile [James] Finlen, a member of the Chartist leadership, had rushed to a tree some distance away. A crowd followed him and surrounded him instantly in such a tight and compact circle that the police abandoned their attempts to force their way through to him. "We are enslaved for six days a week", he said, "and Parliament wants to rob us of our bit of freedom on the seventh. These oligarchs and capitalists and their allies, the sanctimonious clerics, want to do *penance*—not by mortifying themselves but by mortifying us—for the unconscionable murder committed against the sons of the people sacrificed in the Crimea."

We left this group to approach another where a speaker, stretched out on the ground, was haranguing his audience from this horizontal position. Suddenly from all sides came the cry: "Let's go to the road. Let's go to the carriages." Meanwhile people had already begun heaping insults on the carriages and riders. The constables, who were steadily receiving reinforcements, drove the pedestrians back from the road. They thus helped to form a

port wine—this time did not pass by in review. They ran the gauntlet. A babel of jeering, taunting and discordant noises—in which no language is so rich as the English—soon closed in upon them from all sides. As the concert was improvised there was a lack of instrumental accompaniment. The chorus, therefore, had to make use of its own organs and to confine itself to vocal music. And what a diabolical concert it was: a cacophony of grunting, hissing, whistling, squawking, snarling, growling, croak-



London Illustrated

Shooting to kill: British army attacks 1842 Chartist demonstration in Preston.

ing, yelling, groaning, rattling, shrieking, gnashing sounds. Music to drive a man out of his mind, music to move a stone. Added to this came outbursts of genuine Old English humour strangely mixed with boiling and long-constrained anger. "Go to church!" was the only recognizable articulate sound. In a conciliatory fashion one lady stretched out an orthodoxly bound prayerbook from the coach. "Give it to your horses to read!" the thunder of a thousand voices echoed back. When the horses shied, reared, bucked and bolted, endangering the lives of their elegant

marched between the two rows of people from Aspley House to Kensington Garden, each being met with the popular ditty:

"Where are the geese?  
Ask the police!"

This refers to a notorious theft of geese which a constable recently committed in Clerkenwell.

The spectacle lasted for three hours. Only English lungs are capable of such a feat. During the performance opinions such as "This is only the beginning!" "This is the first step!" "We hate them!" etc could be heard from various groups. While hatred could be read in the faces of the workers we have never seen such smug, self-satisfied smiles as those that covered the faces of the middle classes. Just before the end the demonstration increased in violence. Sticks were shaken at the carriages, and through the endless discordant din the cry could be heard: "You rascals!" Zealous Chartist men and women battled their way through the crowds throughout these three hours, distributing leaflets which declared in large type:

"Reorganization of Chartism!

A big public meeting will take place next Tuesday, 26 June, in the Literary and Scientific Institute in Friar Street, Doctor's Commons, to elect delegates to a conference for the reorganization of Chartism in the capital. Admission free."

Today's London papers carry on average only a short account of the events in Hyde Park. There have been no leading articles yet with the exception of Lord Palmerston's *Morning Post*. This paper writes:

"A scene, in the highest degree disgraceful and dangerous, was enacted yesterday in Hyde Park...[an] outrage on law and decency...It was distinctly illegal to interfere, by physical force, in the free action of the legislature...We must have no repetition of violence on Sunday next, as has been threatened."

But at the same time it declares that the "fanatical" Lord Grosvenor is solely "responsible" for the trouble and that he has provoked the "just indignation of the people!" As if

continued on page 8



Eve Arnold-Magnum

Young Tory twits: lapping it up in luxury. Licensing laws are for the masses but in the centuries the Tories ruled has one of them ever drawn a sober breath?

dense avenue of people on either side which extended for more than a quarter of an hour's walk from Aspley House, up Rotten Row, and along the Serpentine as far as Kensington Gardens. The public gathering consisted of about two thirds workers and one third members of the middle class, all with their wives and children. The reluctant actors—elegant gentlemen and ladies, "commoners and lords" in high coaches—and four with liveried servants in front and behind, elderly gentlemen alone on horseback, a little flushed from their

burdens, the mocking cries became louder, more menacing, more implacable. Noble lords and ladies, among them Lady Granville, wife of the President of the Privy Council, were forced to alight and make use of their feet. When elderly gentlemen rode by whose dress—in particular the broad-brimmed hat—evinced a special claim to purity of faith, all the sounds of fury were extinguished, as at a command—by inextinguishable laughter. One of these gentlemen lost his patience. Like Mephistopheles he made an in-

# Marx...

(continued from page 7)

Parliament has not given Lord Grosvenor's Bill its three readings! Has he perhaps also exerted pressure "by physical force in the free action of the legislature"?

II

London, 2 July

The demonstration against the Sunday Bill was repeated in Hyde Park yesterday on a larger scale, under a more ominous sign and with more serious consequences, as is witnessed by the sombre but agitated mood in London today.

The posters calling for the repetition of the meeting also contained an invitation to assemble on Sunday at 10 am before the house of the pious Lord Grosvenor and to accompany him to church. The pious gentleman, however, had left London on Saturday in a private carriage – in order to travel incognito. That he is by nature destined to make martyrs of others rather than to be a martyr himself had been demonstrated by his circular in all the London newspapers, in which he on the one hand upheld his Bill and on the other took pains to show that it is without meaning, function or significance. On Sunday his house was occupied all day not by psalm singers but by constables, 200 in number. Such was the case, too, at the house of his brother, the Marquess of Westminster, a man famous for his wealth.

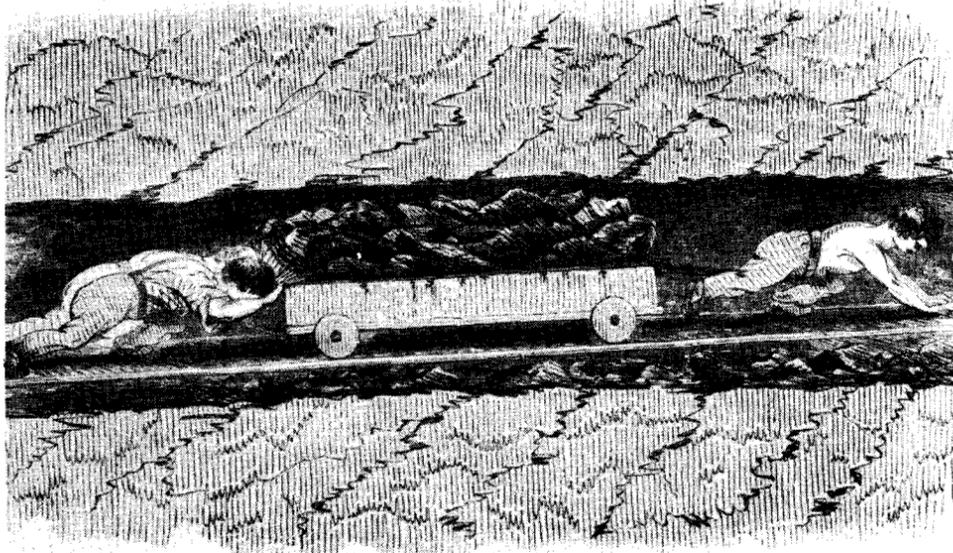
On Saturday the head of the London police, Sir Richard Mayne, had posters stuck on all the walls in London in which he "prohibited" not only a meeting in Hyde Park but also the gathering of any "large numbers" and the manifestation of any signs of approval or disapproval. The result of these decrees was that as early as 3 o'clock – even according to the report of the *Police Gazette* – 150,000 people of every age and social position were milling about. Gradually the crowds swelled to gigantic proportions unbelievable even by London standards. Not only did London appear *en masse*; an avenue of spectators formed again on both sides of the road along the Serpentine; only this time the crowd was denser and deeper than last Sunday. High society, however, stayed away. Altogether perhaps twenty vehicles put in an appearance, most of them gigs and phaetons, which drove by without hindrance. Their more stately and better upholstered brethren, who displayed larger paunches and more livery, were greeted with the old shouts and with the old babel of noise; and this time the sound waves made the air vibrate for at least a mile around. The police decrees were given a rebuttal by the mass gathering and by the chorus of noise from a thousand throats. High society had avoided the field of battle and by its absence it had acknowledged the sovereignty of the *vox populi*.

It was 4 o'clock. The demonstration seemed to be fizzling out into a harmless Sunday outing for want of any combustible elements. But the police had other plans. Were they to withdraw to the accompaniment of general laughter, casting wistful parting glances at their own posters, which could be read in large print at the entrance to the park? Besides, their high dignitaries were present: Sir Richard Mayne and Superintendents Gibbs and Walker on horseback, Inspectors Banks, Darkin and Brennan on foot. 800 constables had been strategically deployed, for the most

part hidden in buildings and concealed in ambush. Stronger detachments had been stationed in neighbouring districts as reinforcements. At a point of intersection where the road along the Serpentine crosses a path leading towards Kensington Gardens, the Ranger's Lodge, the Magazine and the premises of the Royal Humane Society had been transformed into improvised blockhouses manned by a strong police contingent; each building had been prepared to accommodate prisoners and wounded. Cabs stood at the ready at the police station in Vine Street, Piccadilly, waiting to drive to the scene of

elegant coaches-and-four, dirty cabs, which drove back and forth between the police station at Vine Street and the improvised jails in Hyde Park. Instead of lackeys on the boxes of carriages, constables sitting next to drunken cab drivers. Inside the vehicles, instead of elegant gentlemen and ladies, prisoners with bloody heads, dishevelled hair, half undressed and with torn clothes, guarded by dubious conscripts from the Irish lumpenproletariat who had been pressed into the London police. Instead of the wafting of fans, a hail of truncheons. Last Sunday the ruling classes had shown their fash-

for the army, down with the police, down with the Sunday Bill", they paraded up and down in the park. The police stood about irresolutely, when a sergeant of the Guard appeared and loudly called them to account for their brutality, calmed the soldiers and persuaded some of them to follow him to the barracks to avoid more serious collisions. But the majority of the soldiers remained behind, and from among the people they gave vent to their anger at the police in no uncertain terms. In England the opposition between the police and the army is an old one. The present moment, when the



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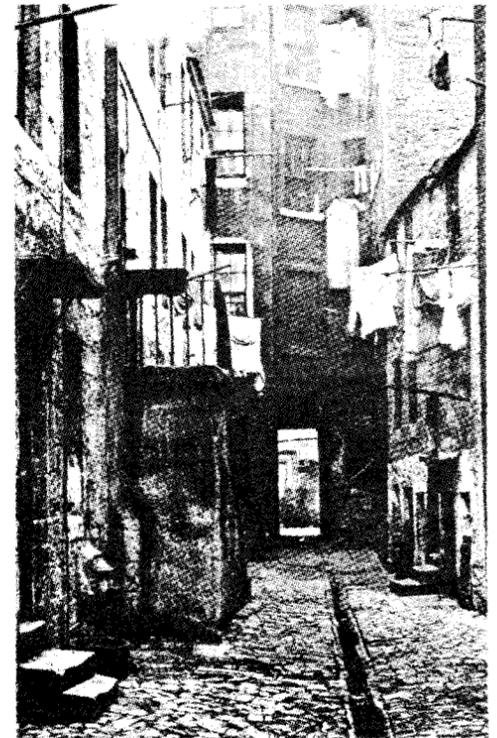
**The condition of the working class in nineteenth century Britain: children crawl through pit tunnels (above), often for twelve hour shifts; working class slum district of Glasgow (right).**

battle and to take away the defeated demonstrators under safe escort. In short, the police had drawn up a plan of campaign "more vigorous", as *The Times* said, "than any of which we have yet had notice in the Crimea". The police needed bloody heads and arrests so as not to stumble straight from the sublime into the ridiculous. So, as soon as the avenue of spectators had cleared somewhat, and the masses had dispersed away from the road into different groups on the huge expanse of the park, their senior officers took up positions in the middle of the road, between the rows of people, and from their horses they issued pompous orders right and left, supposedly for the protection of the carriages and horsemen passing by. As there were no carriages or horsemen, however, and therefore nothing to protect, they began to pick out individuals from the crowd "on false pretexts" and to have them arrested on the pretext that they were pickpockets. As these experiments increased in number and the pretext lost its credibility the crowds raised a general cry, and the contingents of police broke out from their hiding places. Drawing their truncheons from their pockets they beat heads bloody, tore people out of the crowd here and there – altogether there were 104 such arrests – and dragged them to the improvised blockhouses. The left side of the road is separated only by a narrow piece of ground from the Serpentine. By manoeuvring his gang of constables a police officer managed to drive the spectators close to the edge of the water, where he threatened them with a cold bath. In order to escape the police truncheons one man swam across the Serpentine to the other bank; a policeman gave chase in a boat, caught him and brought him back in triumph.

How the scene had changed since the previous Sunday! Instead of el-

ionable face; this time the face they displayed was that of the state. In the background – behind the affably grinning old gentlemen, the fashionable dandies, the elegantly infirm widows and the perfumed beauties in their cashmeres, ostrich feathers, and garlands of flowers and diamonds – stood the constable with his waterproof coat, greasy oilskin hat and truncheon – the reverse side of the coin. Last Sunday the ruling classes had confronted the masses as individuals. This time they assumed the form of state power, law and truncheon. This time resistance amounted to insurrection, and the Englishman must be subjected to long, slow provocation before he is moved to insurrection. Thus, the counter-demonstration was limited, on the whole, to hissing, grunting and whistling at the police vehicles, to isolated attempts to free the prisoners but, above all, to passive resistance, as the crowds phlegmatically stood their ground on the field of battle.

Soldiers – partly from the Guard, partly from the 66th Regiment – assumed a characteristic role in this spectacle. They had appeared in force. Twelve of them, some decorated with medals from the Crimea, stood among a group of men, women and children on whom the police truncheons were descending. An old man fell to the ground, struck by a blow. "The London stiffstuffs" (a term of abuse for the police) "are worse than the Russians at Inkerman", called out one of the Crimean heroes. The police seized him. He was immediately freed to the accompaniment of shouts from the crowd: "Three cheers for the army!" The police deemed it advisable to move off. Meanwhile, a number of Grenadiers had arrived; the soldiers fell into line and with the crowd milling about them shouting, "Hurrah



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army is the "pet child" of the masses, is certainly not likely to reduce this opposition.

An old man named Russell is said to have died today as a result of the wounds he suffered yesterday; half a dozen people are in St George's Hospital suffering from injuries. During the demonstration different attempts were again made to hold smaller meetings. In one of them, near the Albert Gate outside the section of the park originally occupied by the police, an anonymous speaker harangued his public something like this:

"Men of Old England! Awake, rise up from your slumber or fall for ever; resist the government every Sunday! Observe the Sunday Bill as you have done today. Do not be afraid to demand those rights to which you are entitled. Cast off the fetters of oligarchical oppression and tyranny. If you do not, you will be hopelessly crushed. Is it not outrageous that the inhabitants of this great metropolis, the greatest in the civilized world, must surrender their freedom into the hands of a Lord Grosvenor or a man like Lord Ebrington! His Lordship feels obliged to drive us to Church and to make us religious by means of an act of Parliament. His attempts are in vain. Who are we, and who are they? Look at the war which is being fought. Is it not being waged at the expense and with the blood of the productive classes? And what about the unproductive classes? They have bungled it from start to finish."

Speaker and meeting were, of course, interrupted by the police.

In Greenwich, near the Observatory, Londoners also held a meeting of ten to fifteen thousand people, which was likewise broken up by the police. ■

# Sri Lanka...

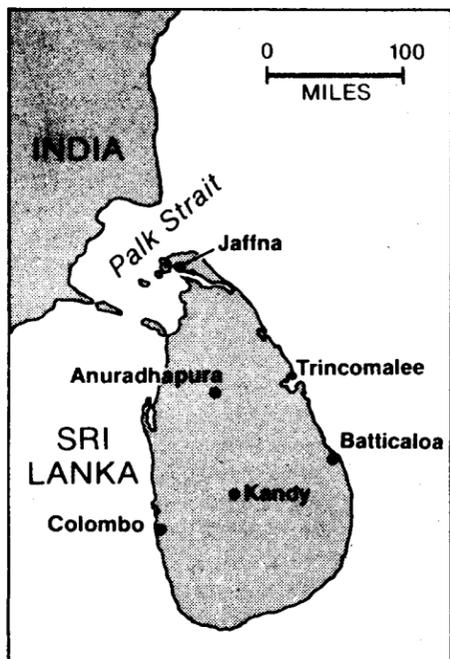
(continued from page 1)

the capitalist class he represents speaks volumes about what sort of "liberation" the Indian army would bring to the Tamils in the long run. In the face of an invasion, communists must stand for revolutionary defeatism towards both the blood-drenched Indian and Lankan regimes.

An Indian intervention which confined itself to the north of the island could well have horrendous repercussions for the Tamils who remain in rest of the island. Today the Sinhala communalists, impotent in the face of Indian power and terrified of the consequences for them if the terms of national oppression were reversed, may well again turn their chauvinist frenzy on Tamils in the south. The plight of the economically key plantation workers of the highland tea country, the so-called Indian Tamils, is doubly tragic. They have been ignored by most of the Sri Lankan left with its class-collaborationist, Sinhala-chauvinist politics, as well as by the dominant Tamil organisations, be they bourgeois parliamentarians or petty-bourgeois guerrillaists. In 1985, Jayewardene warned that if the Indian army invaded the Tamils would be finished in the south.

## LANKAN ARMY DRIVE TO RETAKE THE NORTH

Ever since 1983, when anti-Tamil pogroms instigated by elements within Jayewardene's United National Party killed several thousand and forced hundreds of thousands of Tamils to flee to the Northern and Eastern Provinces and to India, there has been a de facto partition of the island. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the largest Tamil nationalist group, has held the Jaffna Peninsula and sections of the north while the Eastern Province, where Tamils, Sinhalese and Muslims live, with the strategic Trincomalee harbour, has remained disputed territory. Endless rounds of peace negotiations brokered by India have broken down over the critical question of control of Trincomalee. Meanwhile, the civil war has resulted in thousands dead.



Workers Vanguard

The wave of indiscriminate terrorist attacks this April, attributed by the government to Tamil nationalist groups, left hundreds of mainly Sinhalese civilians dead. The Sri Lankan regime faced mounting pressure within and without the government from Sinhala communalist hardliners to take military action to retake the north, where the army has been confined to its bases in the Jaffna Peninsula. On 26 May, following the air-

sea offensive that had left hundreds dead, the army moved to consolidate its hold on key territory. Leaflets dropped from the air ordered civilians to assemble within two hours at designated temples, schools and churches, but this did not restrain the Sri Lankan forces from bombing such centres, including with primitive "napalm" mixtures.

In the fighting that followed, the government forces claimed to have regained control of about one-fifth of the Jaffna Peninsula, including the ports of Point Pedro and Valvedditurai, cutting the guerrillas off from their supply and escape routes to south India. Western reporters allowed into Valvedditurai in the last few days report widespread devastation. The army's first act of occupation was to round up the entire young male population of the district. Four thousand were shipped south to the notorious Boosa concentration camp. "National Security" minister Lalith Athulathmudali blandly told despairing relatives in Valvedditurai that 1500 were likely to be held indefinitely. On 5 June seven Tamils were reported killed attempting to escape from Boosa.

The second stage of the army's offensive, an assault on Jaffna town, has been called off. Right now the army probably has neither the military strength nor the will to take the casualties required, but more importantly India has delivered a message that all but the most rabid communalist must understand. Elements in the Sri Lankan government appeared to have gambled that India would not intervene, even implying that the Indian government had given its tacit approval to the offensive in the north. But the offensive did not achieve the quick results they had hoped for, and soon after it began Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi spoke of "calculated and cold-blooded slaughter of thousands", warning the Sri Lankans to stop before it was too late.

Indian national newspapers like the *Times of India*, usually close to the government, began urging military intervention. An increased Indian naval and coast guard presence was noted in the waters around Sri Lanka, while reports circulated that 800 paratroopers had been flown south to Madras. Facing mounting pressure to act and fed up with the Sri Lankan prevarications which it sees as having thwarted its attempt to negotiate a settlement, India announced that it was sending aid to Jaffna whether Sri Lanka liked it or not. But the first attempt to do so with a motley fleet of 20 fishing boats (with 100 journalists) was not backed up by the Indian navy, and Sri Lanka's miniscule navy was allowed to turn the relief convoy back. The day following this humiliating fiasco, India's Antonovs and Mirages went in.

## SOUTH ASIA AND THE ANTI-SOVIET WAR DRIVE

An Indian diplomat is reported to have said: "The unity and integrity of Sri Lanka is very important to us. But it's not nearly so important as the unity and integrity of India" (*Guardian*, 2 June). Gandhi is under increasing domestic pressure, including the continuing agitation among 50 million Tamils in south India. In the last six months, Rajiv's image as "Mr Clean" has taken a battering: sordid wranglings over constitutional issues were followed by defence contract scandals in which he protected Congress Party cronies accused of corruption. Unrest among the Sikhs in the Punjab has led to the replacement of the state government by central rule.

In Meerut near Delhi, a centre of joint Hindu/Muslim struggle in the anti-British uprisings of 1857, hundreds have been killed in communal fighting over possession of a mosque/temple. Gandhi's Congress Party has also suffered major electoral defeats by "left" Communist Party-dominated coalitions in recent state elections in Bengal and Kerala and faces an important election in the Hindi-belt state of Haryana in two weeks. All this is symptomatic of the corruption, exploitation and brutality that is capitalist India, and of its character as a virtual prison house of peoples.



Lankan troops round up Tamils in Jaffna Peninsula.

As with his mother Indira over Bangladesh, Rajiv finds in the situation in Sri Lanka the opportunity to divert attention from multifarious troubles at home.

But the Indian bourgeoisie is worried about more than its own domestic situation. In the context of the imperialist war drive against India's diplomatic ally, the Soviet Union, the international implications of the developments in Sri Lanka are making New Delhi nervous. Moreover, India has its own regional hegemonic ambitions (it is building a large navy base in the Andaman Islands, to the east of Sri Lanka). The Chinese deformed workers state, aligned with the United States against the USSR, has been supplying arms to Lanka. In recent months armed clashes have taken place in the disputed mountain border areas of India and China. Meanwhile Sri Lanka has been developing closer ties with India's arch foe Pakistan, to whom Colombo appealed for assistance in setting up an air defence system after the Indian operation. India is already angered by reports that Pakistan has the bomb, and by the US decision to provide Pakistan with AWACS radar planes.

A veritable gaggle of close allies of US imperialism - Britain, Israel, South Korea, Pakistan and Singapore - are providing training and equipment to the Sri Lankan government. The *Wall Street Journal* (29 May) clearly expressed the imperialists' preoccupations:

"Trincomalee in the hands of pro-Soviet forces would be a strategic disaster for the U.S. It would provide Moscow with one more stepping stone, extending its reach from Vladivostok in the Soviet Far East through Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam toward the vital oil routes out of the Persian Gulf, now again a major U.S. concern. Bear bombers and anti-submarine warfare operating from Trincomalee would further tilt the naval balance toward the Soviets."

The Indian capitalist ruling class very much fears the growing possibility of a US imperialist-brokered encirclement. Tapping the ugly divide-and-rule legacy of British im-

perialism, the US-led anti-Soviet war drive fuels anti-Tamil communal slaughter.

## CLASS STRUGGLE NOT COMMUNALIST WAR!

The policies of indiscriminate terrorism endorsed by the Tamil nationalist guerrillas have escalated the communalist slaughter. The latest incident in the cycle of inflammatory racist violence was on 1 June when passengers on a bus hired by Buddhist monks were machine-gunned in an ambush attributed to Tamil guerrillas. Thirty-seven people

were killed, most of them monks. In Colombo, hundreds of Sinhala youth have been lining up at army depots to volunteer, while the Indian high commissioner has warned Indian citizens in Colombo to gather at hotels for safety.

The editor of the liberal magazine *Lanka Guardian*, Mervyn de Silva, laments that "Only a miracle can help us avoid the impending implosion" (*Lanka Guardian*, 15 May). The Sri Lankan left, which for years has been wedded to popular frontism, allied with the most chauvinist Sinhalese forces (notably supporting the "Sinhala Only" movement which first unleashed the anti-Tamil frenzy), is now in despair. But even at this late and ominous hour, it is desperately necessary to forge the Bolshevik-type party, intransigent in its fight for an internationalist revolutionary working-class perspective, that our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka are fighting for.

For the right of Tamil Eelam! No to communalist bloodletting! 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! ■

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# Kill Nazi Barbie ...

(continued from page 12)

her husband Isaac Deutscher, the Marxist writer and Polish Jew whose family perished in Auschwitz, Tamara Deutscher writes of the similar spectacle at the Nuremberg Trials:

"When Goering got up from the dock to explain 'his cause' with great eloquency, he dominated the court for a long time. His passionate declaration of devotion for the ideology - this perverted ideology - of the defeated overwhelmed the auditorium of the victors. Did it make any sense at all to use even the most experienced and the most trained advocates and their lifeless legal argumentation against this apology for National Socialism? Only when the Russian prosecutor went on the offensive and smashed this whole pseudo-ideological con-

But the Stalinist-led Resistance sabotaged the revolutionary struggle on the altar of the popular front, replacing the bonapartist bourgeois dictatorship of Marshal Petain with the semi-bonapartist regime of General de Gaulle.

We Trotskyists demand vengeance for all the victims of Nazi terror; for our comrade Sylvain Itkine, Jewish director and Trotskyist militant, arrested on 1 August 1944 in Lyon and assassinated by the Gestapo; for Henri Kunstlinger, leader of the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste, arrested in Lyon in July 1944, who went to his death at Auschwitz. Forty years later, a daughter of a death camp victim was arrested for trying to bring the Butcher of Lyon to justice - we are sorry she did not succeed. As Leon Trotsky declared at the time of the execution of Nazi Von Rath in Paris in 1938 by the young Jew Grynszpan:

for her third term, atop existing racist law passed by Tory and Labour governments alike. Today Labour feigns occasional hypocritical opposition to Tory proposals, but it was a Labour government which instituted the unspeakable "virginity tests" on Asian women seeking entry to Britain. The decrepitude of British capitalism has further meant more and more prisoners left to languish in disgusting, overcrowded Victorian jails as the prison population, already the highest in West Europe, increases beyond the 50,000 mark. Just as the floating prison hulk has been brought in to supplement the packed detention centres, so the government is now mooted the use of army camps for the overflowing prison population.

Disgracefully, the leadership of the National Union of Seaman is providing NUS members for twelve maintenance, safety and cleaning jobs aboard the *Earl William* prison ferry. (The main bulk of prison officers has been recruited from the private security firm Securicor.) The Harwich NUS branch originally announced they would refuse to man the ship. Branch secretary Bob Rayner denounced the racism of the immigration laws and told the *Sunday Times* (3 May): "Our members are seafarers and we do not wish to be involved in any policing exercise." But the national NUS leadership has stepped in to approve the use of union seamen on the ship. The 30 May issue of *7 Days* reported that "the National Union of Seamen this week said that union opposition to the detention ship was now a 'dead duck'".

This is of a piece with the overall disgraceful record of the NUS leadership on racism. For decades the union misleaders colluded with the shipowners in an agreement whereby Asian seamen on British cargo ships were paid less than a quarter of the rate of their British counterparts, in exchange for a so-called "Asian levy" of nearly £200,000 a year paid into union funds. This utterly despicable practice was defended by then NUS treasurer Sam McCluskie as recently as 1983, even as he was simultaneously chairman of the Labour Party National Executive Committee!

To its credit the NUS in 1985 joined with TGWU dockers to black military equipment destined for the apartheid butchers of South Africa. NUS members: Don't act as jailers on the prison ferry *Earl William*! Close down Thatcher's convict ship! Down with the racist immigration laws! Stop deportations - Full asylum for Tamils! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families! ■

# Labourite treachery...

(continued from page 1)

box. *Hard class struggle* can bring Thatcher down. But victory requires a fight to oust the Labour misleaders and the trade union bureaucrats with whom they collude and forge a revolutionary leadership of the working class. It means a break not only with Kinnock and his ilk, but with the so-called "lefts" - like NUM leader Arthur Scargill, Tottenham MP Bernie Grant, Brent East MP Ken Livingstone - whose loyal toadying for Kinnock was instrumental in keeping Labour intact during its gross betrayal of the miners and since.

Every inch the anti-Soviet warmonger, Kinnock has but tactical differences with Thatcher over Britain's NATO role (as he took great pains to assure the nuclear madmen in Washington). Both are unambiguously clear that the working masses will pay, even more, for Britain's contribution to the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union. That means no trouble from the "enemy within". What is desperately needed is a Bolshevik party capable of breaking the stranglehold of Labour on the working class, of *splitting* the Labour Party, and dedicated to the seizure of proletarian state power through socialist revolution.

## "THE WARNING IN HER WIN"

Despite the celebrating in the City after Thatcher swept the election, there are distinct noises of nervousness coming from the bourgeoisie: with the huge majority, she may well start going too far, too fast, too viciously. And she may go on and on and on. Writing in the *Guardian* (13 June) columnist Hugo Young expressed this unease:

"The radical possibilities lurking between the lines of the manifesto and ministerial glosses, largely unventilated during the campaign, may now seem ripe for codification. Could some fee-paying not now, after, be smuggled into the plans for breaking up the state school system and providing one set of schools for the cream and another for the sink?... Will the incentives to private health care become still juicier, the defences of the National Health Service insidiously less secure?... And because most Labour MPs are professional politicians, with no interest in any other way of life, they will soon accommodate themselves to the prospect of another long wait, believing in what Kinnock and Hattersley have told them,



Le Bolchevik

Rouen, 1981: French Trotskyists mobilise labour united front to stop fascist terror. Banner reads: "Popular Front Disarms Working Class! Smash Fascist Vermin! For Workers Self-Defence!"

struction, did Goering's show collapse and crumble into ashes. The audience breathed a sigh of relief; the nightmare was over." (Preface to *Reportagen aus Nachkriegsdeutschland* [Reports from Postwar Germany], 1979)

For the Allied imperialist victors to really confront the Nazi terror, they would have had to explain their own hideous war crimes, from firebombing Dresden to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The French imperialist state cannot bring Barbie to justice, for to do so would expose the reality that the bonapartist Vichy regime, backed by the vast majority of the French bourgeoisie, actively and eagerly participated in anti-Semitic, anti-Communist terror. What of the French administrators of the "Final Solution", like Maurice Papon, who loaded the railway wagons for Auschwitz and later became de Gaulle's police commissioner in Paris and a minister in the Giscard regime? Or those responsible for the "dirty war" in Algeria, from torturers like Le Pen to those who issued the orders, like Francois Mitterrand, who was a minister in the governments of 1954 and 1956, under which the "regroupment camps" were set up and "reprisals" ordered that devastated whole villages.

In contrast to the grotesque spectacle in Lyon, on March 8 a court in Soviet Byelorussia condemned to death two Nazi henchmen responsible for massive executions in the Jewish ghetto of Minsk. The Soviet Union mopped up the whole filthy network of Nazi collaborators as the Red Army drove out Hitler's Wehrmacht because there had been a socialist revolution, which in 1917 cleaned out the Black Hundreds and other scum from whom the fascist bands are drawn. It would take a socialist revolution in France to bring the Nazi butchers and Vichy scum to justice.

"The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance that is wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes, that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats. For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society. Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete destruction of fascism, only the people sitting in merciless judgement over the contemporary bandits and gangsters can provide real satisfaction to the indignation of the people. This is precisely the task that the Fourth International has set itself."

("For Grynszpan", February 1939) ■

## Prison ship...

(continued from page 12)

Obscenely, the government announced the ship's opening as a detention centre in the very week when the inquiry into the Zeebrugge disaster opened. Here are embodied two sides of decayed, racist British capitalism. On the one hand a mad rush for "free enterprise" profit, leading to notoriously unsafe ships and the deaths of innocent hundreds. On the other vicious racist reaction against vulnerable individuals seeking sanctuary from destitution and death, or even merely to join family and friends in Britain. And the racist Harwich prison ship conjures unmistakable images of the boats which two centuries ago ferried millions of blacks from West Africa to slavery.

Thatcher promises yet more draconian anti-immigrant legislation

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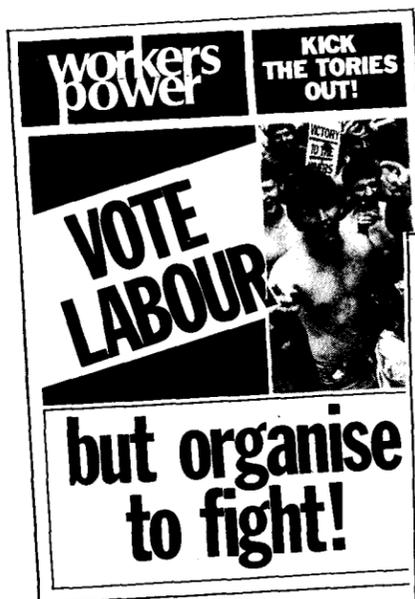
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that they are once again a 'national' party, the unrivalled alternative government."

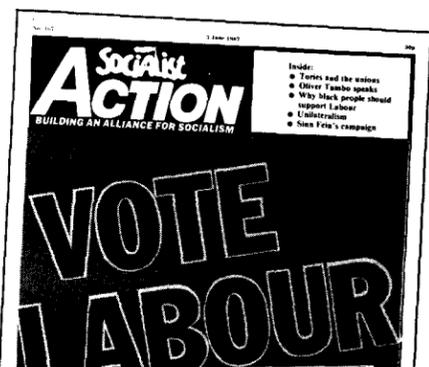
To be sure, most of those who voted Tory did not vote for the smashing of the NHS or the return of even more rigidly class-divided education. And there are, as Young put it, large "no go" areas for Thatcherism - namely

the outset that to advocate a vote for Kinnock was an act of class treason.

It wasn't just Kinnock and the open scabherders in the TUC who helped smash the miners strike. The "left" trade union leaders, including Scargill himself, subordinated the interests of the workers to maintaining "unity" with Kinnock and Willis. Why?



On the knocker for Ramsay MacKinnock. Spot the difference?



almost all of Scotland and Wales and large sections of Northern England. In Scotland, the Tories "are essentially perceived as a foreign party" (*Daily Telegraph*, 13 June) - Labour beat the Conservatives 50 seats to 10. In the cities the anti-Tory vote was particularly marked: Labour got four out of six seats in Edinburgh, two out of two in Dundee and Aberdeen; 11 out of 11 in Glasgow. The *Guardian* (13 June) wrote that "Scotland, overnight, has become potentially detached from the United Kingdom". The Scottish people have the right to choose their own future independent of Westminster and Buckingham Palace. We Spartacists recognise the elementary right of self-determination for Scotland but advocate putting the traditional militancy of the Scottish working class to the service of a Britain-wide proletarian revolution.

Since the election the Tories have no MPs in numerous major English cities: Manchester, Leicester, Bradford, Liverpool, Newcastle. In a triumphant editorial, the right-wing rag *Sunday Express* (14 June) sneered that "Labour 'did well' only in those limited areas where the embers of class hate can still be fanned".

There is class hate aplenty on these isles. The problem is that a revolutionary vanguard must be forged to lead the fight for workers state power, not a vote for Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition.

#### KINNOCK LOSES BIG

In the most significant class battle in decades, the miners strike polarised British society and threatened to shatter the hated Tory regime, thus posing the question: which class will rule? Judas Kinnock earned his spurs as a sycophantic running dog for the bosses by doing everything in his power to knife the miners. Kinnock stood on that record in the election. The man is widely despised for good reason. And we said from

Because had they mobilised the miners, railwaymen and transport workers in joint strike action against Thatcher, it would have been effectively a general strike, posing the question of class power. For all wings of social-democratic reformism, Margaret Thatcher is a "lesser evil" than the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletariat. The lesson of the miners strike is not that class struggle doesn't pay, as the loser Kinnock would have it, but that you need a Bolshevik party to bring it to conclusive victory.

No sooner had Labour lost the election than Scargill announced that he had been gagged by Kinnock & Co. Ken Livingstone, waxing eloquent in praise of the Kinnock campaign strategy, did mutter that Labour could have done more to support the miners. Bernie Grant made noises about black sections in the party.

What unmitigated cynicism! Scargill gagged *himself*, delivering to Kinnock the fulsome support of the NUM leadership. Livingstone went along with every new obscenity, occasionally grimacing at Kinnock's more overt gay-baiting, red-bashing pronouncements. (Perhaps to further his aim in becoming the Tony Benn of the second mobilisation?) And Bernie Grant rushed to Kinnock's side against black Labour spokesmen Sharon Atkin and Linda Bellos who stated the simple truth: the Labour Party is racist. Grant and three others pledged their loyalty: "As parliamentary candidates our overriding interest is in getting Labour into government. Nothing else can be allowed to stand in the way of this" (*Guardian*, 14 April). If Kinnock/Hattersley now want to turn the screws ever more tightly on these miserable "lefts", it is the payoff for their grovelling. So much for the bankrupt perspective of pressuring the Labour Party to the left.

Moving down the syphilitic chain that binds the workers and oppressed to Labour, a multitude of groupings

who claim to be some kind of socialist alternative were also unwavering in their support for Kinnock. This became more intense with the approach of election day. The front pages of their press - *Militant*, *Socialist Worker*, *Workers Power*, *Morning Star*, *Socialist Organiser*, ad nauseum - all implored "Vote Labour!" The campaign of the wretchedly reformist Communist Party was simply a stalking horse for Labour (and even the Liberal/SDP Alliance); not surprisingly the CP received fewer votes than it has members.

Now they will all be scurrying off, as they were the last time Labour lost big in 1983, to variously rebuild, renovate, reorient, give new leaders to and generally save the Labour Party. Thus the May/June issue of *Socialist Outlook* (publication of the fused Thornett/British Mandelita group) lamented that if Labour lost the elections there would not only be a "frenzied attack on the left" but a "problem as more and more radicalised layers of workers, youth and especially black people refuse to join the rightward-moving Labour Party, and build their struggles and campaigns outside it". A "problem"?! Despite very occasional resort to Marxist rhetoric, the fake lefts flatly oppose *in practice* the perspective of forging a communist alternative to the Labour Party.

The dubious Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) posed as an alternative to Labour with its flashy "Red Front" campaign, managing to attract support from those disgusted by the "choice" of Thatcher, Kinnock or Dr Death and his little David. The RCP - virulently anti-Soviet, notorious for its organising of scabs during the miners strike, shameless in recruiting a "former" fascist in Sheffield - merited not one iota of support in

against Labour, Leon Trotsky noted: "Question - Was the ILP correct in running as many candidates as possible in the recent General Elections, even at the risk of splitting the vote?"

"Answer - Yes. It would have been foolish for the ILP to have sacrificed its political programme in the interests of so-called unity, to allow the Labour Party to monopolize the platform, as the Communist Party did. We do not know our strength unless we test it. There is always a risk of splitting, and of losing deposits but such risks must be taken. Otherwise we boycott ourselves." ("Once again the ILP", November 1935)

#### BUILD A BOLSHEVIK PARTY!

There will be social struggle during the third Thatcher term. The burning question is how it will be led against the dead-end of Labourite parliamentarism. Unlike the fake lefts so eager to revive Labour's sagging fortunes, we in the Spartacist League say that Kinnock is a class traitor. In knifing the miners strike, Kinnock & Co demobilised and demoralised a militant section of the working class and its supporters. But by the same token, they earned the justified distrust of those same sections. To the banner of a revolutionary Leninist vanguard, the workers and youth of the Celtic fringe, the inner-city ghettos and the proletarian centres throughout England can be won.

The programme on which such a party will be forged is the antithesis of the Labour traitors - right and "left". It is the programme of the Spartacist League. We defend the Soviet degenerated workers state unconditionally against NATO imperialism's war drive and exposed the La-



Sheila Gray/Format

#### Thatcher, butcher of the Belgrano - bound to be vindictive in victory.

the election. But this outfit got a hearing because there are significant pockets of discontent; the overwhelming majority of the "left" were so Kinnock-loyal that they concentrated polemical fire on the RCP *from the right* for its "sectarian" refusal to join the Labourite fold. The fake left moved rapidly to the right in the renewed Cold War drive; even those organisations (eg the SWP) who might once have stood candidates refused to do anything that might "alienate" scab Kinnock.

In the recent elections, a campaign by even a small communist grouping against the race-hater, strikebreaker, anti-Soviet Kinnock and his "left" henchmen would have been able to give expression to those sections of the population who stand outside and to the left of Labour.

Responding in 1935 to a question about the Independent Labour Party's (ILP) position on standing candidates

bour tops for the CIA/Pentagon-loving reactionaries they are. In this virulently racist capitalist society, Labour has competed with the Tories over who can oppress minorities and immigrants with the most venom, who most enthusiastically applauds the killer cops sent in to occupy and terrorise their communities. We say: union/minority mobilisations to crush racist and fascist attacks! In Ireland, Thatcher and her Labour poodles compete over who can most brutally and efficiently wage bloody war against Irish Republicans and the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. Troops out of Ireland now!

Maggie Thatcher is coiled and ready to strike. The conditions in the country are overripe for revolutionary social struggle. The key to winning the class war which the Tories will wage for their side is the party, the party and once again the Bolshevik party. ■

## Thatcher's racist prison ship

In a grisly symbol of the Thatcher years, the Sealink ferry *Earl William* has now been moored in Harwich harbour as a floating prison ship for black and Asian people detained seeking entry or asylum in Britain. Since 22 May at least 20 prisoners including a number of Tamils seeking asylum from communalist terror in Sri Lanka have been bussed to this prison hulk. According to the Tamil Action Committee, 80 Tamils presently in detention centres are to be transported to the ship, where

they will be incarcerated behind barbed-wire fences. On the weekend of 6 June protesters organised by anti-deportation and Tamil groups rallied outside the ship. Prisoners reportedly came on deck to chant "Freedom, freedom!" along with the demonstrators.

The *Earl William* is a roll-on, roll-off ferry of the same type as the *Herald of Free Enterprise* which sank earlier this year killing hundreds of passengers and crew.

*continued on page 10*

**Racist Tories  
bring back  
prison hulks.**



Sunday Times

## Avenge the victims of SS Butcher of Lyon!

# Kill Nazi Barbie!

The following article has been adapted from *Workers Vanguard* (no 429, 29 May), fortnightly newspaper of the Spartacist League/US. As the trial of the "butcher of Lyon", Klaus Barbie, opened, a reporter from *Le Bolchevik*, newspaper of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*, section of the international Spartacist tendency, was present. Her eyewitness account of the first week of the trial is printed in the June issue of *Le Bolchevik*, as well as in the 29 May *Workers Vanguard* (both papers available in Britain from Spartacist Publications).



Serge Klarsfeld

For the past several weeks the trial of Nazi SS butcher Klaus Barbie has gripped France. As head of the Gestapo in Lyon from 1942 to 1944, Barbie was responsible for the murder of more than 10,000 Jews, Communists, Gypsies and others, who were tortured and killed on the spot, or shipped off to Hitler's death camps. After the war, he was hired by the US as a Cold War spy, then sent down the "Rat Line" to Bolivia, where he set up death squads and concentration camps. According to the Bolivian official responsible for Barbie's expulsion, he was a key adviser in the CIA's murder of Che Guevara. Although Barbie was brought to France in 1983, the "Socialist" Mitterrand government never brought him to trial.

When the proceedings finally got under way on 11 May, it was a grisly spectacle. The first days were dominated by Barbie's obscene smile, the smirk of a murderer who knows his prosecutors' hands are also covered with blood. He played on the hypocrisy of the French imperialist state, its personnel shot through with Nazi collaborators and those guilty of heinous crimes in colonial wars, from

Vietnam to Algeria. Then Barbie made his grand play, walking out of the "trial". There ensued a ludicrous squabble among the prosecutors over whether the SS killer's "rights" would be violated by forcing him to face his surviving victims.

**Kill Nazi Barbie!** This beast is a certified war criminal who has twice been sentenced to death. When the Estonian collaborator and death camp commandant Karl Linna was finally handed over to the USSR, despite desperate attempts by the White House to "save" him, we said that however the Soviet courts disposed of this butcher would be fine by us. But we have no confidence in the French bourgeois state, itself riddled with collaborators and war criminals, to dispense justice for the victims of the torturer and sadistic killer Klaus Barbie. The grotesque proceedings in the Lyon "trial" prove this. And with Le Pen's fascist bands on the rise, if Barbie isn't executed, he could end



Der Spiegel

**SS Obersturmfuehrer Klaus Barbie (left), chief of Lyon Gestapo, responsible for deaths of over 10,000 in Nazi genocide. Vichy police deport French Jews to the gas chambers of Auschwitz in 1941 (above).**

up in the pantheon of the French New Order along with Marshal Petain!

While the Lyon court is juridically "investigating" the loading of Jews into railway goods wagons to be sent to Auschwitz, Ravensbruck and Buchenwald, rightist interior minister Charles Pasqua announced he was prepared to "put together a train" of immigrants for deportation! And the ultraright is mobilising its shock troops. In Paris, a 10,000-strong mob headed by the fascist National Front (FN) leader Le Pen marched on "Joan of Arc Day", 10 May. Armed FN bands have terrorised immigrant neighbourhoods of Lyon and Marseille. In late May, a Jewish primary school in Paris was burned to the ground.

Barbie walked out of the Lyon trial precisely at the point the testimony of his victims was to begin. Lise Le-sevre, 86, arrested 13 March 1944, recounted how she endured 19 days of torture at Gestapo headquarters,

tied face down on a chair and flayed by Barbie with a whip with a spiked ball: she never talked. Simone La-Grange, deported at the age of 13 in June 1944, her mother gassed in August 1944, saw her father again in January 1945, when the Nazis hauled off their victims before the advancing Red Army. A guard noticed they had recognised each other, pushed her father to his knees and put a bullet in his head. These and countless other victims of the Nazi Holocaust demand vengeance!

Instead the "trial" was turned into a platform for fascism. On the second day of the trial, the judge actually asked Barbie to "explain" his genocidal dogma. Barbie described himself as a lifelong anti-Communist, and a soldier who was only following orders. This is, of course, the same argument Reagan and Kohl used to rehabilitate the Waffen SS at Bitburg in 1985. In the preface to a book by

*continued on page 10*