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A question of leadership

With virtually the whole of the 'far left' following Tony Benn's every word as the 'socialism now' tutor's British Labour Party leader, a valuable reminder of a time not so long ago when Thatcher was under the gun of a class-struggle challenge - Benn stood out a word. 'A Question of Leadership' brought together union officials, holding the line as a determining factor of class struggle - Benn stood out a word. 'A Question of Leadership' brought together union officials, holding the line as a determining factor of class struggle. The Labour Party was the road to victory. And it is posed as a concrete opportunity today, even in the eleventh hour of Sillars' attemp
tempts to do that at any point in the last thirteen weeks of class war. Steel workers: Day of steel - a strike in Britain (Spartacist Britain 10, 40, April 1980)

But so it is a question of whether the SWP still hails 'Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!' US SWP still hails Khomeini butchery.

Every day's news from Khomeini's Iran brings fresh examples of the Iranian reaction in power. Hundreds of leftists gunned down even in the schools, intellectuals shot, school pupils, and pogrom murder of minority religious sects (Jews, Baha'is, Ismailis) under Khomeini's clerical-fascist reaction. The whole steel working class, fighting every inch of the battles for workers' rights, is a concrete method of spreading the strike and forcing the boil. When steel workers struck the Cowley plant, did they mobilise his support? Sheel over the H Block hunger strike. (As for the CF's agreements with the IMG would be news to the Trots.)

The absurdly misnamed Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) -- formerly Revolutionary Communist Tendency is known for its mindless cheerleading for the US imperialists themselves. The RCP triumphs with its self-admitted 'a collection of documents' (RCP Britain) that make up the ranks of the Pasdaran -- the 'mullahs'! -- formerly Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), a collection of documents published during the Khomeini line on Afghanistan and Poland and self-admittedly doesn't have a position on the class character of the USSE. But they did vote to get in a couple of political points. We are told that the CF and Spartacist Britain (SB) have the same line as the IMG itself on the Labour Party and the question of revolutionary regroupment. What's more, the present issue of Spartacist Britain had five pages on revolutionary regroupment and only two on the H Block hunger strike. (As for the political content of those two pages, they make no allusions to this from the people who took power as the USSE.)

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Healey squeaks through in Brighton farce
What next for the Bennites?

At the end of its first session, the Labour Party's National Executive Committee had already been called to order by the bureaucracy in its usual bureaucratic manoeuvres, backhanded recriminations and god knows how many backroom deals. Denis Healey made sure that any claim of victory over rival Tony Benn for the deputy leadership contest was based on the self-serving propaganda that everybody had been sold.

Benn, on the other hand, was prepared to make a stand, to refuse to be a pawn in the machinations of the union leaders or to allow the later of the two ex-left geriatric Labour leaders to go through the motions. The openness of the Benn campaign and his victory would open the door to the role of caretaker bonaparte last November, exemplified by the Trotskyist programme of the reformist American Socialist Party, the Trotskyist programme of the reformist American Socialist Party, the Trotskyist programme of the reformist American Socialist Party, the Trotskyist programme of the reformist American Socialist Party, the Trotskyist programme of the reformist American Socialist Party.

In the biggest labour demonstration by far this year in the US, one of the most important events was the wave of strikes and wildcat strikes across the country in support of the demands of the striking miners for better pay and conditions. The strike wave has spread from the coalfields to the steel mills to the auto plants to the oil refineries and to the fisheries. It is a sign of the growing magnitude of the dispute, and of the growing militancy of the workers, that the strike wave has spread from the coalfields to the steel mills to the auto plants to the oil refineries and to the fisheries.

For evidence, one need only look at the unions' response to the Immigration Bill, which was introduced by the Conservative government in the House of Commons and passed into law in the House of Lords. The unions have been united in their opposition to the Bill, which they see as a means of cracking down on the rights of workers and immigrants.

The extent to which they have already been in evidence in recent strikes is a sign of the growing militancy of the workers, that the strike wave has spread from the coalfields to the steel mills to the auto plants to the oil refineries and to the fisheries.

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The struggle for counterrevolutionary 'democratic socialism' in Poland. It warns against putting total faith in parliamentary methods, but 'respects' the vote of the British people 'en asseled in elections!' and urges Labour to 'name the companies it intends to nationalise, as has Ritterman in France'. As for the nationalism under which the Labour leaders cloak their unyielding commitment to capitalism, the IMC agrees that, 'The Labour left are quite right to point out that such alternative forms of popular power cannot be created overnight.'

Four months ago, the IMC expelled the Communist (C) from its ranks. It warned: 'The Trotskyists of the Socialist Party have gone over to Benn's programme. No matter how decisive the vote had been, it was no clear sharp programmatic divide that Benn's campaign and his victory would open the road. Benn. But what about his ostensibly revolutionary anti-Soviet campaign? Benn's bid for the deputy leadership was about the methods which would [sic] be used in fighting for their [1] policies. Its 'independent foreign policy' barely manages to mention the Soviet Union, while (unnecessary) urging Labour to be in the 'forefront' of capitalist-restoratistical leadership of Solidarity in an effort to fan social counterrevolution.

In Northern Ireland, the situation has changed dramatically since the last time the IRA declared a ceasefire in 1994. The IRA has been forced to retreat to the south, where it has been subjected to increasing pressure from the security forces. The situation in the north has also changed, with the departure of the British Army and the introduction of the power-sharing agreement between the Protestant and Catholic communities. The situation in the north has also changed, with the departure of the British Army and the introduction of the power-sharing agreement between the Protestant and Catholic communities.

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Against the class brothers in other countries, and the Labour Party of MMT and Cold War against the USSR.

How will the election of either Benn or Healey resolve the questions facing workers who want socialism? This country is coming apart at the seams, and the world is moving towards thermonuclear war -- anti-Soviet war. US President Ronald Reagan provocatively waves the nuclear big stick at the Soviet workers state and Margaret Thatcher provides all the support that decapitates British capitalism can muster. The CIA poors in to reactionaries insurgents in Afghanistan. Popular revolt in El Salvador becomes a testing ground in the struggle to 'roll back Communism'. South Africa gets the green light for invading Angola because there are Russians and Cubans there. And in Poland the imperialists in an alliance with the Catholic Church back the
One question today dominates and conditions every other significant aspect of public life -- the 'Russian question'. This statement, from the "Tasks and Perspectives" document unanimously adopted by the Seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) on 12-13 September, applies with equal force to the conference itself. This was the first delegated conference of the SL/B. The report to the conference that we are now too large to otherwise allow effectual and truly democratic conference deliberations, is the climax of the weekend. In the context of the current context, and of the deepening rightward motion and even disintegration for many US left groups, and to some extent tied and wavered members of our own American organisation -- facing a possible return to McCarthyite repression -- 'who don't like what goes on could move to the maximum of action you can in the circumstances'. That is the case here as well, and we too have had our share of quips. The anti-Soviet clique has led to strong motion to the right by our fake-Trotskystoi opponents. But a genuinely Trotskyist organisation, the Spartacist League/Britain, is held against the stream, also cannot be immune from rightist pressures, with impurities to influx and ultimately exits from revolutionary politics by those lacking the will to fight.

The reporter added: 'One line shift to support for phantom "peaceful forces" fighting the Red Army -- a line shift that the imperialists have been pushing for years. The SL/B has recently succeeded in establishing a section, with the expressed Tamil minority threatened with a renewed wave of almost genocidal Sinhala nationalism, and the role of a few US resident members of the Khmer Rouge, etc, we have recently made an international priority of building protest demonstrations in defence of Tamil rights. In a very short time our Laksham campaigns have boldly declared on the day of the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International and the founding Conference of the Fourth International, the nine points for revolutionary regroupment (W.E. Van Orsouw, 4 April 1977), "Genesis of Pabloism" (Spartacist no 12, Autumn 1977), "Appeal for the Formation of the Communist Tendency" and the "Declaration of the Communist Faction' (both reprinted in the CF Declaration of Fusion).'

Under the shadow of the Cold War

The keynote report on the international situation of the British Spartacist Tendency Executive Committee emphasized the differentiated impact of Reagan's war drive in Europe and Asia. Reagan's international rightist drive and with the deepening right centrism of that organisation. Conceived in struggle against the IMG's anti-Sovietism, against the deepening right centrism of that organisation. Conceived in struggle against the IMG's anti-Sovietism, within the impact of the 'Heagow years' on the class struggle in their respective countries, as well as of the Spartacist Youth League, youth section of the SL/B, the need to bring into the debate the need for a more comfortable but empty 'biological existence' is an utterly false option. In particular, the CF ten points: 

1. The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B), section of the International Spartacist Tendency (IST) and the Communist Faction (CF), formerly of the International Marxist Group (IMG), Communist International and the British section of the Communist Tendency of the Fourth International, reprinted in the CF Declaration of Fusion.

2. Under the hammer blows of the renewed Cold War offensive against the Soviet Union, pre­ tenders to Trotskyism of all hues have scrambled for the protective bosom of the social democracies. None are now more Trotskyist organisations, the IST has refused to make any concessions to the prevailing social-democratic anti-Sovietism. Within the IMG/Suex, the Communist Faction developed in opposition to groupuscule political concoctions of precisely that character and waged a fight to assert the fundamental right to political programme against the deepest right centrist of that organisation. Conceived in struggle against the IMG's capitulation to 'Trotskyism', they were bureaucratically expelled in the SL/B's 1974 year of support to 'left' Labourism.

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Britain today is only too obvious. Add up the war driven, the economic problem of inflation and the ominous growth of fascism, and you get a situation where either there will be proletarian revolution, or there won't be much for any kind of existence. You've got to fight the bourgeoisie, or you're going to die through recognition of this simple fact. Thus the ominous growth of fascism and you get a situation of militants from the fake-Trotskyist organisations rush towards the IMG, since 1972-73 and Portugal'.

One of the IMG's unique characteristics is the 'Russian question'. The imperialist outburst against the img in winning the next layer -- the 'Russian question'. The imperialist outburst against the IMG was evidence of the logic of wanting to oppose your own bourgeoisie, to win and smash your opponents.' Yet 'by fighting for' communism in the era of nuclear brinksmanship under Reagan, the imperialist power has fallen into line behind the anti-Soviet war drive. 'A workers Poland, yes! The pope's Poland, no!'

The small centrist WP group will not pose a long-term obstacle to the WP. However, its 'leftists' could make it a distraction for some time, so we should get. Eighteen months ago WP adopted a Soviet-defencist position which, although it was not unreasonably argued by the more serious workers, made the IMG an increasingly threatened group. One member to our organisation are attempting to revive the film of their leftist developing and are more to powerful

1. Different experiences, a common programme

The Communist Faction, the single largest split to Trotskyism from the UCCE in Europe and the first from the IMG, was evidence of the possibilities. Cde Laurie Hargreaves, reporting for the CP on the fusion, pointed out the different experience of fighting for a common programme, rooted in the Russian question'. The significance of the CP's struggle inside the IMG extended far beyond its numbers: 'For the first time in the IMG the CP is seen as somewhere where an opposition can go.' The IMG leadership's openly expressed fears of a 'second wave' to the CP are not misplaced.

Cde Hargreaves, a ten-year veteran of the IMG and as one of the most active and political of the Political Committees (and before that a member of the Socialist Labour League when it still attracted militants), has never maintained the CP as the serious sub-Jectively revolutionary Trotskyist organization, briefly recounted the history of the IMG, noting that its 'leftest period' came in the early seventies, followed by a four-year period of that's 'peaceful warfare' which never broke out of the framework of Pabloist impressionism. The discussion incorporated openly subjective, yet not necessarily wrong, assessment of the IMG's record, and this conclusion was made by one delegate.

Recalled Harney, 'Trofical warfare in the IMG was a game you played; it was not a serious fight to win and smash your opponents.' Yet by the logic of wanting to oppose your own bourgeoisie, you had the comrades as were those who will follow them from the IMG 'will be forced to draw the correct programmatic conclusions and come out of'. A number of speakers emphasized a point made in the conference document: 'the political history of the CP flight within the IMG is our strongest political capital against the IMG in the next layer, the political questions they fought for remain central.'

Living evidence of the effectiveness of our perspective of revolutionary regroupment was also provided by the presence at the conference of a substantial number of longtime cadres in the ostensibly Trotskyist British left, who at the IMG was short of the most able political leadership. The IMG's leaders, on the other hand, undertook the task confronting the CP now is to translate that political capital into numbers, both through regroupment and recruitment of new personnel, and through successful mobilizations for SL conferences and other events. 'Out of the micro league', was the slogan appealing to the IMG.

Doing this means making hard choices -- setting strict priorities and sticking to them. Our struggle, as we have always understood, is for the future of all of our work. Together with (and as part of) our revolutionary regroupment in the British CP, we are a continuing struggle to upgrade and maintain Socialist Saviour's high-quality propaganda organ; careful attention to our student work, a vital arena for the recruitment and training of young revolutionary cadres, our limited trade union implantation. It was emphasized that our trade union implantation aims towards building authoritative communist factions in strategic industries, not in the light-minded fake-union mass of our opponents.

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The Regroupment of the IMG and International Conference are the Socialist Labour Alliance reflects a genuine right-wing convergence on anti-Sovietism and pro-imperialism. Nonetheless there are important tensions inside the new organisation, notably on the Russian question and counterrevolution in Poland in league with the Vatican and the imperialist bankers. Our slogan is 'A workers Poland, yes! The pope's Poland, no!'

Fighting for communism in the Cold War

Tasks and perspectives

We reprint below selected extracts from the 'Tasks and Perspectives' document adopted unanimously by the Spartacist League National Conference.

2. One question today dominates and addresses every other significant aspect of political life -- the 'Russian question'. The imperialist outcry against the 'Russian question' is the ploy of a military intervention in Afghanistan praged the official declaration of Cold War II and a new era of nuclear brinksmanship under "the Reagan administration. There are differences between the two sides (Reagan and their Russian comrades) of the East-West conflict, including those abroad (as, Britain -- particularly as it affects trade unionism). In the light of this, we must stick to them.

4. Reagan's mostfrightening willingness to fight a thermonuclear war on European soil has led to a widespread fear of a major nuclear reaction, encapsulated in the call for a 'Nuclear-free zone'. A strike has been manifested in the dramatic resurgence of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which has drawn thousands of youths into political activity. Labour's appeal to this pacifist 'Britain first' mood was one of the central aspects in the left-right schism out of which emerged the-strengthened 'Atlanticist' SDP. From centrist pseudo-Trotskyists to 'third camp' social democrats like the Cllffe SWP to Socialists in all walks, all the Bolsheviks have plunged headlong into the political void and even the 'leftist' Pan-slavist morons under the pretense of opposing the imperialist war drive.

5. The Spartacist League's call for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union is well under way and, indeed, even more strongly and prominently in the period. We must at all times seek a cutting edge in our struggles against our own bourgeoisie -- the main enemy is at home! In particular we note that the social democracy lends itself well to the project of democratic counterrevolution in Poland in league with the Vatican and the imperialist bankers. Our slogan is 'A workers Poland, yes! The pope's Poland, no!' is especially powerful against the fake Trotskyists who seek to prostitute the call for proletarian political revolution in the service of the bourgeoisie.

9. The Spartacist League's unique perspective at this conference was that the imperialist war drive of 1980 posed a direct opportunity for a generalised classwide confrontation with the Tory government. It has been announced...

Continued on page 12
tId t k 1 b . eve opmen s se om a e pace y ll.near pro-

hat sharp relief the double oppression of centres of militancy, in particular providing a concrete avenue for the realisation of mass Tasks ...

unfal tering allegiance to British imperialism in the extent to which it has become strikingly illustrated by the utterly shameful 'democratic' social-chauvinism of Benn, who has always...

the 'Fog in Channel' -- continent isolated' variety, compounded by a social-democratic complacency and acceptance of low and falling incomes and low standards in general, and shot through with Le Carre-novel-style resentment of the 'upstart' powers, particularly the US. This has made anti-Americanism and more recently anti-Japanese sentiment such a characteristic weapon for Stalinaist/social-democratic-trade-union sellout activists. It is reflected as well in the periodic CIA-baiting of the fake left (many of whom irone-

dy share the CLI line on Afghanistan and Poland), who find it difficult to accept genuine international rivalries and a high level of financial commitment. In general these pressures underscore the crucial importance of political sterilisation at Trotskyist vanguard in Britain.

Disregarded below in slightly abridged form is a leading speaker for the WSL, and an alternative CPI leadership, it finally began to take on a social climate which is a particularly fertile basis.

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fusal to capitulate to Bennism. But the Labour traitors' sense of duty, to one degree or another, the problems of cohere.

take on, the Labour Party -- he knows how valu-

'country...

Despite a struggle response to the economic grinding down. Benn...

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fighting for greater consistency and professionalism in our approach to contacting and valuing the working class. Continuity in practice is not a matter of random, timeless political dis­course, but a demand of the political logic of class struggle, socialist political fight and activities aimed at bring­ing the contact to decisive agreement with our programme and the commitment to become a profes­sional revolutionary.

If we are ambitious, our opportunities are many, our resources are extremely limited. We must grow substantially. But we will achieve something if we stick to the belief that everything we do is done at the expense of not

continued on page 13
Britain and its allies declared their intention to intervene in the Russian civil war in May 1919 in response to the Bolsheviks' seizure of power. The British troops landed at Archangel in May and at Murmansk in July, with the aim of overthrowing the Bolshevik regime and restoring the Tsarist era. The intervention was led by General John French, who had previously been the British commander in France during World War I. The British forces were joined by other powers, including the United States, France, and Japan.

The British intervention in Russia was a significant event in the history of the Russian Revolution. It marked the beginning of the worldwide struggle between the forces of capitalism and communism. The British intervention was a failure, and the Bolsheviks were eventually able to drive the invading forces out of Russia. The intervention also had a profound impact on the development of world politics, as it led to the strengthening of anti-Bolshevik forces in other countries and the increase in support for communist movements around the world.

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Russia!ourt and the Intervention

After four years of senseless slaughter in the trenches, a sudden discovery that 'Boche' were preferable to Bolshevists (a discovery that played no small part in encouraging a speedily triumphant in an attempt to avert the growing revolution tide particularly in Germany) was not a reversal likely to win public support. 'Never Again' was the slogan expressing the mood of revulsion against the war of imperialist plunder. A secret War Office questionnaire was enthusiastically welcomed by 100,000 other demonstrators.

It was in such conditions that the then divided Marxist movement -- which included the British Socialist Party (BSP), Socialist Labour Party, South Vaf, the Italian Workers Socialist Federation -- joined together in Manchester on 14-15 February, 10,000 packed in defence of Soviet power in Russia. The BSP's weekly Call (28 November 1917) greeted the October revolution in these words: 'Their position is difficult beyond words. Morally isolated in the world and silently boycotted at home, their only support is, or ought to be, the international working class. Why is it supported by the Labour party that it is their own cause which is being fought over by men who have staked their lives on it?'

'Hands off the Russian Socialist Republic!', it declared seven months later, warning: 'The news from Russia is exceedingly grave. There has been talk of an armed intervention in the world and silently boycotted at home, their only support is, or ought to be, the international working class. Why is it supported by the Labour party that it is their own cause which is being fought over by men who have staked their lives on it?'

'The challenge did not go unanswered, as the call to defend the revolution gathered widespread support over the next few months. On 9 January, a national Hands Off Russia conference was convened in London's Memorial Hall on the initiative of the London Workers Committee for the purpose of mobilising direct working class action, a sympathetic strike for the international intervention. On 2 February, there was a mass meeting in London and declared that half the army are on strike and the other half soon will be!' (W. H. Shillings, Mutiny). Ships at Brest and Archangel were forced to return to home port by mutinies in opposition to the action against Russia. A mutiny in the army at Bryl left five dead and two officers and 21 soldiers wounded. At Scapa, soldiers rioting against being sent overseas burned down a police station, killing one policeman.

But the force that really caused the anti-Soviet warmongers of the time to hold back was expressed by Churchill in his interview with Goszinskas: 'The question of giving armed support was for me the most difficult one; the reason for this was the opposition of the British working class to armed intervention.'

Among the most advanced layers of the working class there was manifested a considerable active and conscious support for the socialist revolution, complementing a more general sympathy for the Bolsheviks, especially in industry, among the rank and file of the trade unions, and among the advanced left. A large number of workers, among them 'democratic' monarchist Britain had been allied. In the Red Clyde of 1919, some 80,000 marched on May Day 1917 in solidarity with the soviets and the overthrow of warlords, and hundreds of thousands more lined the streets to applaud. When Lloyd George was conferred the Freedom of the City the following month, 200 Russian sailors who had come to protest against the imprisonment of Maclean were susceptibility to reliance on the capitalist state, calling on imperialist Britain to 'take such action as may be necessary to induce the Allied Governments to do likewise'. More importantly, the Labour Party/TUC, under Ernest Bevin and Smillie, was not just involved in providing a cover for the TUC, they went on to form the 'Epsom, soldiers rioting against being sent overseas and the other half soon will be' (T. Wintringham, Mutiny). Churchill to call 'hands off the Russian Socialist Republic!' it declared seven months later, warning: 'The news from Russia is exceedingly grave. There has been talk of an armed intervention in the world and silently boycotted at home, their only support is, or ought to be, the international working class. Why is it supported by the Labour party that it is their own cause which is being fought over by men who have staked their lives on it?'

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Solidarity... (Continued from previous page)

as long as they 'are a constructive factor of social order and solidarity'. The Polish Con­ference of Bishops got the message and has thrown its support behind Solidarity's long­
sought-after objective of recognition by mainstream media. Does anyone doubt that the new Poland would be a workers' state? Leaders say they are building con­­
form to the guidelines set down by the Catholic Church to which they all profess deep al­­
legiance? The Pope's encyclical (written in Polish) could well become the manifesto of a new social order and solidarity'. The Polish Con­­ference of Bishops got the message and has thrown its support behind Solidarity. While the motion in the year-long Polish Solidarity leadership stopped up with the AFL-CIO to form a new union movement around Walesa, the most important result was the potential for development of a left oppo­­
sion of this, see 'Market Socialism'...

Tell me who your friends are...

At the Labor Day demonstration Przezmeski announced that the National Committee of the Foreign office in the New York headquarters of Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) has discussed the danger of 'socialist-bureaucratic' unionism. It is the main organisational base for the bureaucracy, he said, a 'socialist-bureaucratic state Department socialists'. Shanker's Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) are 'a social change goods at a social cost'.

The Social Democrats are deplored by main-streamers. 'The United Federation of Teachers' of workers. In the film Sleeper by left-liberal humorist Woody Allen, the typical New York hero asks: 'Who are your friends?' We really don't know, but we think a man by the name of Albert Shanker has made a new discovery.

In the past decade the Social Democrats have developed a close relation with the American car-makers who runs the national AFL-CIO. Shanker has done more than anyone else in the American labour movement to prepare the way for Reagan's massive arm build-up and anti-Soviet war drive. These two originalities are actively working for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. In Poland, Kirkland and elsewhere we can find a type of social democratic consistent with the, 'socialist-bureaucratic' unionism of Shanker's SWP.

If a Trotskyist leadership had to intervene, the result of the intervention would be an anti-Soviet social democracy, separated from the genuine social democratic movements of the world. In principle the Kremlin Social Democrats are perfectly capable of defending their own country against the German bankers if they think they can preserve their own bureaucratic power base. Remember the Stalin-Hitler pact. Ever since the Red Army drove out Hitler's forces at the end of World War II, the western imperialist bourgeoisies have dreamed of 'polishing back' the Soviet to the borders of the USSR (and beyond). However, given the implacable, insane hostility of the Reagan administration and the relative weight of American as against German imperialism, giving up Poland is not a viable option for the Soviet bureaucracy today. This is especially the case as Poland lies across the main supply and communications routes between the Soviet Union and East Germany, the main state controlling western imperialism.

Moreover, every class-conscious worker in the world, especially in the Soviet Union, Poland and the other East European countries, must understand that Solidarity is pursuing a straightforward-line policy threatening the gains of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the working class in history. Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped! If the Kremlin Social Democrats, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this. And we take responsibility in advance for whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution.

What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist programme demands the immediate overthrow of a capitalist government? The children of the working class have a revolutionary task in their own country. We would then have to intervene militarily. This has not been denied by the Trotskyists or the Kominform, who have not been'exposed' to the reality of the situation. In Poland, a clear counterrevolutionary situation in which the Soviet Union is compelled to use force to keep the counterrevolutionary forces at bay...
We warn the Soviet workers and the world proletariat that under the banner of nation, church, and 'the free world,' the Solidarity leadership is organizing a bloody capitalist counterrevolution, which is itself a counterrevolution. This 'Soviet capitalist' Poland subservient to Reagan/Maig on the western border of the USSR would bring such closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped before it is too late!

Provocations...

(Continued from page 26)

has passed across the Ptenagon drafting boards in a decade. The ghettos are told to ret, school-children are told to save, old-age pensioners are told to die -- there's no money left. For these, but Reagan/Kaig's middle- and upper-class American that they will fend the material foundations of a socialist gains of liberation of Poland.

Cold War hawk Haig greeted by protest in Berlin, 13 September.

Jumbo, welfare cuts alone won't finance the most extravagant military build-up in history -- and they've put him on notice to put his economic house in order before something blows. And the 12,000 striking air traffic controllers when Reagan sought to make the point -- to the Russian leaders. To his European allies and, least, to the American labour movement -- that here is a man who means business, are not going to be won very easily to a war to defend 'free trade unions' in Poland. Reagan's war drive has its problems at home.

And abroad as well. A lot of Europeans, particularly Germans, don't like Reagan's fantasies all -- especially the one about fighting out World War III entirely within the borders of Germany. So when that sinister White House secretary, General Alexander Haig, visited West Berlin on 13 September, the reception he got was somewhat different than that accorded Bay of Pigs butcher John Kennedy twenty years earlier. Haig,的伟大推進者, sought to win back the railways and even more important, construction of the Russian bombers. Haig's challenge was met with a graphic picture of opposition to US war plans to take home with his. General Koossen, commander of the Soviet forces in Berlin, had been a picture when he narrowly escaped a carefully prepared assassination attempt employing rocket launchers in Heidelberg the next day. The Ptenagon (18 Sept-ember) agonized:

'Such events inevitably strengthen an impression, already quite widespread in the United States that Germany, and even more in Europe, is ceasing to be a reliable ally indeed, becoming positively anti-American.' German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's pronouncements on the issue of the nuclear crossfire (though not out of the question) are the 'Communist totalitarianism' -- whether under Lenin or Stalin -- of the Cold War. But the 'skeptical' West Germans would be a reliable ally indeed, becoming positively anti-American.' German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's pronouncements on the issue of the nuclear crossfire (though not out of the question) are the "Communist totalitarianism" -- whether under Lenin or Stalin -- of the Cold War. But the 'skeptical' West Germans would be...
which is not communism.'

This is part and parcel of its embrace of cynicism but the axiom that opportunism is [illegible]

"To fight communism is not necessarily the same as selling out to the imperialist bourgeoisies. And particularly [illegible]

This is what Trotsky called the 'third component') is hardly facilit­

..."unilateral nuclear disarmament,' we counterpose the call. 'Smash NATO! De­

The threat of imperialist war against the Soviet republics soon subsided. By the follow­

...broad church [illegible]..."unilateral nuclear disarmament," we counterpose the call. 'Smash NATO! De­

...the love of humanity..."unilateral nuclear disarmament," we counterpose the call. 'Smash NATO! De­

Benn supports import controls and bourgeois interests now defines [illegible]

...corOllary..."unilateral nuclear disarmament," we counterpose the call. 'Smash NATO! De­

...a propaganda group is its most important weapon. [illegible]

...anti-capitalist appeal for revolutionary class ac­

...even more [illegible]..."unilateral nuclear disarmament," we counterpose the call. 'Smash NATO! De­

...the expropriation of the industrialists and the bankers, as part of an international socialist division of labour through a worldwide struggle for proletarian rule..."Hands off Russia" ...

Government's plan was purely a question of 'national, class interest,' the Parliament­

...a programme of systematic in­

...and 'transforming' the Labour Party into an instrument for socialism. It cravenly [illegible]

..."Hands off Russia" ...

...a programme of systematic in­

...a programme of systematic in­

...a programme of systematic in­

...a programme of systematic in­
In a letter to the North London Polytechnic (NLP) from 26 June, former chairman of the BMF, Nicholas O'Connor, de- clared his aim of establishing a branch of the overtly NLP, O'Connor's letter was an outrageous attack on black and foreign student, working-class, anti-racist, leftist and trade unionist at NLP. A failure to respond to this, particularly given the national publicity it received in the New Statesman (26 June) and elsewhere, would have been to tell the fascists that they could proceed unhindered with their efforts to build a gang of would-be student sub-movements. It was clear that what was needed was a powerful demonstration of trade unionists and students capable of teaching the fascists a lesson they would never forget should they dare to raise their heads. The NLP Spartacist Society took the initiative in forming a Stop the Fascists in NLP united-front committee to organise such a mobilisation.

The most menacing decay of British capitalism and international anti-Soviet Cold War, the threat of organised fascist taking root in the colleges seems much more real than a few years ago. Groups like the BP and the National Front (NF) are known to have made gains from the ultra-right Tory Monday Club at Oxford and from the PCS at Sheffield and polytechnics elsewhere. At the PCS national conference held at Sheffield University earlier this year, there were reports of delegates openly wearing fascist regalia and singing the 'Miller Youth Anthem'.

Last term fascist thugs came into NLP to attack black students. The nearby Islington area has witnessed several fascist atrocities, including the firebombing of Islington Communist offices and the murderous attack on the other Black Liberation Group, both fascist attempts to 'fracture' their fractured skull. But despite the scale of the threat nationally and internationally, the nationalist groups have so far avoided the most open fascist pagrants. Ken- ners' editor Jack Collins, trade unionists, labour-councillors and anti-racists, no fascist organisations displayed a criminal sectarianism which amounted to sabotage of the fight against fascism. The Socialist Worker Party (SWP) refused to campaign for a united front action in the context of a united front action with the Salaris. The Socialist Worker Alliance covered the same cowardly policy with the workmen who said that it didn't have to support at NLP. And the Revolutionary Communist 'party' (RCP) did next to nothing to build a serious united-front action other than trying to turn it into an adventurist stunt along the lines of the 'Workers Against Racism' front groups. When the first meeting of the committee rejected a sinister sectarianism strategy of 'student-worker defence' in favour of a hard fight to mobilise trade union and student support for a powerful show of strength, NLP supporters found other 'priorities'.

The story of sabotage and sectarianism was completed at NLP itself by the student union president Abidin Tusder, and his student executive which included supporters of the BMF's Socialist Worker Student Organisation. An 18 September meeting of the executive threw out a motion, supporting a militant demo prepared to drive fascists off campus at the 25 September Freshers Fair. Instead it counterposed a 'strategy' of public meetings, literature stalls, films and 'multi-cultural' activities to a serious anti-fascist mobilisation. Not only did the executive not support demonstrations -- it banned them for the day! This freebashing was a desperate act which culminated a consistent record of criminal do-nothings. Indeed, Tusder was present at the meeting at which O'Connor was alleged to speak -- in direct contravention of the students union's formal position of 'No Platform for Fascists'.

But if Tusder & Co don't care about the fascist threat, many students at NLP do. And bureaucratic sabotage will not stop those who want to fight fascism and have a programme to do it. Spartacist Society and Spartacist League members handed out leaflets at the packed Freshers Fair which pointed out:

The only serious strategy for combating the fascists is the strategy that is being sabotaged at NLP. Allowing that sabotage to continue will be a disaster not only for the fascists that they can carry out their work at NLP. An aggressive campaign demanding an emergency meeting of the student union is needed to reverse the executive decision and organise a militant demo at the 25 September Freshers Fair. The student executive is even obliged to consider holding a meeting. But our demo signed at the Freshers Fair alone. On Monday 28 September the student executive was forced to back down from its adamant refusal and call an emergency general meeting.

Students alone do not have the power to stop fascism -- and the Spartacist League has ad­ vanced a perspective of mobilising the trade unionists and militant steel workers. The University in September the Spartacist Society played a successful mobilisation against NF thugs endorsed by the Sheffield Trades Council and militant steel workers. The fascists who didn't come back. It was the working class that has the power to smash fascism through organised mass action for the building of labour/ black defence guards. And it is the working class which must be won to a revolutionary pro­ gramme and the overthrow of the capitalist system of whose decay fascism is a by-product.

The fight at NLP must be a successful part of that struggle. No platform for fascists! Drive fascists off campus at NLP, British Movement/ National Front at NLP!

Conference... (Continued from page 7)

to conduct exemplary work as the nucleus of an anti-fascist front at the LSE and set off a wave of successful regroupments, we have become much more organic to the country, and thus neces­ sarily more susceptible to the traditional pres­ sures which act on the British left: social­ democratic softness, workerism, leadership, and the mass support of a capitalist system which addressed, among other things, the need to overcome problems of sluggishness and routinism in the Revolutionary Communist Party. After a discussion of the possibilities facing us: the need for a united front action, and the importance of putting it on the basis of the revolutionary programme, not sinking into the morass of the 'broad church'.

Forward to the British October!

The culmination of the conference came in the acceptance of a leadership to carry out the tasks decided upon, in the context of a frank, rigor­ ous and critical evaluation of our past which addressed, among other things, the need to overcome problems of sluggishness and routinism in the Revolutionary Communist Party. After a discussion of the possibilities facing us: the need for a united front action, and the importance of putting it on the basis of the revolutionary programme, not sinking into the morass of the 'broad church'.

The Salaris leadership, delegates elected the new Central Committee. Having made a start, we looked forward to the forging of a leadership collective which had to be one which remained unshaken in its commitment to an activist practice.

With a view to successfully exploiting the opportunities which face us, through regroupment/ recruitment, the conference document projected a series of goals which could take the organisa­ tion to a new plateau: the move to a fort­ nightly press, expansion to another major city, the formation of a youth section and extended trade union implantation. To get there, we must go out and record values. The Salaris leadership, delegates elected the new Central Committee. Having made a start, we looked forward to the forging of a leadership collective which had to be one which remained unshaken in its commitment to an activist practice.

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Leadership... (Continued from page 2)

tory capitalism, is an oppressive one and the bureaucratic. But Thornett et al aren't Trotskyists.

And that is why today they all chase after Be who's only been forced to cope with the basis of a poisonous mixture of wage control, import controls, and a wage-cutting budget, but was in a real sense prepared by the defeat of the steel strike -- which seem did nothing to prove the point. Let's be different: we need power for the working class. It is a question of laying the foundations for new explosions to come, explosions which will shake and shatter Labour's grip over the workers. Our task is to intersect them with a programme for victory.

RCP... (Continued from page 3)

sinking? The RCP boasts it is fighting economics in the working class with its recipe of minimal butchers of Kurds, Arabs and the left.

Those IMGers whose stomachs turn at their colonial primer aren't Trotskyists. Thornett et al aren't Trotskyists. Why? Does it not fit in with the record of the international Spartacist tendency (LSP), which has also

To the editor.

Your sincerely,

Alan M

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Who defends the lamis?

To the editor.

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Spartacist tendency's role in international Tamil protests featured in Lankan papers.

explicitly including the SLFP's bloody Mrs B. The cadre who went on to form the RCP stayed in the LSP to be a degenerate participation in the brutal suppression of the 1971 JVP youth uprising. The LSP has never repudiated this. Among them were members who actually fought in 'the defence of the Tamil people against the savage Sinhala chauvinist coalition of Lanka', which guarded police stations while the police were butchering JVP militants. The LSP has never repudiated this either. When the LSP will finally complete its Three Year People's Popular-front treachery, it will extend its critical support to a smaller version of the same Sinhala chauvinist popular front.

With this history, one can be justifiably dubious about the LSP's record on the defence of Tamil rights. However, in an article written by an LSP Central Committee member, a recent Militant (11 September) boasts that the LSP is 'the only Sri Lankan left-wing party which ad-

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Social democracy fronting for Reagan/Thatcher Cold War drive

Dangerous anti-Soviet provocations

The past two months have seen a series of calculated, escalating provocations orchestrated by the war-hungry administration of Ronald Reagan. The target in each and every instance is clear and explicit: Moscow. Virtually every week brings a new international hot spot in the non-longer-so-Cold War. The US commander-in-chief is on a straight march towards thermonuclear World War III with Russia. His adjutant is a French ‘Socialist’; his standard-bearer is a fanatical Polish pope; his brigade-major is an Iron Lady in Downing Street. This is the most dangerous and unholy of popular fronts ever: a nuclear-armed Crusade Against Communism.

It started with Afghanistan. Then came El Salvador/Nicaragua and threats to blockade Castro’s Cuba. Now there is the formalisation of the military alliance with China and threats to teach ‘Vietnam’ another bloody lesson. Reagan and his allies in the Peking bureaucracy boast that they monitor Soviet missile tests and intend to station strategic weapons on the Russian border. The constant baiting of the Russian bear over Poland, accompanied by shrill appeals from the Vatican and the reactionary assistance of ‘democratic socialism’ internationally today threatens to culminate in an open counterrevolutionary challenge to the socialised property forms. The potential exists for a cataclysmic explosion.

When two South African armoured columns swept into southern Angola in early August with US blessing, it was the anti-Soviet angle that the South African government (and British and American media) played to the hilt. ‘WE KILLED RUSSIANS IN ANGOLA!’ was the South African war minister’s comment, transformed into a boldface headline by the New York Post. They paraded a captured Soviet sergeant-major as a living example of the red ogre in Africa and crowed about the murder of four Russians, including two civilian wives.

The Americans staged military exercises off Libya’s shores for the express purpose of goading Soviet-allied Megalomaniac Qaddafi into a response. When they succeeded in luring two Libyan fighter planes into a dogfight and blasting them out of the sky, they proclaimed it to be an object lesson to the ‘international terrorist conspiracy’ supposedly run by the Kremlin. For the ‘European theatre’, Washington announced that the neutron bomb would, after all, be built and deployed. When Carter first mooted the project four years ago, his European partners strongly advised him to change his mind. Reagan didn’t ask for their advice, and he didn’t get many arguments.

And accompanying it all is a propaganda barrage to prepare a ‘hate the Reds’ climate. Crude red scare stories straight out of 1950s McCarthyism are presented as hard news by even the ‘serious’ bourgeois press. And not just in Reagan’s America. ‘Sophisticated’ British papers like the Times plastered the front pages for days with accounts of a bizarre plot masterminded by the KGB in collusion with Turkish fascists to assassinate the pope.

In his determination to ‘roll back Communism’ Reagan has committed the American bourgeoisie to bankrolling every sci-fi military project that continued on page 12

March with the Soviet-defenders-contingent!
Smash NATO!
Defend the Soviet Union!

Stop CIA-backed Solidarity counterrevolution! A workers Poland, yes-The Pope’s Poland, no!
No Cruise, no Trident! Not a penny, not a man for the imperialist army!
The main enemy is at home-get the Iron Lady!

Spartacist League

CNO national demonstration
Embassy, London
24 October

OCTOBER 1981