Introducing Workers Hammer

The eighth national conference of the Spartacist League/Britain, meeting in London in mid-August, voted to change the name of our monthly newspaper Spartan Britain. Following a meeting of our newly-elected Central Committee and subsequent consultation it was resolved to rename the paper Workers Hammer. Through more than six years of publication and sixty numbers, Spartan Britain has addressed the key issues of domestic and international politics from the standpoint of Marxism. From no 1 announcing 'The rebirth of British Trotskyism' up to the recent extensive coverage of the miners' heroic battle, it has been an increasingly effective collective organiser and tool of intervention for our organisation. And in recent months it has continued on page 4.

Miners, T&G, rail:
Forge a fighting Triple Alliance!
General strike now!

Bullshit in Brighton, class war on the picket lines

‘In Monday afternoon’s debate at the Trades Union Congress in Brighton there were three honest speakers. Arthur Scargill explained why he wanted the power workers to support the miners, and Eric Hammond and John Lyons explained why they wouldn’t. All the rest was bullshit.’ (Peter Kellner, New Statesman, 7 September)

While the ‘parliament of the labour movement’ lived up to its namesake in hot air, class war continued to rage on the picket lines. To follow the TUC deliberations, you would not know that the dockers were out on national strike alongside the miners, threatening a stranglehold on this island economy. Flying pickets of Liverpool dockers spread out to shut down two small scab ports while thousands of miners from Tilmanstone in Kent to Bilton Glen in Scotland fought to defend their picket lines against an army of scabherding cops. For the second time in two months the country hangs on the verge of a general strike. Now is the time to make it happen!

Yet the NUM leadership has now not only acquiesced to TUC intervention but as we go to press is closeted in renewed negotiations with the Coal Board. If ever there were a time not to be locked in a hotel room with Mac the Knife, this is it. To hell with the Labour/TUC Judases! Dump the negotiations! Don’t let the moment slip! With the dockers out now is the time for the NUM to demand the TGWU and rail unions join it in all-out strike action. Shut down the country!

For a fighting Triple Alliance!

The British labour movement stands at a decisive crossroads. A month after returning to work with nothing but worthless promises, the dockers were again provoked into strike action on 24 August by British Steel’s use of scab labour to unload a blacked coal-carrying ship at Hunterston. The miners’ hard and tenacious battle, which has inspired huge sections of the labour movement and the oppressed, has again won them a powerful ally on the picket lines. The power to defeat Thatcher is palpably there, even if weakened by failure to carry the fight through to victory the first time. The combined dock and coal strikes must demand a fighting Triple Alliance to shut down the country through all-out strike action.
New member quits Cliffites in disgust

SWP: Scabbing With Pleasure

From Derbyshire to the London docks of Tilbury, the picket line has been the weapon by which this strike has been built and spread. 'Picket lines mean don't cross' is the slogan of decent trade unionists everywhere who want to see the miners victorious and Thatcher's union-bashing smashed. So widespread is this recognition among trade unionists that NUR head Jimie Kenny said at the Brighton TUC: "Even if a cow crossed the road with NUM picket painted on its side, we wouldn't cross.'

So what do you make of a self-professed 'revolutionary' organisation, claiming 4000 members, that publicly boasts how many of its members have been crossing the picket lines of miners? That's the despicable role of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). And there are some SWPer's who have had it with this scab policy. We print below Gordon Mitchell's letter of resignation from the SWP. Comrade Gordon tipped us off to SWP-sanctioned scabbing at the Lackenby Steelworks in the Middlesbrough area. And when confronted with this by an NUM militant and Socialist supporter at a public meeting at London's Conway Hall on 23 August, SWP guru Tony Cliff reeled off the names of several more steel plants where SWP members are crossing picket lines (see box). It would have made Bill hill 5 Blush.

Comrades who attended this meeting felt like they had accidentally wandered into a meeting of Nazis scabs. Cliff tried to justify the scabbing by pleading how 'isolated' the miners are. And this happened to be the very day that British dockers walked out and the steel strike, national dock strike was about to be called. But what can you expect from an outfit like the SWP which this strike has been built and spread.

The miners' strike is an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the 'New Realism'. (Tony Cliff, Socialist Review, April 1984)

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On the question of our steelworkers crossing picket lines. We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ilemen who crosses picket lines. (Tony Cliff, London SWP public meeting, 23 August 1984)

The 'New Realism' is indistinguishable from the economist 'rank-and-filism'. The SWP has been a pawn of the 'New Realism' from the very beginning of the strike. It was at Blackpool a year ago that the SWP's 'new realism' showed itself in imposion by major class battles, so why bother to try. The SWP's 'new realism' dovetails with the 'new realism' of the labour bureaucracy. Throughout the strike we have stressed the integral link between defence of the workers' class struggle at home and the fundamental necessity to overthrow imperialism abroad. The SWP's 'new realism' by witchhunting 'anti-socialist'. And it's been the most violent anti-Soviet trade union leaders like Bill Sire and Frank Chapple who have been most vociferous in scabbing on the miners. Of the British left, the SWP is among the most virulent Soviet-haters. This position dates back to the First Cold War, when Cliff and his Socialist Review group broke with Trotskyism in refusing to defend North Korean deformed workers states and the class struggle at home. They could be more effective. He mentioned they could be more effective.

Today the SWP's 'downturn' theory neatly dovetails with the 'new realism' of the labour bureaucracy. Throughout the strike we have stressed the integral link between defence of the workers' class struggle at home and the fundamental necessity to overthrow imperialism abroad. The SWP's 'new realism' by witchhunting 'anti-socialist'. And it's been the most violent anti-Soviet trade union leaders like Bill Sire and Frank Chapple who have been most vociferous in scabbing on the miners. Of the British left, the SWP is among the most virulent Soviet-haters. This position dates back to the First Cold War, when Cliff and his Socialist Review group broke with Trotskyism in refusing to defend North Korean deformed workers states and the class struggle at home. They could be more effective.

The SWP has been crossing picket lines at Ravenscraig, and elsewhere.

There are no doubt other militants like Gordon Mitchell who mistakenly joined the SWP because they thought they were joining a revolutionary organisation. For those who can't stomach a group that scabs on the miners at home and on the international political front we recommend Paul Mattick of the Spartacist League. Through his discussions with our comrades, Gordon Mitchell has since joined the Spartacist League.

Letter of resignation from SWP

Comrades,

When I joined the SWP (June 1984), I had as many of you are aware serious reservations as to the revolutionary credibility of a party that systematically refused to recognize the gains of the October Revolution -- nationalized property, the minority of Notts miners who are on strike and the class struggle at home. The SWP appeared to adhere to orthodox Marxism revisionism while simultaneously quibbling at that on that basis I should join and work within the organisation, and particularly with the miners strikers.

Any illusions concerning a perceived contradiction between the SWP's class position on the Soviet Union, and their superstitious reverence for the workers states and the class struggle at home and abroad, were dispelled last week.

Following a talk by Tony Cliff on 'The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx', an SWP member (a steelworker at Lackenby Steelworks, BSC) asked Cliff for a statement of the Party position on SWP members crossing picket lines. (This SWP member had himself been crossing miners' picket lines at British Steel for some time.) What follows is an account of Cliff's reply, and various comments made throughout the course of the meeting.

Cliff's reply to the scab was that he didn't wish to feel guilty, and that there were comrades up and down the country who were crossing picket lines and going into work where they could be more effective.

The SWP member who asked the question was a member of the Spartacist tendency.

As the American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon once said, 'Who touches the Russian Question, touches a revolution.' Stripped of its veneer, the anti-Soviet SWP's 'economist rank-and-filism' is indistinguishable from the politics of British social democracy -- and not necessarily its most left versions. Despite the SWP's anti-Labour position, some time they advocate support to Labour hall or high water on principle, regardless of the circumstances. Thus with Callaghan in 1979, and again with Foot in 1983, they backed Labour when it stood on platforms of Social Contract Socialism over Anti-Soviet war drive. And for all the assorted criticisms of trade union bureaucracy that you find in Socialist Worker, the reality is something else: an organisation that sanctions its members crossing picket lines, that when push comes to shove believes in pressuring the most right-wing trade union leaders. Thus the SWP along with the rest of the TUC early this month.

We've already had reports of scabbing in the SWP ranks over Cliff's scab line. And the leadership is apparently under pressure to prove how SWP 'plastic'... And so what do you make of a self-professed 'revolutionary' organisation, claiming 4000 members, that publicly boasts how many of its members have been crossing the picket lines of miners? That's the despicable role of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). And there are some SWPer's who have had it with this scab policy. We print below Gordon Mitchell's letter of resignation from the SWP. Comrade Gordon tipped us off to SWP-sanctioned scabbing at the Lackenby Steelworks in the Middlesbrough area. And when confronted with this by an NUM militant and Socialist supporter at a public meeting at London's Conway Hall on 23 August, SWP guru Tony Cliff reeled off the names of several more steel plants where SWP members are crossing picket lines (see box). It would have made Bill hill 5 Blush.

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Bloody Sunday allover again.

Yorker in Northern Ireland as part of a delegation from the organisation Noraid, described on Sunday, August 12. That Falls Road to Andersonstown, shadowed by hounded stabulary murderously assaulted, 'lou'd criminally into an unarmed hundreds of British soldiers and of internment without trial.
council, who compared 'what is happening in your lying dead on the pavement, victim of a bullet repression that has been systematically usedpression by the police against the striking defiance of a government exclusion order. Turn­
areng to the assembled police and soldiers, Adams

Q: Whose homes were you staying at? Just Catholic people. Anybody that'd put us

We wake up about 8 o'clock in the morning and I wanted about four or five RUC trucks within the space of half an hour, coming down the road we were on, checkpointing. All they are just
corral us and down harassing people. We saw a lot of harassment, where they're travelling along with their doors open? They drive slow enough so you think, are they gonna stop and harass me, or what? It tends to frighten you. I mean, people in Ireland will be used to it
	but we were frightened, because the guy there with a gun pointing out the door is 'ready to open the door and jump out and search any time.

Q: Where were you staying? You was in an impossible

A: I couldn't tell you who put that up. But it was draped over a big building. It makes you really
church inside, to feel that these people have got their own repression and they're fight­ing and wishing us all the best on ours. As soon as they found out what was happening, they were cheering and clapping and everything, they were
	realistic towards us.

Q: Could you tell us what actually happened on the demo?

To start off we met and marched up a road towards Andersonstown. Over there on a demo you use both sides of the roads and you only have three people, one in the middle and one at each side, just in case there's a riot, sniper firing or anything, to keep your numbers and this way you're not bumping into each other, which I thought was quite good. We were behind the front of the procession. I noticed all the way on Monday that there were RUC men and army. And what I noticed about the RUC men, their plastic bullet guns were all cocked, they were ready for firing, whereas the army had...
Smash and political challenge threatening this government only an end to the strike. Even amid their mean­

migrants visit to the likes of pling of the trade unions. The Labour and

good trade union is a dead one'. Today a series

And the rail unions have issued instructions to

coordinated strike action now, and in particular

honour dockers' pickets and seamen to black

cross-Channel shipping.

There were about 

gave them supplements. They said they were ex­

women, children cowering at the bus

stops, screaming. It sounded just like

somewhere safe to park. About 6 of these guys

We

told us that about

and a strong smell of

militants must call on the leaders of these unions to launch all-out

sections of worKers, especially

hate the prospect of such class struggle above

all else -- and are doing everything in their

power to sabotage it. Brighton reaffirmed the

dockers union! No more re­

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for

(continued from page 2)

Militant miners blockade colliery with crane and bulldozer.

Build picket lines, don't cross them! The British workers movement today sees a sharp polarisation between those who want to fight and those who believe that the trade union leaders etc are the only ones who can lead them. The Cold War defectors are prepared to see the unions crippled rather than fight. But

Blackpool and drawn in the blood of the NGA last December. Vicious scabbers like Eric Hamond of the KEPU spoke for the Tory front bench. Leader Neil Kinnock was the sil­

ence-baiting voice of Fleet Street. What was most notable was what was not said. Nobody ad­

Newcastle upon Tyne. 24 August.

General strike...

workers have already plunged the pound to

miners strikes have already plunged the pound to

16 per cent wage rise across the fields, but, as one miner said, they don't want to do that, they want to make a point, show the government their true colours. One miner announced 'They shall not pass' as he examined the barricades.

A lot of miners asked who we were, as I

have been working frantically to forestall

the threatened "big bang" of union struggle in

the country (see Guardian, 14

August). In Brighton he echoed Thatcher/ MacGregor yet again with its unspoken rubbish about miners' 'violence' being the 'pretest' for

stepped-up police repression. Several miners in the crowd certainly went out in defiance of the strike the Triple Alliance is the way to organ­

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First, the new Labour and

trade unions are beaten or fear to mobilise their

leadership would go for it because it would be

the way British trade unionism works', said the

despicable Kinnock of the prospect of a hot

anti-Soviet war drive. This

militant miners blockaded Markham with tractors, a crane and, for a time,

Solidarnosc,

party linked to full cost-of-living in-

of their scabherding misleaders ....

runaway down this road yesterday, laying into

women, children, an old guy going into his

house; women and children cowering at the bus

stop, screaming. It sounded just like North­

ern Ireland. They said the cops were

'foreigners', not the local ones, who keep well

out of it.

When we got back to the picket line there were about 40 people. Most people were going

in vans to Bentley pit, about 8 miles away. They'd heard that a scab was going to try to

get through, and that there were about

28.00 by

Scottish miners. 25 August.

The entrance to Markham was

4.30am. We drove down the road to find somewhere safe to park. About 6 of these guys

stopped on their way home and talked to us for a while. They said the cops had gone on the

rampage down this road yesterday, laying into

women, children, an old guy going into his

house; women and children cowering at the bus

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When we got back to the picket line there were about 40 people. Most people were going

in vans to Bentley pit, about 8 miles away. They'd heard that a scab was going to try to

get through, and that there were about 500

there. Apparently the guy who had scabbed at

Hatfield and was arrested in agin had apologised for the trouble he had caused.

The next morning the picket line to Bentley with us; they were unemployed, had been on various training schemes, etc. They supported the miners, said they were

fighting for all of us. Apparently there are a

lot of unemployed who support the picket line and many have been doing nothing but

standing behind it ... and a strong smell of

petrol. Someone told us that about 40 miners had got hold of a crane and worked on it dur­

ing the night. They were really proud of them­

selves. The back entrance was also well barri­
caded. They tried to pull a tree here, but I

don't think they managed it. Apparently it

would have been possible for a scab to get in across the fields, but, as one miner said, they
don't want to do that, they want to make a point, show the government their true colours. One miner announced 'They shall not pass' as he examined the barricades.

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and with good reason. The miners' heroic struggle has precipitated a fundamental social realignment in this society. A general strike would tap massive sentiments against the anti-Soviet war drive, was locked away in worthless talks with the Coal Board and the future of the British working class is at stake. The decisive battle in this months-long struggle is now shaping up to be a full-out conflict with the capitalist state.

The labour movement, necessarily extending to the trade union defence squads, must go all-out fighting for strike action alongside the miners in defiance of the TUC. It has threatened a deep split in the labour movement, necessarily extending to the Labour Party as well. It is only through a break with the Cold War strikebreakers at the head of the labour movement that it is possible to forge genuine unity in struggle among all layers of workers. And Scargill, despite his genuine desire to win, is threatened with the anti-Soviet war drive, was locked away in worthless talks with the Coal Board and the future of the British working class is at stake. The decisive battle in this months-long struggle is now shaping up to be a full-out conflict with the capitalist state.

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Even as Neil Kinnock was being booted by mili­
sants at the TUC, a SWP call goes: Scargill was disappointed by the election of a different leader of the Labour Party - was not the trajectory of the party which wins on this issue.

The future of the British working class is at stake. The decisive battle in this months-long struggle is now shaping up. There can be no retreat: it's either a 'big bang' hot autumn of militant class struggles or nuclear winter under Thatcher. What's needed today is a general strike to smash the Tony government's attacks and bring it down. That would open the road to the rapid construction of a revolutionary vanguard party which, splitting the working-class base of the Labour Party away from the servile pro-capitalist misleaders of the right and 'left', would lead the fight for a new kind of government to expropriate the capitalists and provide a future with jobs and decent living standards for all.

Q: Do you disagree with the tactics of Arthur Scargill?

Walesa: Go into the matter carefully and assess how much one can squeeze, but without destroying. It is forbidden that ambition take precedence over logic. Ambitions must be curbed. Trade union activists should look away their ambitions.

Q: Can you condemn the violent tactics being used?

Walesa: Yes! Yes! Listen, in this day and age nothing should be wrecked or burned down. Things should be re-shaped. The workers should fight, and with common sense, not with de­str­oy it. We must remember the body on which we're living.

Q: Certainly you have an opinion on Arthur Scargill, the president of the coal miners' union in Britain. It is suspected that he sees himself as Britain's Lech Walesa. Walesa: I admire him and respect him. But he must remember that I always take care of the body on which I live and I will always take care of it. But I know one more thing.

Q: I have much respect for Mrs Thatcher. I think that with such a wise and brave woman Britain will find a solution (to the strikes).

Walesa: We go into the matter carefully and assess how much one can squeeze, but without destroying. It is forbidden that ambition take precedence over logic. Ambitions must be curbed. Trade union activists should look away their ambitions.
Mossad and British commandos aid
Reagan flunky Jayewardene
Protest mass state terror
against Lankan Tamils

One year after last summer’s bloody pogroms against the Tamil national minority in Lanka, when hundreds of Tamils were burned or beaten to death and tens of thousands driven from their homes, government troops and police have launched a new campaign of mass terror against the civilian population of the Northern Province. The right-wing government of J R Jayewardene has enlisted the aid of the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, and British 'freecarriers', killer-elites SAS commandos, in his murderous drive against Tamil separatists. Jayewardene’s tactics now began to resemble those of his tutors, who regularly inflict mass armed terror against defenceless civilians in Northern Ireland and occupied Palestinian territory. And the racist South African apartheid regime, a part of the anti-Soviet US imperialist axis, has delivered arms and ammunition to J R’s army to use to murder Tamils. But all above. Yankee Dickie ‘Jayew’. Jayewardene is Reagan’s man in South Asia. J R’s drive to crush the Tamils is part and parcel of US imperialist ambitions to dock its nuclear submarine, destroyers and carriers at Trincomalee, in the heavily Tamil Eastern Province. The naval harbour is a key to US control of the Indian Ocean, for the arsenal of death aimed at the USSER and its allies.

The many hundreds killed in last year’s mass-scarcely were memorialised in late July 1982 in Wadur, a total stoppage by the Tamil workers federation to protest Jayewardene’s violence. This year’s May Day communist activities (mainly bank robberies and attacks on the police and Sinhalese army) as an excuse, armed patrol boats of the Sri Lankan navy bombed a coastal village in the North, Vavellitoral, on 8 August. Convoys of armoured vehicles and tanks destroyed the entire town of Mullaitivu, and rounded up hundreds of homes and shops were destroyed; thousands of villagers were forced to flee. Troops rounded up thousands of villagers and took them to detention camps. The entire province was on the verge of civil war. Another coastal village, government forces seized another 300 youths in a house-to-house roundup of suspected ‘Tigers’ (guerrilla fighters for an independent state of Tamil Kela).

On 12 August in Mannar, 50 miles south of Jaffna, virtually the entire town was burned to the ground by Sinhalese government troops. Hundreds of shops were destroyed; 5000 were left homeless. ‘It is like an army of invasion flat­tening everything in its path’, said Mannar’s Catholic bishop (New York Times, 14 August). Arrested youths suspected of Tiger sympathies have been found dead, their bodies mutilated by torture. Reportedly, innocent civilians have been massacred to vent the rage of the police and army at their inability to crush the Tamil rebels, who enjoy widespread support among the Tamil populace. Seeking to whitewash the Sinhalese communalists and provide a further pretext for outliving the Eelamist and leftist parties, Jayewardene absurdly accuses the leftist JVP of initiating the war and provoking the bloody pogrom.

The classic example of J R’s method of blaming the victims for their own massacre was the bombing of the Chunnakam police station on 11 August, where some 22 ‘suspected Tamil terrorist’ were bound and gagged, imprisoned in an overcrowded police station bodgedrappled with explosives set up to detonate when a mine was attempted. There is also pervasive suspicion abroad as to who was behind the bombing. No innocent bystanders at the Nadara airport on 7 August, an act clearly aimed at discrediting support for Tamil rights among Indians and denounced by Tamil separatist groups (Guardian, 6 August).

Agitation is widespread among Tamils in India on behalf of the Lankan Tamils. In Madras on 12 August, a thousand protesters stoned the US consulate, denouncing American backing for Jayewardene’s bloody pogroms. On 15 August, the day Indians celebrate their independence from the British, some 5000 demonstrators were arrested in Tamil Nadu after a demonstration of solidarity with victims of the aggression in Sri Lanka. While protesters denounced the Indian government’s ‘attitude of indifference’ to the plight of the Tamils in Lanka, Indira Gandhi — called for national unity ‘against forces of division encouraged by foreign elements or the government’s “attitude of indifference”’ in the name of ‘fighting the right’. To form its ‘popular-front’ edition with the SLFP, the ‘United Left Front’, the left dumped its longstanding position favouring equal status for both Ceylon’s vernacular languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, and came out for the main SLFP slogan of chauvinism, ‘Sinhala only’. The political and cultural war of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie against its own people has been reflected within the union movement. In the mid-1950s the Tamil workers federation, Mukti Bahini, has nurtured the radical-nationalist Bangladeshhi Mukti Bahini, of Indian religious and ethnic minorities from Amritsar to Andhra Pradesh, will not isolate the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Under the motto ‘divide and rule’, bloodshed and violence have been fostered through centuries of colonial domination, and today are nurtured by capitalism in its death agony. Only proletarian revolution, on the island and throughout the Indian subcontinent, can crush capitalist terror and ensure Tamil national rights.

Our international tendency is known on the island and abroad as a moderate defender of Tamil rights, including the right to Tamil self-determination, the right to Tamil Eelam. However, our struggles in Indira Gandhi, butcher of Sikhs and Muki Bahini! has elicited opposition from the Tamil exile community, along with attempts to exclude our tendency. This reflects growing political polarisations within the social body. Jayewardene’s bourgeois forces seeking recognisability and accommodation with the imperialist and Indian bourgeoisies while more militant sectors see themselves fighting for a socialist Eelam, and both wings have developed their own strategies.

The reformist Sinhalese ‘left’, cowering in the face of J R’s bisonapartism, looks toward new popular-front coalitions. They criminally refuse to support the unconditional struggle for Tamil self-determination. Of course they bemoan the bloodshed and claim to support concessions to the oppressed Tamil people, ‘but not if it means splitting the country’. Indeed they are tied intimately to a policy of prevarication and chauvinism. In the mid-1950s the Ceylonean left abandoned the Tamil people by forming a bloc with the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), in the name of ‘fighting the right’. To form its ‘popular-front’ edition with the SLFP, the ‘United Left Front’, the left dumped its longstanding position favouring equal status for both Ceylon’s vernacular languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, and came out for the main SLFP slogan of chauvinism, ‘Sinhala only’. The political and cultural war of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie against its own people has been reflected within the union movement. In the mid-1950s the Tamil workers federation, Mukti Bahini, has nurtured the radical-nationalist Bangladeshhi Mukti Bahini, of Indian religious and ethnic minorities from Amritsar to Andhra Pradesh, will not isolate the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Under the motto ‘divide and rule’, bloodshed and violence have been fostered through centuries of colonial domination, and today are nurtured by capitalism in its death agony. Only proletarian revolution, on the island and throughout the Indian subcontinent, can crush capitalist terror and ensure Tamil national rights.

In 1971 an inscriptionary­ary army of young Sinhalese, the JVP, ign­ited the countryside and crushed. The drowning of the Tamil people’s youth in blood was a national catastrophe and bloody pogroms were built on the under state of emerg­ency regulations most of the time thereafter. In the 1977 elections the SLFP was routed by Jayewardene’s United National Party (UNP) so decisively that the main opposition in Parliament had to be the UNP or the left parties, but the Tamil MPs. Meanwhile, in response to growing sentiment among Tamils in [continued on page 9]
Comrades, I bring you greetings from the internationalist tendency. As revolutionaries, we insist that the future liberation of the oppressed Kurdish masses lies in the victorious struggle of the world working-class and the social liberation hand in hand with the struggle of the Kurdish masses to liberate themselves. Here, and taken altogether, constituting the true Leninist communist international revolutionary alliance, we offer our opinions, based on the lessons of history, particularly the verification in struggle of comrade Lenin, who led the revolutionary party of the Bolsheviks, to achieve independence under capitalism.

Kurdish self-determination under capitalism.

The solution to the oppression of the Kurdish masses is the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes. The proletarian revolution is in reality an end product of multiple battles, movements and campaigns. We understand that the struggle for a United Socialist Republic of Kurdistan will be shaped by and in turn shape the future of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole region. In the epoch of imperialism's decline, democratic rights and principles can be fully realised only by the revolutionary international proletariat. There are numerous oppressed peoples which lack a strong working class component. While there are many Kurdish workers, most are working outside the geographical regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity. That the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora naturally and inevitably complicates your political tasks, but it is a problem which we have faced. Indeed it was the struggle of the Bolshevik party for the right of self-determination for even the most underdeveloped of the oppressed nationalities in the Tsar's prison house of nations which facilitated the conquest of power by the proletariat in Russia. Conversely, inspired by the workers taking power in Petrograd and Moscow and aided by the detachments of Trotsky's Red Army, the oppressed nationalities of what is now Soviet Central Asia and Outer Mongolia found the path to their own liberation from the yoke of national and feudal oppression, especially through the instrumentality of the organised women and youth. Today, many Kurds look to the Soviet Union where their brothers and sisters exercised their democratic national rights and enjoy the benefits of 20th century science and technology and of education.

Comrades, history teaches us that without the social force of the proletariat, and without a Leninist party to organise that power and act as a tribune of the people, the heroic struggles of the oppressed peoples will have been mired in defeat. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletarians, who in turn must be made to become partners in the active organized struggle of the Kurdish right of self-determination against local feudal/chauvinist authorities of their own bourgeoisie. The Bolshevists led the Russian labouring masses to realise that they could never move forward by absolute struggle against Great Russian chauvinism. Such a revolutionary party must solidify and turn the Muslim, Persian and Kurdish proletariat into a single fighting mass. We know that counted amongst those revolutionary fighters will be the Kurdish woman. The slavish veil of Islam, when her consciousness is awakened she will become amongst the best fighters for the idea of revolution and the ideas of communism.

The Kurdish people seek desperately to break out of the quagmire of national oppression and chauvinism. In the squad leaders and workers who have been mired in defeat. The Kurdish masses have no interest in the victory of either side. We said: turn this reactionary, nationalistic war into a war of liberation against the landlords and colonists. To the Kurdish people. We turned the slogan of both the Ba'thists and the Iranian Shah and his reactionary bodies like the Ba'thist and Iranian Shah's Iranian Revolutionary Guards, we pointed out that the Iraqi-Iran war offers them a unique opportunity to carve out a nation-state, the best since the short-lived 'Kurdish Republic' of Mahabad in 1944. Comrades, we must learn from the struggles of other oppressed nationalities. In the northern tier of the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans -- itself a historic cauldron of national hatreds like the Near East -- enjoyed a truly Serbian and Montenegrin Communist Party, led by the crook Tito, managed to cohere the workers state, albeit depressed. In the Middle East, we see the same. In contrast, Lebanon is the supreme example of the inability of the capitalist and property-owning classes to arrive at anything tending toward the satisfaction of the masses. The Palestinians can expect nothing from the Arab bourgeoisies, who once again revealed their total and craven subordination to the designs of the bloodthirsty imperialist powers, especially the US which sought to install itself in the Lebanon as a jumping off point for its anti-Soviet campaign. The present Zionist state must be destroyed and replaced by working class communist power based on the Arab and Hebrew-speaking workers, the latter representing an extremely valuable cultural and technical resource in the context of building the socialist state. The present Zionist state, which remains of the October Revolution -- state ownership of the means of production, monoply of foreign trade and the planned economy. We are for the unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist and imperialist internal and external attempts at capitalist restoration.

Comrades, it was the great historic example of the Russian Revolution which showed that in the epoch of imperialism's decline, democratic rights and principles can be fully realised only by the revolutionary international proletariat. There are numerous oppressed peoples which lack a strong working class component. While there are many Kurdish workers, most are working outside the geographical regions with a predominantly Kurdish national identity. That the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora naturally and inevitably complicates your political tasks, but it is a problem which we have faced. Indeed it was the struggle of the Bolshevists for the right of self-determination for even the most underdeveloped of the oppressed nationalities in the Tsar's prison house of nations which facilitated the conquest of power by the proletariat in Russia. Conversely, inspired by the workers taking power in Petrograd and Moscow and aided by the detachments of Trotsky's Red Army, the oppressed nationalities of what is now Soviet Central Asia and Outer Mongolia found the path to their own liberation from the yoke of national and feudal oppression, especially through the instrumentality of the organised women and youth. Today, many Kurds look to the Soviet Union where their brothers and sisters exercise their democratic national rights and enjoy the benefits of 20th century science and technology and of education.

The solution to the oppression of the Kurdish masses can only be region-wide, involving the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes. The proletarian revolution is in reality an end product of multiple battles, movements and campaigns. We understand that the struggle for a United Socialist Republic of Kurdistan will be shaped by and in turn shape the future of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole region toward a socialist Federation of the Near East. Our model is Lenin's Russia of 1917-1924 where the Bolshevists offered the national minorities the option and the advantages of association with the Soviet Federation. For our part, we are dedicated to the forging of the internationalist party of worldwide proletarian revolution and speak to you in the understanding that the future of humanity depends on its construction.

Thank you, comrades!

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Make payable/post to: Spartacist Publications, PO Box 185, London WC1R 9JE
Workers Hammer...

(Continued from page 1)

reached significantly broader layers of the working class than ever before.

We have chosen the name Workers Hammer in recognition of our tasks in fighting to be the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party. Our hammer is an instrument for change; for rehashing and constructing through force of human action. The worker's hammer was joined with the peasant's scythe as the symbol of the Russian revolution... The recognition of our tasks in fighting to be the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party... does not adequately reflect the fighting history of the British working class or our goal of forging communist leadership for this class.

This country is in a period of deep-going class struggle, and we want our press to be expressively and obviously a champion of the proletariat. We want it to be bold, uncompromisingly Soviet-defenestrated in the face of the imperialist war drive, forthrightly against the anodyne English establishment. We see the failure of the Labour Party, and sharply contrasted to the prevailing, narrow, parochial Labourite mush of the Left.

What we did not want in our choice of name was the pedestal. Look-and-sound alike quality of most British left papers, a reflection of opportunist politics and appetites. We stand in the tradition of an organisation that grew out of early Trotskyists, of the World War I German revolutionary internationalist Spartakusbund (Spartacists), of the Russian republics. Mr. Trotsky's name proudly takes its name, and we draw inspiration as well from great revolutionary currents on this island, from Cromwell to the Chartists to John Maclean. It was Maclean, leader of the Clydesdale proletariats in its historic revolutionary battles during and following World War I, who summed up the aims which the Spartacist League and our Workers Hammer uphold today. We witness today what all Marxists expected, the capitalist class of the world and their Governments joined together in a most vigorously active attempt to crush Bolshevism in Russia and Spartacism in Germany. Bolshevism, by the way, is Socialism triumphant, and Spartacism is Socialism in process of achieving triumph. This is the class war on an international basis, a Class War that must and will be fought out to the logical conclusion — the extinction of capitalism everywhere.

(The Call, 13 January 1919)
In the course of the crucial class battles now taking place, many striking miners and other working-class militants have started reading our press for the first time. Unlike our competitors, we do not offer apologies for the betrayals of the Labour/TUC tops, nor the defeatist ballot-mongering of the next step program. The strategy of the Socialistic Worker. Instead, a revolutionary strategy for victory — hard analysis of the tasks and dangers facing the working class in this period of Cold War, and merciless exposé of those who betray the struggles of the workers.

When the dockers struck in July, we issued our second special strike supplement calling for a revived Triple Alliance to shut down the country. Our press and supporters have played a crucial role in the successful strike of scab coal in British Leyland to the miners in the wider labour movement. Early on we exposed Thatcher's war crimes in the Belgrano buchery, and pointed to the apx role of Reagan's KAL 007 provocation right from the start. Internationally, we have provided exemplary coverage of the Arizona copper miners strike, exposure of and agitation against the brutal massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka, and the only communist analysis of the situation facing the Sikhs and other national minorities under Indira Gandhi's terror in India.

Now, in order to expand our readership in the coalfields and among a wider working-class audience, we have embarked on a subscription drive for the new Workers Hammer (formerly Spartan), Britain's only Marxist newspaper! Subscribe to Workers hammer, Britain's only Marxist newspaper! Subscribe to Workers Vanguard and Women & Revolution! On two miners’ demonstrations in Scotland the weekend of 25-26 August, at Dalkeith and Cumnock, our comrades sold a total of 258 papers and 9 subscriptions. In Wales, at Brecon on 25 August, 160 papers were sold, and 10 subscriptions. And on the first day of the TUC at Brighton, we sold 128 papers and 15 subs to the 5000 miners and trade unionists assembled there. At the 11 August women’s support march in London, before we began our subscription drive, we sold nearly 200 copies of Women & Revolution, the only communist women’s journal. Become regular readers of the revolutionary papers! Subscribe to Workers Hammer, Britain’s only Marxist newspaper! Subscribe to Workers Vanguard and Women & Revolution! Read the press that fights for the working people!

The paper that fights for the working people.
**Bloody Sunday**

(Continued from page 3)

the Six Counties with the clerical southern Republic. This schema dovetails with the favourite Bolshevik vision of revolution in sections of the British and American working class, which 'will raise an armed rising to re-establish the orderly, neutralised, racially 'neutral'). But there can be no just capitalist solution to the intertwined national and social problems of Ireland. Revolutionary solutions demand the immediate and unconditional end to all forms of Catholic special oppression, tying this to a programme for combat all forms of grievances and oppression in Ireland. Republican. This schema dovetails with the favourite commemoration march, tried to stage an anti- British, American capitalist classes, who would like to do for the British working class but also both Britain and Ireland. To achieve this, one must direct such common class struggle to victory. When the Green nationalism of Sinn Fein, which leads to sectarian terror against Protestants like Downies and the British, is abandoned in itself and serves only to drive Protestant workers into the arms of their worst enemies, the Palesyans and the British imperialists. A Trotskyist party would fight for the smashing of the sectarian racket of the RUC, for enlightened workers militates to combat imperialist rampages and sectarian terror from both communities, and counterpose to the Green nationalist call for forced reunification of the Irish for an Irish state of the fascist variety. The bureaucratic norms upheld for three army Land Rovers in the destruction of Downes had been murdered.

**US SWP: An Obituary**

We reprint below the Introduction to 'The Socialist Workers Party: An Obituary', a pamphlet recently produced by our comrades in the United States. The US SWP, having reached a point where an interest in developments within the United States is crucially important for its revolutionary program, has published an SWP statement 'Rescind the Suspensions!', reproduced 'The Spartacist', which goes back to the 'old days' before Barnes. This is an important moment of the US SWP US SWP is associated, should particularly find this pamphlet necessary reading.
Thatcher: war criminal
Belgrano butcher

Revive the 'Falklands spirit' screams Thatcher as she spews out her tirades against the miners. In July and again in August Thatcher threatened a state of emergency and the use of troops. And for Thatcher evoking the threat of the troops is not just necessity of the hour, she really gets off on the military, from celebrating with SAS killers after the Libyan ex­

vasion to riding tanks on NATO exercises in Germany.

Now recent revelations have documented the Thatcher government's cold-blooded criminal ex­

ecution of the Argentine sailors aboard the Belgrano. But last spring, when the entire es­

establishment was trying to come up with a new Tom Dailly's investigation into these certi­

fied events, the right had this to say:

Workers Vanguard article of April 27, entitled 'Hang Margaret Thatcher', began:

'Margaret Thatcher, the nastiest thing to hit EEurope since Hitler, appears to be an outright war criminal. During the Falkland Islands war the UK government took no clear legal distinction between two crossed reactionary regimes. Thatcher's British Tories and the Argentine military and police--who secretely collaborated and committed atrocities was the gratuitous sinking of the ancient cruiser General Belgrano (formerly USS New York) by the British Conqueror located the Belgrano about 25 miles outside the 200-mile 'war zone' declared by London. Disregarding this fact, the British launched two long-range torpedoes. Within hours the secondary effects of the attack had done their work. Over 300 sailors were killed. The British naval officers, who carefully cultiv­

ated respect for 'fair play', made no effort at all to rescue the survivors

years leading up to the Revolution of 1905. It was under these conditions that Lenin wrote 'What Is To Be Done?', the classic statement of the need for a centralised proletarian party to direct the oppressed and exploited peoples' struggle against a single, the overthrow of the autocracy. In describing the state of the Russian opposition Lenin used a metaphor about building a structure with bricks: 'Are we not now passing through precisely such a period in our Party life when we have bricks and bricklayers, but lack the guide line for all to see and understand in practice?'. Lenin added that the party must exist in ample supply the raw material of universal discontent and constant struggles by the oppressed, the fight for freedom is a central direct­

ing force to overthrow the apathetic system, the basis of South African capitalism.

As in the struggle against Russian tsarism so in South Africa the struggle against apartheid can be described as 'the programme of permanent revolution: proletarian leadership over all the oppressed in the struggle for mass action and national emancipation. The 22 million black workers, held in bondage as an internal colony, are joining the outcry. But they're upset about Thatcher lying to parliament, not that she mur­

dered 300 Argentine sailors. Of course when push comes to shove, the Labour Party leaders no less than the Tories will sanction any bloody act if it serves the interests of British capi­

tal, from concentration camps in the Boer war, to the banning of the same name, to installing UDI, terror bombing of German civilian centres, to army terror in Ireland.

And whereas arch anti-communist Cold War spy­

master George Wright can 'look' whatever he chooses in the name of a crusade for a more rightist, more 'revolutionary' Africa the struggle against apartheid to the cause of the Defence Ministry official who is accused of leaking the Belgrano documents, serves the same draconian punishment meted out to Sarah Tisdale.

We demand all charges be dropped against Ponting, who only notes that the Belgrano war plan is like Eden, she stands indicted as a war criminal, like the Nazis condemned at the end of World War II. The principle of this reactionary ruling class will go to protect its interests. Only workers revolution will put a stop to such atrocities and their capitalist perpetrators.

Sharpville...

(Continued from page 12)
past several years the ANC has concentrated on furing commando raids against South African military and police installations. In recent months these actions have been crippled by a deal between the weak nationalist regime in South Africa and the ANC to begin negotiations, operations, and South African imperialism.

Extending the ANC's drive of evicting the class struggle against black-centred capitalism, the apartheid state, the capitalist state of the white minority, now has been extended to the South African army's ravaging of Angola, whose hard-won independence is being threatened by 20,000 Cubans backed by Soviet arms. We call for international labour action to support black unions in South Africa. And at this point we urgently call for blacking all charge to and from South Africa as an elemental act of solidarity with the black and coloured masses fighting apartheid terror. At a protest against the recent massacre outside South Africa House in London on 7 August, the Socialist League carried a banner reading, 'Black workers are revolutionary powerhouse! Smash Apartheid! For workers revolution! Smash Reagan/Thatcher/Botha racist anti-Soviet war axis!'

For a black-centred workers and peasants government!

Since the 1973 Durban mass strike, a black trade-union movement has developed in South Africa opposing the White regime. In terms of the shift in industrial belt. However, this newly formed workers movement lacks overall political direc­

tion and has not the ability to continue with the anti-apartheid struggles of the 1950s and earlier. The black unions are fragmented, focal­

ised and to some degree bent by tribalist dis­

visions. Without the leadership of a revolutionary left which has the same militant defence of its members' economic interests and support to one or another wing of the nationalist/reactionist opposition.

In a number of important respects South Africa today resembles tsarist Russia in the

thunderousness of the people, thus the 'growing' of South Africa's Black proletariat the power to liberate not only their own deeply oppressed people but all of black Africa whose social and economic development is shackled by imperialist subjugation.■
Avenge apartheid terror! For workers revolution!

Sharpeville erupts

Black South Africa exploded in anger the first week of September. Sparked by rent increases and the inauguration of a new constitution designed to strengthen the apartheid state, revolt broke out in Sharpeville and quickly spread across the country to black townships as far away as Grahamstown. When peaceful protesters were met by the savage police attacks, the blacks fought back. Government offices, beer halls, petrol stations, even a police barracks were levelled by firebombs. The streets were littered with bodies. In a single day, as many as 180 people were killed, particularly at the black townships appointed by the racist rulers to keep them down. After he fired on the peaceful demonstrators, the police of Sharpeville was hacked to death and his body burned in front of his own home. Reportedly five other black township councillors got theirs. Factories, mines and businesses in the heavily industrialised area were closed as a result of the explosion in the black townships.

The white supremacist bosses sense that they are in trouble. In the 1976 Soweto rebellion they relied on the police and paramilitary forces to terrorise student demonstrators; this time they immediately backed them up with army detachments. On the very day bands were playing in the streets the new president under the new constitution, rifles and tear gas shells were blasting in Sharpeville, Soweto and around. According to the death toll had climbed to 38 by the week's end. The actual number killed is doubtless far higher. The white supremacist bosses sense that they are in trouble. In the 1976 Soweto rebellion they relied on the police and paramilitary forces to terrorise student demonstrators; this time they immediately backed them up with army detachments. On the very day bands were playing in the streets the new president under the new constitution, rifles and tear gas shells were blasting in Sharpeville, Soweto and around. According to the death toll had climbed to 38 by the week's end. The actual number killed is doubtless far higher.

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The burning need is for a centralised leadership with a programme to win, a revolutionary vanguard party rooted in the cogitative black proletariat which can make into one the many-sided struggle against apartheid, against rent hikes and starvation wages, against jailings, detention and torture, against the pass laws and all racist laws. Under the conditions of South Africa today such a vanguard party must be built as Lenin built the Bolsheviks. That is, it must be based on an underground network and have an important exile component to preserve its cadre, while also utilising every avenue for legal work (eg the trade unions). The white supremacist bosses sense that they are in trouble. In the 1976 Soweto rebellion they relied on the police and paramilitary forces to terrorise student demonstrators; this time they immediately backed them up with army detachments. On the very day bands were playing in the streets the new president under the new constitution, rifles and tear gas shells were blasting in Sharpeville, Soweto and around. According to the death toll had climbed to 38 by the week's end. The actual number killed is doubtless far higher.

The main forces behind the UDF are the nationalist African National Congress (ANC) and its longtime bloc partner, the Stalinist South African Communist Party. Historically the main organisation of black resistance to apartheid, the ANC retains great moral authority among the toiling masses. Its leader Nelson Mandela, who has been imprisoned for 20 years (most of it on the notorious Robben Island), is unquestionably the most revered black man in South Africa. However, the ANC's organisational influence over the rising wave of black struggles in the past decade, especially the burgeoning workers movement, has been limited. For the continued on page 11.