Dump the Labour sellouts! No coalition!

For workers action committees to stop the pit closures and to run the country!

Hundreds of thousands of workers took to the streets in two massive demonstrations in London late last month. Coming in the context of two years of an economic depression, the announced pit closures unleashed massive popular outrage. But the marches “for the miners” were taken as a pressure tactic, a diversion from the necessary class-struggle actions that would pose concretely the possibility of a proletarian solution to the crisis of decept British capitalism.

NUM leader Arthur Scargill has become a key player in a cross-class coalition aimed at defusing workers’ anger and pressurising the Major government. At the 25 October rally initiated by the TUC, Scargill shared a platform not only with the Labour Party and TUC tops who knifed the heroic miners strike eight years ago, but with the open class enemy: Liberation Party and Paddy Ashdown and a representative of the bosses’ Confeder­ation of British Industry (CBI). Dropping any serious talk of strike action, Scargill and the NUM tops today compete with the scab UDM and the union-busting capitalist courts to keep the mines open. Meanwhile coal-faces at the threatened pits are already being sealed up, while miners are being driven into total demoralisation.

Echoing Scargill’s no-strike line is “left” Yorkshire NUM gadfly Dave Douglass, who pontificates against those who call for industrial action in the pages of the “Leninist” organisation’s Daily Worker. Meanwhile, in a pathetic apology for class collaboration, the “Leninists”, now calling themselves the Communist Party of Great Britain (Provisional Cen­tral Committee), defend the refusal of the NUM’s special delegate conference to ballot for all-out strike action, and claim in that “miners and their supporters should reject those calling for an instant pit strike since it is not in the interest of all the miners.”

But at the recent TUC rally Scargill embraced the anti-communism of his new blue partners, comparing opposition to the Major government to the counter­revolutionary overthrow of Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: “If people power can bring down governments in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the former Soviet Union, it can turn back a government who’s lost all credibility here in Britain.”

The massive industrial devastation here is not the result of a “mistaken policy” but reflects the iron logic of decaying capitalism. Economic depressions and the consequent immobilisation of the working people are inevitable under the system of production for private profit, as Karl Marx emphasised. While the government fiddles unemployment figures, the real level of joblessness already exceeds four million. Ford has announced compulsory redundancies and 40 per cent pay cuts! Medical and ambulance services continue to crumble. And Major’s “new look” economic policy means substantial cuts in real wages and jobs for five million public sector workers. London transport and rail workers must answer the government’s union-busting attacks with militant, mass strike action (see article p9).

Meanwhile Major continues to hang on to the doomed, reactionary Maastricht Treaty (which is also supported by the Labour Party tops). The shattering of the European Monetary System signifies a sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries within Europe and at the same time the breakdown of the GATT talks now threatens trade war. Overextended by the costs of its counterrevolutionary swallow­ing up of the DDR and its imperialist appetites to the East, the dominant Ger­man bourgeoisie pulled the plug on its capitalist “allies” in the West. Now the capitalist thieves are falling out with each other, while simultaneously tightening the screws on the working masses. The Euro­pean workers are in a race against time. Economic conditions and official govern­ment policy are pushing towards class battles in which the labour movement must mobilise its strength or face sharp cuts in its living standards. But the biggest obstacle to workers struggles are the reformist leaderships of the mass workers parties and unions. A genuinely communist leadership must be forged on a revolutionary programme.

We reprint below a Spartacist League leaflet dated 21 October, which was dis­tributed in thousands to miners, other workers, women and youth protesting the pit closures.

Fight or starve: that is the message from the one-sided class war being waged by the British ruling class now. With the announcement of the closure of 31 pits and the throwing of over 30,000 miners onto the scrap heap, the bosses have hurled down the gauntlet to all of the working people. This is a political on­slaught which must be fought down the line by the trade unions and their allies.

What is urgently called for is the mobilisation of the power of the organ­ised working class—the miners along with workers in strategic industries such as rail, transport and power—to throw the gauntlet back in the face of the profit-gouging bosses, their politicians and Labourite trade union lackeys. For all-out strike action now!

And now the ruling class is running scared of genuine class struggle. Every effort is being made by Labour and its hangers-on to turn the popular outrage continued on page 8
**The defence of the DDR was no crime, its sellout was Trotskyists say: Freedom for Erich Honecker!**

We print below the text of the press release produced by our comrades of the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SpAD) calling for a demonstration in Berlin on 12 November at the criminal court where Erich Honecker's trial is taking place. The demonstration demanded: Freedom for Honecker! Freedom for all representatives of the former DDR! That protest received widespread international coverage from Japanese, American and Italian television, the BBC, and Stockholm Press and some ten interviews were given to German and other TV journalists. Earlier, on 7 November our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) participated in a demonstration in Honecker's defence initiated by "Comite Erich Honecker" in Paris. These actions follow earlier united-front protests called by the Spartacist League in London and the SpAD in Berlin at the time of Honecker's seizure and deportation to Germany.

On 12 November the vengeful anti-communist trial of the Fourth Reich against the former DDR head of state Erich Honecker will begin. Nazi pogroms in Rostock, the planned mass deportation of the Roma and anti-communist show trials in Berlin are the dirty face of capitalist counterrevolution, which Kohl and Egonhahn want to whitewash with their big rally on 8 November. The Honecker Trial is the high point of the SPD-led witch hunt, which is directed against everything recalling the victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany and the deformed workers state DDR which arose from it. For the "crime" of having defended the DDR, Honecker has now been thrown into Moabit prison by the SPD justice senator Jutta Limbach, the prison where the anti-fascist resistance fighter had already been locked up by the Gestapo. The decision of the Berlin-Tiergarten criminal court to begin the trial against Honecker is already a death sentence for the seriously ill 80-year-old man. The Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands (SpAD) together with the Komitee für soziale Verteidigung (KfSV) is calling a protest rally on 12 November at 8.30am before the criminal court in Tiergarten, Turmstrasse 91. We demand: Freedom for Honecker! Freedom for all representatives of the former DDR! We, who have fought on every front against the capitalist reunification, also demand: Freedom for Erich Mielke! As if to prove its continuity once more, the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz is dragging into court the former DDR security chief on the basis of charges stemming from the Third Reich. Hands off Markus Wolf! He is charged with "treason" because as head spy of the DDR he allegedly fought against NATO/West German imperialism. Stop the legal proceedings against the border troopers! They are being persecuted because they defended their workers state on the front lines. The decision of the German high court that the DDR border law was "unconstitutional" is paving the way for mass trials. Freedom for the anti-fascist hero Gerhard Bueglein! He was sentenced to life imprisonment in the SPD stronghold of Hamburg several months ago because he deserted to the Red Army, fought the fascists and is supposed to have killed a Nazi war judge who had the blood of over 100 Soviet partisans and Wehrmacht soldiers on his hands.

The purpose of the witch hunt is to intimidate the workers and to strangle their resistance to the consequences of capitalist reunification—to mass unemployment and racist terror. To this end, thousands of teachers, scientists and doctors were fired, throughout the civil service a witch hunt was set in motion and the PDS is being systematically persecuted through expropriation of its property and through anti-Stasi hysteresia, even though the PDS leadership at all levels is going along. The revolutionary working class in power would have its own score to settle with the Stalinists for their crimes against the working class, including the sell-out of the DDR. But this is not the business of the bourgeoisie and its socialist-democratic henchmen. Honecker's extradition by Boris Yeltsin was a blood sacrifice from the side of those who have landed the former USSR in mass misery, anti-Semitic pogroms and bloody nationalist civil wars, in order to open up the remains of the USSR to being pillaged by the Deutsche Bank. We Trotskyists called for a proletarian political revolution in order to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy and struggled against the capitalist counterrevolution from Rostock to Moscow. We demand: Stop the anti-communist witch hunt!

**Leon Trotsky on the Popular Front**

In July 1936, as the Civil War raged in Spain, Leon Trotsky polemically attacked the treachery of the Spanish Communist and Socialist Parties as well as the centrist POU that had entered the Popular Front government of Asaia & Co. Tying the revolutionary Spanish proletariat to the "shadow of the bourgeoisie", the Popular Front disarmed the workers and peasants, paving the way for Franco's victory. The lessons of Spain are especially relevant today as the workers and peasants, not least those who falsely claim the mantle of Trotskyism, in Ireland, Britain and throughout Europe are set to repeat again the betrayal of the class struggle in the service of "unity" with the "democratic" bourgeoisie.

The workers' party that enters into a political alliance with the radical bourgeoisie by that fact alone renounces the struggle against capitalist militarism... The political alliance of workers and peasants must be created against the bourgeoisie, including the Stalinist bureaucracy and struggled with the bourgeoisie, including the Radicals. One must have confidence in the strength, initiative, and courage of the proletariat, and the proletariat will know how to bring the soldier over to its side. This will be a genuine and not a fake alliance of workers, peasants, and soldiers. This very alliance is being created and tempered right now in the fire of civil war in Spain. The victory of the people means the end of the Popular Front and the beginning of Soviet Spain.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Lesson of Spain", The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)
Austria. In late July the LRCI's Austrian group ArbeiterInnen-standpunkt participated at a joint rally with Milatovic & Co. The Austrian Workers Power group, in their own words, were "warned by all possible sides not to go into a united front with 'such reactionary Serb nationalists'" (ArbeiterInnen-standpunkt, September 1992). The AST goes on to recount that: "Austrian Workers Power complains that "the whole left" refused to participate in this circus of reaction! 'Why? The wretched pretext they offered was that the demonstration was supported by Draskovic-ite 'Serb National Rebirth', a nationalist grouping. Without their participation, of course, few or no Serbs would have marched with us.' And a damn sight fewer Croats might have been out on the streets chasing unprincipled and criminally idiotic fascists into pastry shops as well, Workers Power's article admits that "a group of Chetnik fascists physically attacked a Serbian AST comrade" and goes on:

"In that situation the 'moderate' nationalists of the Serbian Rebirth, failed to actively join in our defence or kick the Chetnik scum off the demonstration. Indeed, they even gave the microphone to a Chetnik speaker to 'run the demonstration into a reactionary nationalistic event!'" (emphasis ours)

A "reactionary nationalist event" indeed—an event initiated by the AST jointly with monarchists and pursued until the monarchists' fascist Chetnik buddies dragged them off! And Workers Power is quite clear that it is not interested in what it calls "nonsense about 'principle'": "They are, there are no Serbian workers' organisations or leaders in Vienna, independent of one or another type of nationalist. If there were, we would happily organise a demonstration with them."

As for Draskovic's "anti-imperialism", he has come out as a more extreme anti-communist than Milojevic—whatever cause Workers Power—advancing with its "temporary alliances" it certainly isn't communism.

Nationalism has been the spearhead of capitalist counterrevolution which has performed the larger multi-national Yugoslav workers state into a fratricidal bloodbath. That state, bureaucratically deformed as it was from its inception, was built after Tito's partisans defeated not only the Nazis and their Croatian Ustash allies but also the Serbian monarchists, the Chetniks. Tito's partisans defeated not only the Nazis and their Croatian Ustasha allies but also the Serbian monarchists, the Chetniks. Tito shor Chetniks and Ustasha. In the genocidal slaughter of World War II, workers and peasants came to know that they were safe when the partisans with the red stars in their caps arrived in town. Even given our fundamental differences with the continued on page 8
The following is adapted from an ICL leaflet distributed at a 23 October meeting in London featuring USec leader Emil Mandel.

On 23 October Ernesto Mandel, leader of the International Communist League (Fourth International) (USec), is scheduled to speak at a national rally of the Socialist Outlook group in Britain. The talk was initially titled, "75 Years of the Russian Revolution: In Defence of October!" Those who know the track record of the USec would find that pretty rich. In every key event in which defence of the gains of the 1917 Russian revolution has been posed, from Afghanistan and Poland at the beginning of the '80s to Yeltsin's August 1991 pro-capitalist coup in Moscow, Mandel's outfit has been on the anti-Soviet side of the barricades. Now that imperialism and counterrevolution are reigning triumphant in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, it's cheap to come out in "defence of October!" But maybe not cheap enough days before the event, the title was abruptly switched to the innocuous "Tories in Crisis - European Capitalism in Crisis".

When the USec joined the imperialist hue and cry over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, we warned that these inveterate tailists, after decades of chary every manner of popular front, were well on their way to becoming a hollow Cold War social democrats. In the spirit of the Reaganite '80s they not only declared "solidarity" with the Afghan resistance but began running articles saluting Nazi collaborators like the Estonian "Forest Brothers" as "Landonian fighters" in the "struggle against Stalinism". A whole faction of the USec openly hailed the imperialist "release of the East German defected workers state." And now they are falling into lockstep with the German-orchestrated break-up of the Yugoslav deformed workers state. Erzilaht "red '68er" Alain Krivine, star of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LTC), now signed an appeal calling on the imperialist Common Market "Europe of Twelve" to "act collectively against Yugoslavia (Le Monde, 26 August).

Politically the USec has nothing in common with Trotsky's Fourth International, and it's hardly Unity among any of the ICL at all. Wherever it has supporters they are divided into publicly competing groups, submerged in reformist parties, and/or ridden with multiple permanent factions. For a whole layer of USec cadres and ranks, the rank of social democracy has become the face. This is epitomised by Matti, leader of the faction which called itself the "opposition to imperialist counterrevolution" in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. For years some Matti attempted to give an "orthodox" veneer to his rightist politics by calling for building the "International", in opposition to Mandelite liquidationism. But the "International" he was referring to was the "Second", not the "Fourth". Now Matti has taken this to its logical conclusion and launched a break from the ICL and Mitterrand's Socialist Party.

At the same time, the manifest bankruptcies in the face of counterStalinism has also produced leftward-moving oppositions for the first time in the history of the ICL and the Fourth Internationalists. The JCR, the heterogeneous and increasingly dissident youth group of the French LCR, is an influential part of the JCR leadership these days, a lot with Matti. But in the face of the counterrevolutionary tide sweeping Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, together with the imperialist slaughter in the Persian Gulf, many of these youths have been propelled into leftist opposition. Their leadership, notably the JCR's principal spokesman Damien Elliott, seeks to keep them chained to the USec as a loyal (kept) opposition. But the collapse of Stalinism and the evident crisis of the USec and the rest of the fake lefts has compelled them to address and confront the authentic Trotskyism of the instances, of a "united front" with the Thermidorian section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counterrevolution! But for all his alleged opposition to the post-Stalinist Treaty, Elliott has in his article expeditious to join with the "Faction for the Trotskyist International", headed by the consummate political swindler Franco Grisciu, a small-time union bureaucrat whose USec career has been defined by capitulation to the popular front in Italy. As for militarily blocking with a wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy against the forces of counterrevolution, for Elliott this is purely hypothetical. As the LTF noted in a 27 July "Open Letter to the USec" Elliott recently authored a document, entitled "Real Trotskyist Platform or 'Trotskyist Platform', attacking a left opposition in the Fourth International, the Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs. (Elliott's document and the LTF Open Letter are available in Issue Number 7 of our bulletin series, Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Socialist League, which republishes attacks on us by their opponents.

Acknowledging that the USec is "undergoing a deep crisis marked by the political and organisational liquidation of numerous sections with millions of militants", Elliott warns that this could "behold sects with a clearly more envelope than us" in the "vast mass of the USec". Again Trotsky's description of centrist fits Elliott like a glove: "The centrist is a leader only because they are swindling by referring to the danger of 'sectarianism', by which he understands not abstract representational passivity (of the Bordigist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, activist organisation and organisational completeness."

Elliott obviously spent some time recasting the publications of various renegades and deserters from the ICL for the fabrications he writes about our organisation: he does not acknowledge, he is, particularly interested in the "Bolshevik Tendency" — a collection of embittered ex-members who quit our tendency over the Gulf War and who have since made a "political" career out of trying to smear and set up the organisation they deserted. Elliott borrows from this "reputable" source to depict our organisation as a cult of senile and cynical Tukhachevskys who worship portraits of General Jaruzelski. Certainly, no member of ours would recognise Elliott's portrayal of the ICL as the organisation to which they belong. Feeling the heat from the ICIs consistent Trotskyist politics, the JCR participated in a public "meeting-debate" with the LTF on September 14, "The Russian Question and the Continuity of the Fourth International". At the debate, an Algerian woman supporter of the PSI spoke powerfully from the floor: "I was expelled from the USec camp [in Portugal this summer] for legionary attending, for defending my tendency and my document... I also want to demonstrate that Matti is not the only one in which comrade Damien Elliott responded to us, the faction, in Algeria. He is acting as a fingerman for refusing to debate with us and putting a label on us that is very prejudicial."
“to construct the Russian section of the Fourth International”. But on what pro­gramme? While he admits that the Trotskyist programme of unconditional defence of the USSR “meant the defence of workers’ gains and frontal opposition to the man­oeuvres of Gorbachev and then Yeltsin” — the coup commit­tee position making Yeltsin the main enemy in August? — if Yeltsin, who spearheaded the forces of “renewal”, was not the “main enemy”, then who was? Obviously, for Elliott the answer is... the “pathological tendency” while the coup committee wanted to pursue Gorbachev’s policy for controlled, gradual capital re­form, restored the Soviet state in the face of the forces pushing to smash the workers state — both the imperialists and domestic counterrevolutionaries — who rallied to Yeltsin.

While he continues to offer back­handed support to Yeltsin, at the 25 September 1989 conference the LTF Elliott charged that our position was one of “hypocritical support to the putchists”. Certainly any serious opponent of capital­ist counterrevolution would have looked hard, as we did, to determine if there was a basis for giving military support to the coup pur­suing to establish capitalist counterrevolutionaries. But there was nothing to support: the coup committee refused to go on the streets. We called on Moscow workers to clean out the rabble on the barricades of the Yeltsin “Third House”. But the coup plotters feared unleashing the forces that could have defended the workers state. A situation that would have raised the possibility of civil war and the immediate prospect of pro­letarian politics.

As for “hypocritical support to the putchists”, months after the victory of the Yeltsin counterrevolution, Elliott continues to write: “If sectors of the working class had rallied in support of the coup, want­ing to struggle against austerity and other moves toward capitalist restoration, Trotskyists should have allied with them” (“For a Workers’ Emergency Plan to Combat the Crisis of the Soviet Union”, Bulletin of the Fraction for the Trotskyist International, November 1991). One could hardly find a more chemically pure expression of opportunism. If only the working class rallied behind the counterrevolutionaries, then Grisola would have moved with them. But the workers didn’t... so Grisola sided up to Yeltsin.

While in his pamphlet on the Russian question Elliott talks abstractly of the possibility to contest the bureaucracy, Ellio­t with a wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counterrevolutionaries only in the concrete instance in which he would apply this “hypothesis”, in his document to the FST he flatly dismisses Trotsky’s position on this as null and void. Thus Elliott outlandishly claims that: “all of Trotsky’s politics concerning the struggle against Stalinism are an instance of the hypothesis of a bloc with one Stalinist tendency against the other in the Tsinamatical Program. A hypothesis that was based on the existence of the “Vorlontariato” of the “Blind Tendency” in the bureaucracy. A tendency which was manoeuvred the very year said the war was...”

Trotsky understood that the Kremlin bureaucracy was the product of and reflected the contradictions of the degener­ated Soviet working class. But the workers were well aware of the wide­ranging country surrounding imperial­ism. This understanding of the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy contribu­ted to the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defence and the call for political revolution to out the bureaucracy. Elliot­ter’s position is a perfect expression of the social-democratic Stalinophobia he was taught by Matti — that the Stalinist bureaucracies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were “counterrevolutionary through and through”. This he dates from the 1938 extermination of the Polish masses until it was obvious to all! There can be no doubt. The task of communists must be to defend at all costs the programme and the dictatorship of the prol­eteriat.” — Spartacist Britain no 36, October 1981

Chafing under the Fourth Reich

In the debate with the LTF, Elliott contends that self-­criticism cannot be called for on the question of the capitalist re­unification of Germany. This is putting the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, the rise of the Solidarity trade union, and the call for political revolution.

In the debate with the LTF, Elliott charges that the already fractured and isolated Solidarity leadership, who served as the spearhead for the fascist counterrevolution, never once men­tioned by the German Stalinists, who served as the spearhead for the fascist counterrevolution. “Should the Stalinists bungle their task the revolutionary potential of the workers masses will be thwarted”, Elliott镶s. “The result of this neglect to win new mass support can only be the re­unification of Germany.”

Only a complete Stalinisation could argue that the already fractured and isolated Solidarity leadership, who served as the spearhead for the capitalist counterrevolution, never once men­tioned by the German Stalinists, who served as the spearhead for the fascist counterrevolution. “Should the Stalinists bungle their task the revolutionary potential of the workers masses will be thwarted”, Elliott镶s. “The result of this neglect to win new mass support can only be the re­unification of Germany.”
PART 2

The “Quit India” movement 50 years on

STALINIST ALLIANCE WITH CHURCHILL BETRAYED INDIAN REVOLUTION

Peasant rally under red flag in Punjab. During WWII CPI held back agrarian struggle and pandered to communalist Muslims League, helping to lay basis for Partition blood-bath.

In their efforts to crush the Indian independence struggle and radical social struggle, imperialist Britain, Churchill’s wartime coalition and Attlee’s Labour government alike, and the bourgeois­landlord lackeys in the Congress and abetted by the treacherous Stalinist trinity of the Kremlin, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Communist Party of India. The first part of this article (see Workers Hammer no 131, September/October) concluded:

“During this period of subordination to Churchill and in line with the British divide-and-rule strategies, the CPI flirted with the feckless, British­backed Muslim League. It even decided there was a Muslim ‘nation’ and adapted for some time the project of Pakistan. Later, they would shift back to fawning subservience before the war ended, instructing the Indian masses that “Establishment of a representative Indian National Government as an ally of the United Nations during the war, and freedom for the Indian people to choose their own form of Government after the war” was the order of the day. Black’s description of these Stalinists as the “Empire builders of the British ‘Communist’ Party” is apt. The Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, revolutionary Trotskyists, described the situation in India during the war: “British imperialism has instigated a system of repressive legislation, progressively inaugurating a guerilla regime not less systematic and ruthless than that of Russian czarism or German fascism. Since the commencement of the imperialist war, repression has been many times intensified. Even those nominal rights previously possessed by the masses have been openly withdrawn, and a naked rule of terror substituted through the Defense of India Acts…. The press has been gagged by a series of iniquitous Press Acts and a systematic police censorship of all publications. Rights of free speech and assembly have been so curtailed that they are practically non-existent. Radical and revolutionary political parties are compelled to lead an underground existence.

“The right to strike no longer exists in all ‘essential war industries’…. Thousands of militant mass leaders have been imprisoned on flimsy pretexts or detained without trial. The restriction of individual movement by means of extremity and internment orders has become a common feature of all capitalism” (quoted in Henry Judd, India in Revolt).

By contrast the ban on the CPI was lifted by a grateful British Raj in 1942 and a government circular of 20 September 1943 praised the CPI as “almost the only Party which fought for victory”. A CPI self-criticism produced years later is damning enough about what this meant: “It adopted an anti­struggle antistrike line. A line of avoiding mass struggles was worked out on the plea that they would damage the war effort or help profascist elements. To give an example, CPI pictures reports, articles in weekly People’s War. Quit India movement was opposed, on the same basis the Forward line and socialists who attacked communists as ‘British agents’ were denounced in real­ism as fifth column and fascist agents. In B. T. Ranadove’s report to the first congress on ‘Vanguard Defence’ it was stated that production is ‘a sacred trust’ and ‘conditional support of production was a left-nationalist deviation’ therefore ‘strikes should be firmly prevented’.

In addition to its self-confessed “anti­struggle” line during the war, the CPI as well played straight into the hands of British imperialists’ schemes to consciously promote communalist divisions.

CPI and Britain’s “Divide-and-Rule”

From the outset, all Indian nationalism was “a theme scored with religious, class, caste, and regional variations” (Wolf, A New History of India), which given its social origins, was dominantly Hindu and upper-caste-based and frequently openly re actionary. A prime example was the early Congress “Extremist” leader BG Tilak, who first made his mark when he opposed the token reformist 1891 “Age of consent” Bill (raising the age of statutory rape of child brides from ten to twelve) under the war cry “Religion in danger”! Gandhi alienated vast numbers of Muslims with his explicitly Hindu-myth and scripture-based views, describing his utopia as “Ram Rajya” (the kingdom of Ram)—the Hindu epic hero-god). Such themes are the basis for subsequent fascistic Hindu chauvinism, such as the BJP/RSS combine today. In the absence of a communist leadership consciously able to transcend and combat it by bringing the revolutionary proletarian, anti­communal, integrative line of resistance to bear on the evils leading up to 1947, this poison was bound to skewer any possibility of a progressive solution to India’s complex internal problems.

Far from communalism being an “eternal” feature of the Indian landscape, as the racist imperialist West and Nationalist India have it, it was the British who, through their systematic backing of one community against another to subjugate both, consciously nurtured this phenomenon as well as other caste, religious and national differences. Following the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny (significantly sparked by Muslim and upper-caste Hindu sepoy [soldiers] alike to bite a new cartridge coated with animal fat) which far exceeded the bounds of the initial triggering episodes and revealed the depth of anti-British anger in the country, Governor General Elphinstone urged: “Our endeavor should be to uphold in full force the (for us) fortunate separation which exists between the different religions and races; not to endeavor to
amalgamate them" (Henry Judd, *India in Revolt*). From this to the creation of separate Hindu and Muslim electorates in 1919, the Congress made three notorious "Communal Awards" culminating in the Partition; the imperialist logic of the war that destroyed it.

The novel *Tamar* no doubt truly portrays the efforts of CPI militants in the Punjab to fight the communalist slaughter during the Ayodhya massacre. The blood was prepared both by the CPI's general support to the bourgeois nationalists and its functionaries' complicity with respect to the Muslim question. One aspect of the Cripps' Mission proposals in 1942 amounted to an offer that the British Indian League and the Muslim League both had to consider; the situation in Bengal was of the imperialist war and the importance of recruitment from Muslim Punjab, Pathans and Baluchis for the British Indian Army, this was the imperialist calculus and the rule to attempt to uphold the British war effort. The CPI, in its Central Party Education Department's Guidelines of the History of the Communist Party of India (1974) admits the "serious mistake our party made in that period."  

"With the antitrust line referred to above went the right-opportunism appropriate to the British Indian League (or national) unity, logically culminating in our support to Pakistan and the subcontinent for the sake of India. Failure to build up enough pressure on British India from below led to reliance on unity from above. 'Destiny of the nation depends on national unity - League unity' which with Jinnah adamant made on the question of Pakistan. CPI (dominated as it was) to generally give it a variant of Salvation Army mission work for Winston Churchill. In Bengal the CPI lost cadre because of its flirtation with the Muslim League and, it is noteworthy that in areas where the CPI dominated the peasant associations such as eastern Bengal and Telangana the peasant struggles over land and usury were rekindled during the war compared to other areas. The situation in Bengal impinges directly on the question of Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army (INA). There are Stalinist criticisms of Gandhi's Congress (and thus presumably its CPI tails) who look to Bose's INA as a revolutionary alternative. At one time a left critique within Congress and elected as its head over the objections of Gandhi to, Bose split to form the Forward Bloc Party in Bengal. Forward Bloc was banned and Bose arrested in 1940; he escaped on the eve of his trial in 1941 and travelled across northern India to Afghanistan, from there to Moscow. During the pre-June Rango-German occupation of Indiawar, the INA surrendered to the British and given high-powered radio facilities to beam daily broadcasts to the "fortress of India" and thus to 'assist the revolt against British tyranny' (Wolpert). In the spring of 1943, Bose travelled to Southeast Asia whereupon Tojo turned over all his Indian POWs to Bose's command. In January 1944 he started his Indian National Army on their march south to attack the Berlin-Baghdad railroad and reached the outskirts of Trippura's state capital, Imphal, by May. Defeated by the Indian National Army, the INA surrendered in Rangoon and Bose escaped on the last Japanese plane to leave Saigon. He died in Assam after a crash landing. When the captured officers of Bose's INA went on trial in the winter of 1945-6 they were accused of mutiny as nationalists! 18 February 1946 the Royal Indian Navy mutinied in Bombay harbour; the mutiny spread to Karachi. The British stepped up their attempts to extricate themselves from India.  

Undoubtedly the INA was popular, particularly in Bengal, and there were the ranks were those seeking a way to fight British imperialism than "turning the other cheek" to Gandhi. However, as Judd (ibid) offered to Bose an example, a feature article in the 4 August *Asian Times* as achieving "a signal victory for the 'anti-terrorists'" (for the sake of a white man's quarrel in North Africa) (*English History 1914-1945*).  

The CPI's famine relief work was not part of some revolutionary agitation against British India; the CPI bowed lickety-spleen to the "war effort" on the food production "front". Even if it did assist many in dire straits it was not by stepping into the famine relief work which was a variant of Salvation Army mission work for Winston Churchill. In Bengal the CPI lost cadre because of its flirtation with the relief work that the CPI organised during the Bengal famine. That famine in 1943 was a direct result of the imperialist war: wartime inflation, grain speculation and hoarding exacerbated by the loss of grain from Burma led to mass starvation. The arrogant indifference of the British imperialist administration was compounded by Churchill's decision to cut back shipping to India. AJP Taylor noted "A million and a half Indians died of starvation for the sake of a white man's quarrel in North Africa" (*English History 1914-1945*).

\[Image 0x0 to 747x1074\]

The CPI's famine relief work was not part of some revolutionary agitation against British India; the CPI bowed lickety-spleen to the "war effort" on the food production "front". Even if it did assist many in dire straits it was not by stepping into the famine relief work which was a variant of Salvation Army mission work for Winston Churchill. In Bengal the CPI lost cadre because of its flirtation with the

\[Image 0x0 to 747x1074\]
over the pit closures onto the road of parliamentary adjustments. It could not against not just a discredited and wretched lobby but the main obstacle to the necessary struggle for wage and life for the working people: it is necessary to smash the profit system root and branch!

Trade unionists, the unemployed, pensioners, students, minorities, organised and immigrant workers: this fight is our fight! These brutal measures against the miners are designed to obliterate the most class-conscious section of workers in this country. Thatcher's heirs and acolytes in the Labour Party have not forgotten the massive support from all sections of the working class and opposes for the miners' bitterly fought battle in 1984-85. Heseltine's "stay of execution" for 21 of the pits after a massive popular counter-attack (extending to Tory backbenchers with the CBI and the Daily Mail) failed but a continuation of government plans to smash the miners and the entire trade union movement. They couldn't get away with the whole hog, but their backtracking will be reversed at the first opportunity.

For flying the flag of the miners, for a democratic, independent trade union movement. If they couldn't get away with the whole hog, but their backtracking will be reversed at the first opportunity.

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class -The Labour leaders -echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

Above all what's necessary to win here and abroad is a revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"

The time to strike is now! Scargill now says "we need a public debate and an independent inquiry." Thus he has placed himself in the van of an extremely pure form of revolutionary leadership of the working class - The Labour leaders - echoed by their fake-left talkers - will try to push protectionist poison down the miners' throats. But behind these words was a realisation that the clerical-nationalist Solidarnosc "free market" regime, Polish workers are realising this system will destroy the IMF. A strike wave through the summer embraced the coal and copper miners and workers chanted "Down with Wales!!"
London Underground's vicious "Company Plan" must be smashed through determined strike action. Management wants to slash 2,000 jobs—a quarter of the workforce—and institute a regime of virtual slavery and massive intimidation when it can. But you can't pick the bosses' boots. The union leaders have grovelled so long that the bosses think they can get away with the unions altogether—pitting the workers against each other, threatening to sack anyone who changes sides and the bosses' phony "contracts."

But these scare tactics won't work if all transport workers—RMT, ASLEF and TSSA— unite together. They can't fire the entire workforce—and they can't run the entire tubes, buses and trains with court injunctions or cops! Transport workers have the power to shut down London—and without London this country won't run. Millions of working people—outraged by a regime of transport capitalism and benefactors, the massive unemployment—will love watching the City fat cats claw for a chance. The working people want to fight and a solid London transport strike could galvanise broad sections of the trade union movement in struggle.

Above all what the workers need is a fighting anti-capitalist leadership. The attack on London tube workers is the government's answer to the tootshires "days of action" and lobbying of parliament sponsored by the trade union misleaders. The Labour Party trade-unionists hate class struggle because they want to administer the stinking capitalist system that dictates union-busting, cuts in jobs and social spending. London transport union leaders have already accepted whole parts of the "Company Plan," signifying that the illusion of resistance can have been privatised or contracted out, while workers' militancy has been thrown away by backstabbing government action. Last spring Knapp, among others, derided strike action in the service of the Labour Party's effort to court the bankers and bosses at election time.

The union tops have put transport workers in a hole, but this is no time for defeatism. The worker must answer the RMT's strike call and take his place on the picket line. Shut down the tubes—and spread the strike to the buses and British Rail through flying mass pickets! One out, all out: fight together—or hang separately! For one powerful industrial Russian revolutionaries Leon Trotsky called for "a revolutionary workers' government", the conquest of power by the Russian proletariat:"

"But revolution is first and foremost a question of power—not of the state form (consistent assembly, republic, united states) but of the social content of the government. The demands for a consistent assembly and republic based on the tubeworkers under present conditions lose all their meaning when the readiness of the proletariat to fight clerical reaction here in Ireland. Abortion rights have been among the very first targets of the capitalist restorationist regimes in East Germany and Poland. Indeed the role of the Catholic Church in Poland and Yeltsin/Russia counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. But, doing their bit for the "new world order" groups such as the Social Democrats, Movement, Movement, Irish Workers Group and the Democratic Left. Hence is launching a fascist core harking back to the Blueshirts. And behind the ominous figure of Irish fascism will always loom the spectre of Opus Dei, the Knights of Columbus and the Church hierarchy. While the working class of Ireland sent more than its share to join the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, the Church also took a side in open and violent blessing Blueshirt contingents departing to fight for Franco and Fascist! The time to act is now to crush this outfit while it's still in the egg. On counterdemonstrations in Dublin against Youth Defence we have raised the slogans: "attack the movement take a stand"—For free election on demand! Workers movement must take action—Solidarity Youth Defence and SPUC reaction! As Irish society polarises over the abortion issue, the fake left has buried itself firmly in the mire of the most sub-reformist "campaigns" to oppose the "bigots" or "repeal the Eighth Amendment" (which would simply remove one constitutional prohibition but leave in place other legislation outlawing abortion). Not surprisingly, the same fake socialists who cheered capitalist counterrevolution from Poland and East Germany to the former Soviet Union fall in the struggle against the Lessons of October to the workers of every land. Today we in the International Communist League (Fourth International) fight to forge a revolutionary international which Lenin and Trotsky would recognise as their own. It will be an especially gratifying victory when the workers of the entire Indian subcontinent lead all the oppressed in throwing off the chains of colonialism and toilers under the dictatorship of the proletariat to fight for the conquest of power..." (The Struggle for Power)

Because the Bolsheviks were committed to such a programme, the Russian Revolution of 1917 produced the first workers state on the planet. The USSR stood then as a beacon for the colonial and semi-colonial movement of opposition to them, to prepare the way for a Labour government! (This is the same outfit which has always argued that the "Army and Garri- dail should have the right to refuse to break strikes" in its October issue.) The Irish Workers Group have announced: "now is the time for a vote for Labour and Democratic Left and urge workers' organisations to demand full co-operation between the parties to maximise the vote for Labour in the 24-hour childcare and free, quality health care. The struggle for the revolution can only be successful.) The Irish Workers Grand Alliance announced: "now is the time for a vote for Labour..."

The workers and women of Ireland are being offered increasing capitalist misery from the reformist parties and their tame left, tails. The struggle for such elementary rights as the separation of church and state, free abortion on demand, free 24-hour childcare and free, quality health care to come to an end. The road to the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a workers state and a planned, collective economy. We in the DSG are fighting to build the revolutionary Leninist party necessary to lead the struggle for victorious socialist revolution. No to the popular front! Workers to power!.

Workers Hammer subscription drive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Quota</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSG</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>428 136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Postcode</th>
<th>Telephone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Makana cheques payable/post to: Spartacist Publications, PO Box 1041, London NW8 3EU

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1992
Antispartacists...

(Continued from page 5)

workers*. With the SPD as prosecuting attorney? To be sure, many of the Stalinist rulers and secret police were guilty of crimes against the working class. But they are being charged with the wrong crimes before the wrong court. What began as a nascent political revolution in 1989–90 was derailed by the intervention of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, which cut across the whole question of working-class justice under a proletarian state. While the Matti wing of the USec championed the cause of German reunification and the Mandel wing accepted the imperialist annexation of the DDR with some "conditions", the ICL was the only organisation which forthrightly fought against capitalist reunification.

Elliott, by sneering at the Trewgop mass mobilisation, is dismissing the very possibility of a proletarian political revolution which would have sent shock waves throughout Europe, East and West, in particular pointing the way forward to the beleaguered Soviet proletariat. Now he amnesties the repressed German imperialist state by objecting to our references to the imperialists in condemning the Soviet intervention on the side of social progress; JCR's mass mobilisation is dismissing the very beleaguered Afghans in Afghanistan prepared to fight to the death against the CIA-backed Mujahedin cutthroats. USec joined the imperialists in condemning the Soviet intervention, but by December 1980 Jack Barnes' outfit publicly came out for withdrawal of the Soviet forces. Barnes explained that seeing the "Spartacist sect" calling to "Hail Red Army" convinced him that the SWP was "off base". So one month after the election of Ronald Reagan, the quirky reformist Barnesites got back "on base" with the bourgeoisie. The Mandelite majority, in turn, came out for Soviet withdrawal in June 1981, one month after the election of Cold War "socialist" Mitterrand (who they supported as long as the SWP was running scared, the LCR smelled opportunities in the social-democratic union bureaucracy.

Elliott then takes on our slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" A typical example of "obscene sectarianism", he for stating, in a speech on the 25th anniversary of the October Revolution: "The Red Army that the world hallis is an army created by a proletarian revolution."

Elliott recognises that our proposal to organise an international brigade to Afghanistan at the time of the pull-out of Soviet troops in February 1989 was the "logical conclusion" of our aggressive defence of Soviet intervention. At the LTF meeting-debate he denounced it as "adventurist" and "substitutionist" (unlike the financial aid campaign—which Elliott contributed—for the civilian victims in Jalalabad which we conducted when our brigade offer was not accepted). In his letter to the Algerian PST, this becomes the occasion for a tirade against "Spartacist guru Robertson" and our supposed "cynicism" in proposing to recruit, not just "hard Trotskyists", but sundy radical elements internationally. Just as Elliott can't imagine the masses hailing the Red Army, so inhbit him be with Europacomm that he can't conceive of leftist young enough with the whole system to trek to Afghanistan to fight imperialism. It's nothing but "pulling together ten lumpens that you were contemptuous of", he sneered contemptuously in the 25 September debate. What about the possi­bility of enlisting fighters from among the thousands of leftist Italian exiles, or Latin American youth inspired by the internationalist example of Che Guevara? In India, masses of young Communists marched in support of the Kahlaj regime. Just who does he suppose joined the

Afghan women under arms prepared to fight to the death against the CIA-backed Mujahedin cutthroats. USec joined the imperialists in condemning the Soviet intervention on the side of social progress; JCR's Elliott condemns

Spartacist slogan "Hail Red Army!"

PCF with their traditional anti-German xenophobia*. Does this mean that our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany are boche-hating French nationalists? No, it means that Elliott squirms at telling the truth about the reactionary consequences of the bourgeois "democratic" counterrevolution in Germany.

Two, three, many lines on Afghanistan

On Afghanistan, Elliott pretends to be for an end of US military forces and outrageously claims (in his letter to the Algerian PST) that the USec "early on took a courageous and correct position*. Courageous, correct? He is cynically presuming ignorance among young comrades, and the apathy of the edge of the USec's actual policies. While quoting some lines against Soviet with international brigades in Spain—plenty of footloose adventurous types flocked there to fight against Franco. Don't forget the "Red 48ers", exiled from Germany after the defeat of the 1846-49 revolution, who spread across the world, fighting in revol­utions and civil wars from Poland to the United States.

And does Elliott give a moment's thought to the impact that a brigade of even a few hundred would have had, not only in Afghanistan but in the Soviet Union? Former Afghan veterans, the mujaheddin, actually petitioned the Soviet government to allow them to fight on a volunteer basis. Consider the impact that an international brigade for Afghanistan might have had, particularly on the events in the USSR. For that matter, consider the impact in Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalists sent volunteers to fight alongside the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. Things might look some what different in Algiers today if the shock troops of the USec had been blooded and defeated in Afghanistan.

"Anti-Imperialist* front with Islamic reaction

Elliott can't stomach actually making a military bloc with the Stalinists against the bid for power by counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnoste, cries "Stalinist manipulation" over the Spartanist-initiated mass anti-fascist pro-Soviet demonstration at Trewgop, denounces our call to hail the Red Army fighting CIA-backed mujaheddin in Afghanistan. But over the Persian Gulf War he backed the Islamic reactionaries of the Algerian FIS. This is simply an extension of the traitorous policy of which he cheered on Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. And Elliott is quite forthright about the bloc of "progressive" having "a vision of anti-imperialist struggle so narrow that it led them to sectarian abstentionism on such central questions as fighting alongside the Afghan revolutionaries.

Of course, we hardly abstained but rather called for the mobilisation of the powerful Iranian popular front and Khomeini's mullahs. It is this that sticks in Elliott's craw as he lectures about the "anti-imperialist united front". In justifying the call for a "Workers and People's Front" by the Algerian PST — that is, a popular front with Islamic reactionary forces—Elliott grotesquely attributes the "AUF" to Trotsky. But to accomplish this he has to resort to crude falsification, extracting a choice out of context meaning counterposed to that intended by Trotsky. The quote he cites ds not even mention the words "anti-imperialist uni­ted front", nor does the article it is taken from; nor does Trotsky use this formula at all after the disastrous experience of the Shanghai massacre of 1927, which was prepared by Stalin/Bukharin's "block of four classes". But now Elliott omits Trotsky's call for the proletariat to take power. What Trotsky really said was:

"But if the Indian revolution will develop on a basis of a bloc of the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie; if this bloc will be directed not only against imperialism and feudalism but also against the national bourgeoisie which is bound up with them in all basic questions; if at the head of this bloc will stand the proletariat, if this bloc comes to victory only by sweeping away its enemies through an armed uprising and in this way raises the power of the proletariat to the power of the whole nation — then the question arises: in whose hands will the power be after the victory of not in the hands of the proletariat?"

"—The Revolution in India, in "Tasks and Dangers"

Elliott summarises here the programme

Spartacist League/Britain

Glasgow PO Box 150
London PO Box 1041
Dublin PO Box 2944

Workers Hammer
of permanent revolution, which is dia-
metrically opposed to the Usee's line on Iraq. Elliott
raised this in the context of the Gulf
War, saying that according to the
ICL, “standing fast on Saddam's trenches
was correct, but attacking the imperialist
coalition from behind its own lines”—
through “a blue with the FIS or the FLN”—
“would have been a popular-frontist betrayal”.
He is wildly confusing military
and political support, the vital distinction
which Lenin drew in 1917 between
partisan politics and war, making a political alliance with Kernelsky's Provisional Government. To understand the princi-
pled difference between support “from behind the lines” and support “in the trenches”, just read Trotsky on the
Spanish Civil War, where he insistently
calls for a common military front against
Franco while denouncing any political
support to the bourgeois Republican
government.

Interestingly, on the Persian Gulf War,
Elliott attacks the ICL for “proposing
"Victory to Iraq" as a slogan in all coun-
tries, including France and the U.S.”
As he knows only too well, our slogan during
the Gulf War was “Defeat US Imperialism!
Defend Iraq”! The call for “Victory to Iraq” was in fact the central slogan of the tiny "International Trotskyist Committee” (raised by the R WL in the US and the RIL in Britain), formerly led by one Peter Sollenberger and Grisolia, Elliott's new bête noire. Elliott wants to pin us to the slogan of the former comrades of his new comrade.

As we noted at the time, the call for “Victory to Iraq” implied political support to Hussein's Ba'athist regime and more generally to Arab nationalism. But Elliott simultaneously denounces us for having held a position which we did not have and for our opposition to the mythical "Arab Revolution"! Very notion that
there is an "Arab Revolution" is an "anti-
imperialist" alibi for the bloody-handed, imperialist-dependent bourgeois (and feudalist) rulers of the Arab states who have time and time again stabbed the besieged Palestinian people in the back. Elliott's convoluted polemic against the ICL over the Persian Gulf War reflects the fact that the JCR membership was powerless to attack the ICL's interna-
tionalist line on the Gulf War. In his "Real Trotskyism" document to the PST, he dismisses Spanish "overblown fears about "strikes" against the war and claims that our position showed "lack of confidence in the working class". This applies quite clearly to his own policies on the war. The JCR initially campaigned on the slogan of “immediate withdrawal of French troops” (Autre Chose, October 1990). This attempt to build a “united front” (really a popular front on a social-
 capitalist line) was modelled on the “anti-
war” “coalition-building” of their Usee comrades of Socialist Action in the US. Socialist Action took a crassly
socialist line in the red-white-and-blue "peace marches", even condoning the wearing of yellow ribbons to "support our boy" (ie, the imperialist troops) in the Gulf. Khrinev's LCR followed a similar line in France.

Under the impact of the war, the youth in the JCR were impelled to take a more militant stance. After the LTP criticized them for refusing to call explicitly for defence of Iraq, in February 1991 the
JCR published an article, “Hands Off Iraq-For Iraq”, criticising the "essentially pacifist" character of the anti-war pro-
tests and calling for "boycott and strikes" against the war. But this went hand in hand with talk of being in the same
trench with the Algerian FIS and calling for Kuwait to be incorporated into Iraq.

Under the guise of the "anti-imperialist
united front", Elliott blocks with Arab nationalism, seeing this as the only mass
ing class (rather than the unemployed lumpen base of the FIS) in the Maghreb was very real. And in Europe there were the beginnings of organised working-class action, with a de facto general strike in northern Italy and attempts by French rail and dock workers to stop the trans-
port of arms and troops to the Gulf.

Spartacism is real Trotskyism
As always, behind Elliott's war of lying
wishes against the ICT stand more nef-
arious methods of seeking to "neutralise"
revolutionaries. Last February, when the
JCR-L'Egalite organised a "meeting-
debate" of its own, their goon squad threatened and shoved militants of the LTF for protesting the JCR's glorification
and destruction of Palestinian national
PFLP leader George Habash as a "hero of the struggle for Palestinian national liberation". And a subsequent reply to our comrades'
letter of protest set us up for even more
violent attack, accusing us of spreading
"Mossad's slanders about Habash's indis-
ncribinate terrorism". In fact the PFLP in
the past took credit for various indis-
criminately terrorist attacks, and more
has tailed behind the various kingdoms,
shiekdoms and colonels' regimes in every Middle East war. For them, as for the petty-bourgeois PLO, this was the road to
liberation for the Palestinian masses.

Today Elliott accuses the ICL of "com-
placency toward Zionism", lyingly accus-
ing the ICL of "refusing to defend self-
determination for the Palestinians" and
calling for a "resolute position" in the
1948 Arab-Israel War a break with the
Trotskyist position. In fact, the posi-
tion of the Fourth International in that
war was revolutionary defeatism. An article, written even before the entry of the Arab League forces, adamantly declared:
"Make this war between Jews and Arabs,
which serves the end of imperialism, the
common war of both nations against imperialists...
"The opportunity to peace between the
two peoples of this country is turning the guns
against the instigators of murder in both camps...
"Against the Stream", Fourth
International, May 1948

But swimming against the stream is
anathema to the FLPs, whose liquidation-
alist revisionism destroyed the Fourth
International. Instead they tail the Arab bourgeois bloc with the Zionist to disfavour and destroy the Palestinian Arab nation. While Arab king and army chief Hussein, the butcher of the Black Sep-
tember massacre of 1970, the 1See em-
braced Arab nationalism as a means of
We Spartacists say that it will take an
intransigent fight against both Zionism
and the Arab bourgeois regimes for the Palestinian people to achieve national
liberation. What upsets Elliott is that we recognize the right of self-determination for the nationalised peoples of the region, including the Hebrew-speaking people. The national question is not a question of
stable and democratic manner through
class struggle for socialist revolu-
tion and socialist federation of the Middle East.

It is grotesque that, out of loyalty to
the striking corpse of the Usee, Elliott
goes to such lengths to seal off leftward-
moving youth from Trotskyist interna-
tionalism. To the oppositionists in the
PST, the JCR offers its revisionist
reactionaries through a "Workers and
People's Front" including all "anti-gov-
ernmental forces"! The tactic of the
JCR-L'Egalite, "Neutral Victoria" (really a popular front on a
socialist line as in Iran, where the 1See went from calling for "unity of all oppo-
sition to Khomeini, Khomeini, Khomeini"
("God is great") along with the mullahs, to seeing their own comrades arrested and executed by the Khomeini
regime they helped put in power. This is the suicidal logic of Paboist liquidation-
ism, abandoning the struggle for a Tro-
skyst proletarian vanguard in favour of
tailing after "substitutes" led by alien
class forces. Ironically, it was in Algeria
that Michel Petet, the ASP leader of the
Fundamentalist movement, made his
politics with the fundamentalist Hammad movement, which grew out of the arch-reactionary Muslim Brotherhood. At best the FIS
nationalist strategy is an expression of
the politics of despair and impotence in the
face of brutal Zionist repression.

But for the JCR, this is the same
the nationalist "Arab Revolution" which
they hail. Behind this fig leaf, the Usee
recently has made a political bloc with
the fundamentalist Hamas movement,
which grew out of the anti-leftist Muslim Brotherhood. At best the FIS
nationalist strategy is an expression of
the politics of despair and impotence in the
face of brutal Zionist repression.

Workers Vanguard

Irish elections: scoundrels and charlatans against workers and women

In the current round, the referendums on the right of women to travel freely and to receive information on abortion services overseas are supportable and Marxists advocate a “yes” vote to these minimal gains. The third referendum proposal is a hideous statement which is a step backward even from the Supreme Court ruling, outlawing abortion under virtually all circumstances. This reactionist proposal, seeking to further enthrone the anti-woman dogma of the Catholic hierarchy in the Irish Constitution, should be soundly defeated. But the fight for even the most elementary rights will not be won at the polling booths or in the courts—what is necessary is the mobilisation of the social power of the working class to struggle for free abortion on demand as part of a revolutionary programme to smash the whole rotten edifice of capitalist rule in Ireland.

The elections and referendums are only the most recent reflections of deep divisions within the ruling class. Decades of urbanisation have generated a reaction against the arrogance, small-mindedness and corrupt cronyism of much of the Irish ruling class, a quality most graphically embodied in Fianna Fáil. Bogged down in endless investigations into financial chicanery and corruption Fianna Fáil are no longer seen even by significant sections of the ruling class to be a credible force for administering the state—tribunals and the hasty retrenching of “CJ” [Haughey] notwithstanding.

A section of the ruling class seeks to revamp the clericalist state so as to have something that resembles a modern secular society. This is what lay behind the election of Mary Robinson as President in 1990. At the time, the Dublin Sparta­cist Youth Group (DSYG—now DSG) told the truth: “Robinson’s popular front: trap for workers and women”. Robinson, who announced “I’m against abortion” during her election campaign, has certainly proved to be no friend of the women of Ireland on even the most elementary level. And the “enlightened” wing of the Irish bourgeoisie which she represents are notable for their efforts to accommodate British imperialism and the reactionary Unionist politicians in the North. Regardless of their coalition appetites, there would be no reason to extend criti­cal support to the left parties, all of whom support the blatantly class-collaborationist PESP [Programme for Econ­omic and Social Progress].

The Labour Party was also the prime mover behind the election of Mary Robinson as presi­dent in 1990; in 1991, during the ESB [Electricity Supply Board] strike, the Labour Party and Workers Party sup­ported an all-party denunciation of the strike and called for strikers to go back to work. On the North, that British bour­geois mouthpiece, The Guardian (12 November) wrote of the defunct “talks” on Northern Ireland: “Should the present administration in Dublin be replaced by a Fine Gael/Labour coalition in the forthcoming general election, then the situation will be changed overnight. For both have already indicated their willing­ness to reconsider articles two and three in the constitution: that troublesome claim of sovereignty over the North.”

Meanwhile, Fianna Fáil can be counted on to demagogically play the Green card and of nationalism when in trouble, but our concern is not for the aspirations of the gombeenocracy, constitutional or other­wise. As revolutionary Marxists we demand the immediate, unconditional with­drawal of British troops from Northern Ireland! Not Orange against Green but class against class! No to forcible reunifi­cation! For an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation within the British Isles!

The nationalists of Sinn Féin are also running candidates in the election, offering the same failed strategy of seeking seats at the “negotiating table” with Brit­ish imperialism, its political bankruptcy reflected in its alleged strategy of increasingly targeting civilians (ie, pub and tube bombings) in Britain. Recently Sinn Féin has used exposures in the bourgeois press concerning the reformist Workers Party supposedly soliciting funds from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the 1980s to red-bait that organisation. To topp it off, Sinn Féin has also endorsed the election of Democrat Bill Clinton as US imperialism’s chief, namely writing that with Clinton’s election “American foreign policy would no longer be an appendage to British policy” (An Phoblacht, 5 November).

For the rulers of this country the situation is fraught with danger. The abortion question is so explosive that it threatens to tear apart the fragile social fabric of Irish society while the largely unionised workforce has had just about enough. The question for the Mary Robinsonites is how to keep the lid on this pressure cooker and is here that the pro-capital­ist labour traitors earn their keep. For years the trade union and labour mis­leaders have tied the hands of the work­ing class by brokering class-collaboration­ist deals with the bosses. First it was the PNP [Programme for National Recovery] and the PESP, both explicitly designed to prevent class-struggle opposition to capi­talist austerity. Then it was the Labour Party/Workers Party orchestrated deal with Fine Gael to put Mary Robinson in Aras an Uachtarán [the Presidential Palace] to head off the growing pressure for change. Now it is the “Rainbow coa­lition” where Spring is just waiting to see if he will have enough TDs [MPs] to trade off for the Tánaiste’s [Deputy Prime Ministe­r] chair. And since no one is offering him anything yet, De Rossa declares that Democratic Left is only prepared to collaborate in a “left led”

continued on page 9

Workers HAMMER prints below the leaflet dated 17 November distributed by the Dublin Spartacist Group.

The ruling Fianna Fáil/Progressive Demo­crats coalition, which has for three years ruled the reactionary clericalist state and enforced anti-working-class austerity, finally collapsed amid personal recrimina­tions between the party leaders—Albert Reynolds and Des O’Malley. Fine Gael leader John Bruton immediately offered the electorate the “alternative” of a Fine Gael/Labour/Progressive Democrats coalition that would be equally committed to the capitalist policies which have kept 20 per cent of the workforce on the dole and condemned one third of the popula­tion to live below official poverty levels. Predictably the wretched Labour Party leadership has been salivating at the prospect. We say: the coming general elec­tion offers nothing to the working class, women or youth! No vote to the Labour Party, Workers Party or Democratic Left!

November 25 saw also the three referendums on the question of abortion arising from the Supreme Court ruling on the “X case” last February. Ironically, with that ruling, abortion in Ireland became nomi­nally permitted under the so-called “Pro­Life” Eighth Amendment to the constitu­tion, if there was a “real and substantial threat” to the life of the mother. Needless to say abortion remained as unavailable in Ireland as it had been before the learned judges’ ruling, a situation due in no small part to the fact that the church controls most of the hospitals in Ireland!