

SPARTACIST



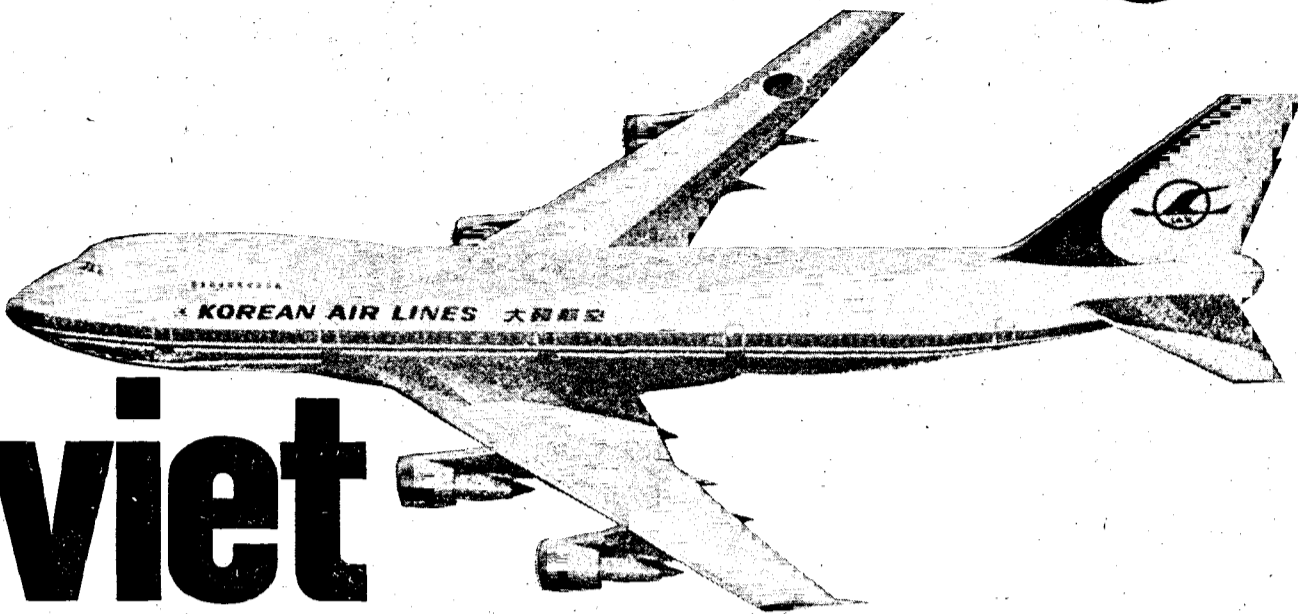
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BRITAIN

Cold War Mission 007:



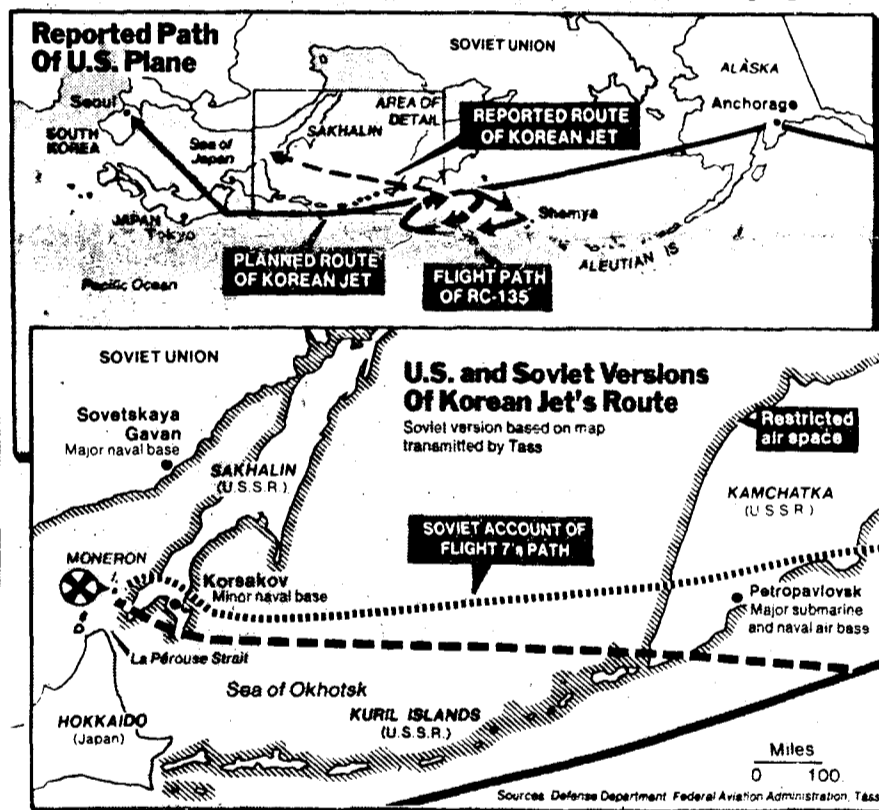
Anti-Soviet provocation

September 6 -- When Korean Air Lines Flight 007 took off after refuelling in Anchorage, Alaska in the early morning hours of August 31, it headed southwest down the international corridor known as R-20, the closest of five air lanes to the Soviet peninsula of Kamchatka. Some time after it passed the last American radar checkpoint in the Aleutians, it apparently veered off to the right and thereafter followed a steady course some 300 miles to the west of its assigned path. According to American ABC-TV, two hours after takeoff 'it passed over one of Russia's most sensitive military installations, the submarine base at Petropavlovsk' on the southern tip of Kamchatka.

In response to this blatant violation of Soviet airspace, KAL Flight 007 was picked up by Soviet radar and pursued by Soviet fighter planes as it crossed the Sea of Okhotsk inside the Kuril Islands chain. Two hours later, shortly after 3.00 am Japanese time, the plane overflew the Soviet island of Sakhalin passing near the Korsakov air and naval base. Continuing its course would have taken the jetliner over the port of Vladivostok, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet. But Western reports say that at 3.38 am the South Korean Boeing 747 jet plunged into the sea just off Sakhalin, taken out by the Soviets.

Now Ronald Reagan accuses the Soviets of the 'Korean Air Line massacre', an 'act of barbarism' by an evil society in which 'shooting down a plane ... with hundreds of innocent men, women, children and babies, is part of their normal procedure'. What shameless hypocrisy! Who took the civilian passengers as hostages on this coldblooded Cold War provocation in the first place? This criminal game of 'chicken' by the Korean military pilots, with the cooperation (at least) of US and Japanese authorities who were closely tracking Flight 007, was more heinous than any hijacking. A Soviet TV commentator compared it to the Nazis, pointing out that 'when the Hitlerites attacked, they forced women and children in front of them'.

It is highly suspicious that the US government seemed immediately to know all about the incident while Moscow was patently still trying to figure out what the hell *did* happen. (PS: So are we, and so is the rest of the world, except for the most rabid chauvinists.) The plane certainly didn't 'stray off course', it delib-



What was the sinister mission of Flight 007? Its flight path over the most militarily sensitive areas of the USSR was a deliberate anti-Soviet provocation.

erately *changed* course, and not just in any direction but heading straight towards Seoul and passing over a succession of military bases. Flying without navigational lights, KAL 007 refused to follow repeated radio and visual instructions by Soviet interceptors to land. When challenged over Sakhalin, it engaged in evasive action. Clearly this was a deliberate provocation, and if it wasn't a preplanned spy mission, it might as well have been.

If the government of the Soviet Union knew that the intruding aircraft was in fact a commercial passenger plane containing 200-plus innocent civilians, despite the potential military damage of such an apparent spying mission, if they deliberately destroyed the airplane and its occupants, then, to paraphrase the French, the act of shooting it down would have been worse than a barbaric atrocity, it would have been an

idiocy worthy of the Israelis. But the piecemeal facts and obvious falsifications argue that this was not the case, and something resembling what really might have gone on is rapidly being pieced together internationally.

What are the Americans up to? As a statement by the Soviet news agency TASS put it, it 'is necessary to find out the truth on who and for what purposes sent this plane to Soviet air-

space'. As the Russians have pointed out, Washington badly wanted an incident that would give it an excuse to break off or sidetrack arms control negotiations and undercut demonstrations against the stationing of new US missiles in Europe this autumn. Meanwhile, they would like to put the Soviets in a situation like in 1919: no trade, no communication, no transportation, a complete world blockade. This isn't 1919 and it won't work. But that's the meaning of the ban on Aeroflot landings, begun by Reagan's flunky in Canada and extended to Thatcher's Britain and elsewhere. This deadly provocation is preparation for imperialist war.

The US evidently needs about a two-year buildup for war with Russia. It's insane, but then the Reaganites are insane. And to whip up war hysteria, their battle cry will be 'Remember the Korean Air Line Massacre', Reagan's version of Teddy Roosevelt's 'Remember the Maine'. As

Trotskyists we unconditionally militarily defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack because it embodies gains of the first workers revolution overthrowing capitalism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin and his heirs. While liberals and reformists fell prey to Jimmy Carter's 'human rights' crusade over Afghanistan, we hailed the Red Army fighting against Islamic reactionaries. We have exposed Washington's 'yellow rain' hoax and the phoney 'KGB kill pope plot'. We have emphasised our opposition to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc, cutting edge of bourgeois anti-Sovietism in West Europe. From the Caribbean to Indochina we have defended the Soviet bloc deformed workers states against counterrevolution, and today vigilance is more necessary than ever in defending the homeland of the October Revolution.

continued on page 8

Yes! Solidarność is anti-socialist!

...p2



Under the terror in Sri Lanka

...p6



Scargill, Poland and the left

Yes! Solidarność is

anti-socialist!

For his opposition to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc, Arthur Scargill has become the target of unanimous condemnation from Fleet Street, the Tories, TUC/Labour Cold Warriors and fake revolutionaries. In a TUC congress already taking place under the ensign of Cold War, Scargill touched the rawest of social-democratic anti-communist nerves when his letter opposing Solidarnosc as 'anti-socialist' was published in the Workers Revolutionary Party's *News Line*.

NATO/CIA lovers Chapple, Duffy & Co were already making the running over the anti-Soviet Korean Airlines provocation and Scargill's 'President Ray-gun' speech in Moscow -- aiming to bludgeon the limp TUC 'lefts' and keep the British labour movement firmly in line with Cold War austerity prerogatives: Kate Losinska, railed that Scargill was a tool of the Kremlin and a 'disgrace' to the British labour movement' Claptrap. Scargill was right to call Reagan and Thatcher 'the most dangerous duo' and speak of US imperialism having a 'paranoiac determination to stop the advance of socialism'. He can indeed say 'I criticise Thatcher when I'm at home and I'm entitled to do it in Moscow'. And it's a welcome change to hear a trade union leader say 'I am not prepared to be a party to attacks on the Soviet Union'. The social democrats and their fake-revolutionary acolytes who have joined Thatcher and Reagan in egging on counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc but now wring their hands at the witchhunting of Scargill are a bunch of bleeding hearts. They made their bed, now lie in it. Uniquely we Trotskyists who openly said 'Stop Solidarnosc Counterrevolution' have no qualms in defending Scargill against these anti-socialist, anti-working class attacks.

From the point of view of the NATO lovers and their imperialist masters, the publication of Scargill's letter could not have been timed better. The political bandits of the WRP orchestrated the whole incident, holding back Scargill's letter and their pro-Solidarnosc reply for six weeks so it would detonate an explosion at the TUC. Afterwards they crowed about it: 'But it was the intervention of the *News Line*, with publication of miners' leader Arthur Scargill's infamous denunciation of Poland's independent trade union Solidarity, which brought the international class struggle into the centre of the congress' (*News Line*, 10 September). But the WRP haven't been the only ones helping to feed a Cold War crusade. From *Socialist Organiser* to *Socialist Action*, the centrist Workers Power group and more, a host of Labour-loyal fake Trotskyists have made clear that their usual cringing support to left bureaucrat Scargill at home most definitely does not include his opposition to the Polish company union for the CIA and bankers. These fake revolutionaries seek to be frontrunners for 'solidarity with Solidarnosc' -- and end up in bed with the most right-wing anti-Communists. But many workers are instinctively, and correctly, suspicious of a 'union' so beloved of their hated class enemies Reagan, Thatcher and Tebbit. The same people who hail Solidarnosc abroad to fuel their anti-Soviet offensive are on the warpath against workers' jobs and workers' unions at home. The

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SPARTACIST BRITAIN

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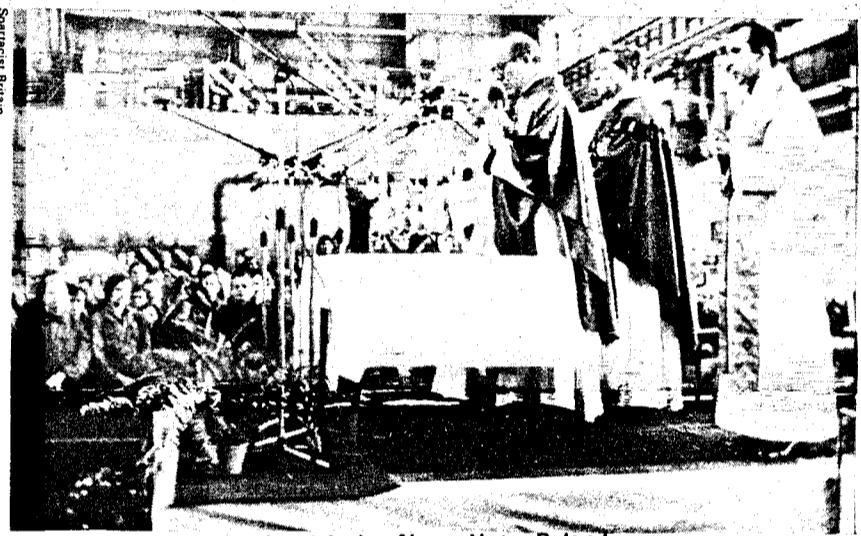
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attacks against Scargill are part of a broader anti-communist witchhunt, from which the Solidarnosc-loving fake revolutionaries have not been exempted. Aside from Militant, fifteen supporters of *Socialist Action* were viciously witchhunted out of BL Cowley recently.

To be sure, Scargill is a bureaucrat with his own record of sellout. But to the bourgeoisie the man who led the miners at Saltley Gates is also a symbol -- of miners' militancy and their struggles in the seventies which dealt humiliating defeats to the Tories. They particularly want to get this man. Their attacks on Scargill are attacks on every militant miner. We say: Defend Arthur Scargill against the anti-communist witchhunt! Reinstate the Cowley 15! Defend the unions against the union bashers! Down with counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc! Defend the Soviet Union against the imperialist war drive!

Solidarnosc has become the password for social-democratic anti-communism in NATO Europe.



Left: Scargill at the TUC. Right: mass during a strike at the Lenin Steelworks, Nowa Huta, Poland.

Formed around the Baltic Coast strikes in 1980, Solidarnosc was initially a contradictory organisation. While the strike wave was a justifiable reaction against bureaucratic mismanagement, privilege and abuse, the clear influence of the Catholic hierarchy and reactionary Polish nationalist forces indicated from the outset that Solidarnosc could well take the road of pro-capitalist counterrevolution.

At its September 1981 congress that's just what it did. Solidarnosc consolidated around a programme for capitalist restoration: a programme from which even the word socialism was absent. It called for dismantling the planned economy in favour of market forces and 'enterprise self-management'. Its call for 'free trade unions' throughout East Europe was a provocative echoing of the slogan of the CIA-backed Radio Free Europe. At this point, the Spartacist League said 'Stop Solidarity's counterrevolution!'. And when the Polish Stalinists imposed martial law, spiking Solidarnosc's bid for power, we defended this -- against Reagan, Thatcher, the CIA, pope and pro-capitalist social democrats. We said that it is necessary to defend the workers' gains in the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialist-backed counterrevolution.

The imperialists saw in Solidarnosc a chance to 'roll back Communism', a chance to get NATO weaponry on the borders of the Soviet Union and, especially for the European bourgeoisies and their social-democratic henchmen, a chance to begin the restoration of capitalism to the Soviet bloc without nuclear war in Europe. Poland became a front line in the war drive against the USSR, and so became a key test for those left groups wishing to cosy up to Cold War social democracy. The one-time International Marxist Group changed its name to Socialist League and adopted the Solidarnosc logo for its *Socialist Action* newspaper masthead (it expressed, they explained, 'our vision of socialism'). The smaller Workers Power joined Pilsudskiite anti-Semites on Solidarnosc defence demonstrations and echoed the Chapples and Heales in calling for union blacking of Polish exports (all the

while admitting, wretched centrists that they are, that Solidarnosc's programme and leaders were pro-capitalist!).

But without doubt vying to be the most virulent Cold War 'Trotskyists' have been the Socialist Organiser Alliance of Sean Matganna/Alan Thornett. Well before *News Line* got in on the act, *Socialist Organiser* was denouncing Scargill over Solidarnosc and his refusal to toe the line in the Cold War. An 'open letter to Arthur Scargill' in the July 21 issue ranted against 'Soviet tyranny', complaining that, 'You condemn Solidarnosc, the chosen representative of millions of Polish workers, for demanding what we, even under a Tory government, can take for granted as a basic right.' *SO's* position is pure and simple social-democratic anti-communism, replete with an asinine bourgeois democrat's faith in what can be taken for 'granted' in Tory Britain.

The fake-revolutionary rat pack denounce Scargill only when he demurs from being the left social democrat they wish to idolise. According to *SO*, 'he is a consistent advocate of class struggle politics' at home, though certainly not in Poland. Scargill's stand against counterrevolution in Poland does not mean he has a solution to offer Polish workers and contrary to what *SO* says he does not have a policy for working class victory in Britain. Scargill's response to the witchhunt at Blackpool was not to stand up and fight the right-wing CIA-lovers. On the contrary, his first speech to the conference after the furore broke out was an impassioned appeal to his 'comrades' -- right and 'left' -- to join together in a fight for protectionist import controls. When Losinska & Co took the podium to denounce him, he sat silent and ash-faced. One week later he was smiling and shaking hands with would-be NCB master-butcher Ian

MacGregor.

And what of Scargill's vice president, Communist Party member Mick McGahey? Or Ray Buckton, Ken Gill and other vaunted 'friends of the Soviet Union'? CP trade union supporters spoke privately against the Cold War onslaught. But on the conference floor no one, including the CP supporters, went to the rostrum to denounce the anti-Soviet filth of the Evans, Duffys, Chapples and Losinskis. The *Morning Star*, supposedly controlled by the pro-Soviet 'tankie' wing of the CP, gave not a word of support to Scargill's anti-Solidarnosc stance.

The politics of the CP, like those of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow (and indeed of Scargill himself) are based on an illusory and treacherous quest for 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialism. The nationalist/conciliationist politics of the Stalinist bureaucrats, based on the programme of 'socialism in one country', undermine the defence of the workers states. In Poland they created the present disastrous situation and are patently incapable of fundamentally resolving it. Scargill is a Stalinist fellow-traveller who can offer no solution for Polish workers. Defence and extension of the gains of the Russian Revolution requires the building of Trotskyist parties to lead workers political revolution in the deformed/degenerated workers states and proletarian socialist revolution in the capitalist West. Scargill and the CP's support to Labourism, their appeals to 'peaceful coexistence' abroad and at home, their support to the nationalist poison of protectionism and betrayal of workers' struggles, are an obstacle to building the desperately necessary revolutionary leadership in Britain. Indeed they reinforce the kind of nationalism and defeatism which fuel the anti-Soviet war drive.

The Blackpool conference and the attacks on Scargill could not have made clearer the connection between imperialist anti-Soviet war fever and the bosses' offensive to shackle the unions and drive down the workers at home. Thatcher hates the British workers, Thatcher hates the Russian workers -- Defend the workers unions, defend the workers states! ■

Defend Vietnam/USSR against imperialist war drive!

Seat the real government of Cambodia -- the People's Republic of Kampuchea!

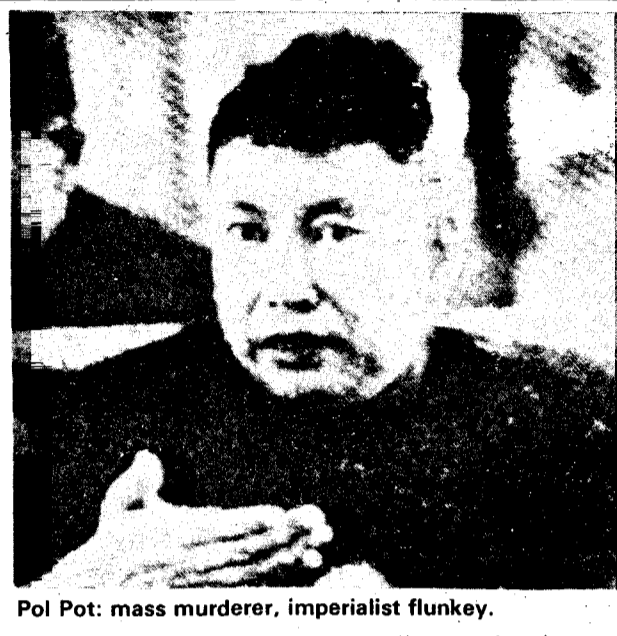
Genocidal Pol Pot gang out of UN!

We protest the obscenity of the genocidal, ousted Pol Pot forces holding the United Nations seat for Kampuchea (Cambodia)! Even in the UN, whose predecessor Lenin aptly called 'a den of thieves', even among bloody US-backed Central American dictators, Pakistan's General Zia, or even compared to Idi Amin, the murderous Pol Pot and his number two mass killer Ieng Sary are an obscenity. Since early 1979, when the Vietnamese toppled the Pol Pot regime, which killed two million of its own people, the US in alliance with China has armed the terrorist bands of the deposed dictator for attacks against Kampuchea. On September 21, 1979 and each year since the UN has voted to seat the universally despised Pol Pot forces instead of the Heng Samrin government as part of US imperialism's unrelenting drive to punish the victorious Vietnamese Revolution and undo its own humiliating defeat. *No UN Seat for Pol Pot/Ieng Sary -- Bloody Imperialist/Chinese Toys! Seat Heng Samrin Government, Real Government of Kampuchea!*

The US attempt to strangle the heroic Vietnamese, whose strategic Cam Ranh Bay naval port is a roadblock to American ambitions, is part of the US' all-out war drive against the Soviet Union. From Pol Pot to the deadly Flight 007 Cold War provocation to Diego Garcia to Sri Lanka's Trincomalee, US efforts to whip up war hysteria and encircle the USSR with a ring of nuclear launching pads have left a bloody trail of terror and death across the globe. Criminally, the Peking government has eagerly backed this deadly imperialist policy, repeatedly launching military attacks against northern Vietnam in line with US policy. *China: Keep Out of Indochina! US -- You Lost! Yankee Imperialism Out of Southeast Asia!*

When the US and its corrupt henchmen like Lon Nol fled Indochina after the triumph of the Vietnamese Revolution, the Khmer Rouge occupied Phnom Penh. Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge were led by a bunch of college boys who sat out the war against French colonialism in Paris, then returned to take over the Cambodian party by murder and whipping up Khmer chauvinism. The first to be wiped out by Pol Pot's forces were the Cambodian Communist cadres associated with the Vietnamese. *Pol Pot Killed Real Khmer Communists, then Committed Genocide!*

The logical extension of Pol Pot's Cambodia wasn't even Stalin's purges and labour camps, it was Jonestown! Pol Pot's abolition of cities, of factories, of money and his massive reversion to subsistence agriculture -- a pre-feudal programme based on fantasies of recreating the barbaric Angkor Wat slave kingdoms -- utterly shattered any rational economic base for the regime,

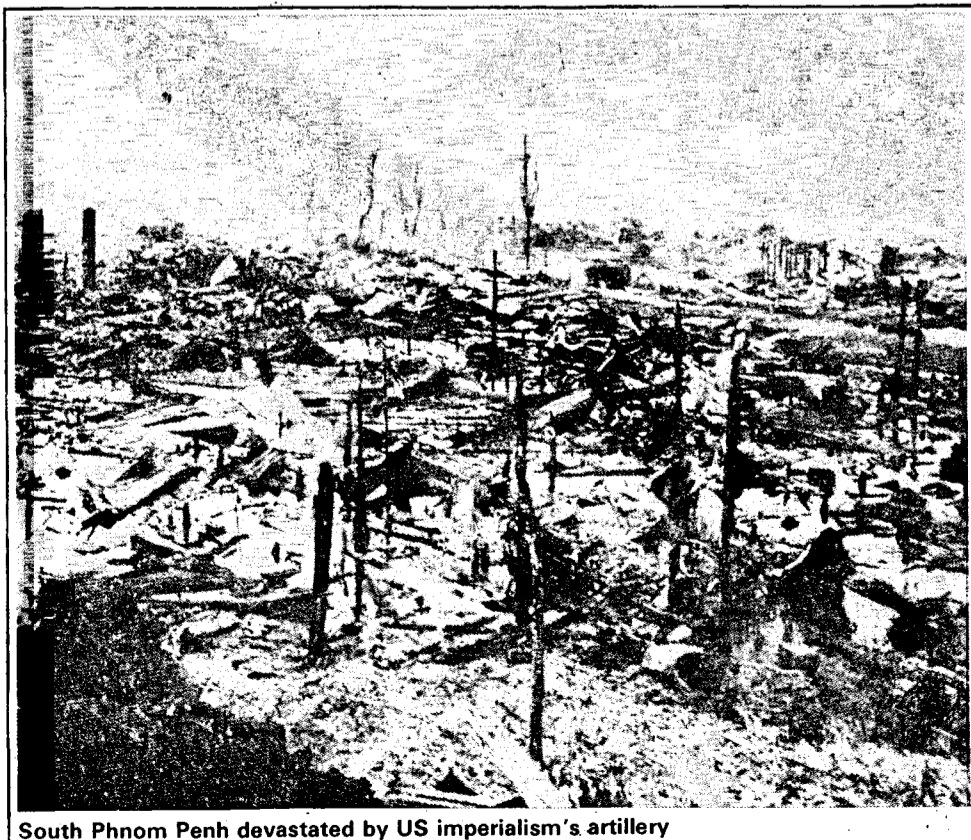


Pol Pot: mass murderer, imperialist flunkey.

thus any restraints on the ruling clique. Just after the Khmer Rouge took power in 1975, we denounced Pol Pot's brutal depopulation of the capital, noting that 'for Marxists, it is crucial to preserve this economic infrastructure'. The mountain of skulls found in mass graves at Cheoung Ek, the torture chambers in Phnom Penh, the stories from every survivor of people beaten to death with poles, starvation and brutal slave labour -- this was Pol Pot's Cambodia.

Even former US diplomat Emory Swank, who was US ambassador to the Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh, admitted in an interview (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March) that 'The Vietnamese, who occupied a totally disorganised, almost destitute land, have provided assistance of all sorts... Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery.' When the Vietnamese army intervened in 1979, we declared our opposition to a long-term occupation army, which could raise to the fore the national question for the Khmer people, but did not demand immediate withdrawal. We asked: Given a choice, would the Khmer people prefer to retain the irrational peasant xenophobia of the murderous Pol Pot or to have schools, marriage of their choice, food, children, medicine and wages? The verdict is clearly now in. *Hail Liberation of Khmer People! Hail Reconstruction -- Kampuchean People Now Have a Future!*

Though Pol Pot's murderous horror helped bring the Khmer people to the edge of extinction, the mass murder was started long before --



South Phnom Penh devastated by US imperialism's artillery

by the US. In 1969 under Nixon and Kissinger the US began four years of devastating secret carpet bombing of Cambodia, with at least the passive acquiescence of then-ruler Prince Sihanouk. From 1970 to 1973, the US rained down more than 100 tons of bombs for every person in Cambodia, shattering the fragile economy. Probably more than a million died during the civil war against US puppet Lon Nol, and famine was raging when the US brutally imposed a blockade in 1975. Today US imperialism tries to starve Vietnam and Kampuchea via a Washington-orchestrated blockade of trade and credits. Most criminally, some two and a half million Vietnamese have been withdrawn from the desper-

ately necessary work of economic construction in order to defend northern Vietnam against Chinese military pressure backed by the US.

Today the US and their puppets back a witches' brew of capitalist cliques with the bloody remnants of the Pol Pot forces clinging to the Thai border for survival. They have tried to force together an unholy alliance of the CIA-favoured semi-fascist monarchist 'businessman' Son Sann, the shameless playboy pimp Prince Sihanouk (much of whose family was slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge!) with the Pol Pot/Ieng Sary/Khieu Samphan forces. This wretched gang, committed to capitalist restoration in Kampuchea, could only come to power on the back of an outright imperialist military onslaught. *Prince Sihanouk -- Stay on the Riviera! Capitalist Restoration Never! Smash Imperialist Blockade of Vietnam!*

The Trotskyist Spartacist League/US, as American revolutionists in the 'belly of the beast' during the Vietnam War, raised the slogan 'All Indochina Must Go Communist!' and called for labour strikes against the war. In 1975 the international Spartacist tendency hailed the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution and the driving out of capitalism from Indochina as a historic victory for the world's working people. Today, as we call for military victory to the heroic leftist rebels in El Salvador and Central America, we raise the slogan against the bourgeois defeatists: *Vietnam was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for US Imperialism!*

The legitimate national rights of the Khmer people can only be fulfilled in a genuine Soviet federation of Indochina (in which Vietnam would necessarily play a leading role) based on revolutionary internationalism. The Stalinist bureaucracies from Peking to Moscow have for decades sold out other people's revolutions for their own narrow nationalistic interests and utopian reactionary dreams of 'coexistence' with capitalism, with bitter effects from Central America to Sri Lanka to Indochina. Despite the heroism of the Indochinese workers and peasants in defeating US imperialism, that war-torn and imperialist-blockaded but Soviet-aided area faces great difficulties in holding out against the US' war drive and unrelenting pressure. It is the historic understanding of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism which can lead the working class to the shattering of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and to placing the enormous economic resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi fully in the service of world revolution. *For a Genuine Soviet Federation of Indochina! Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia! For the Rebirth of an Authentic Communist, Fourth International -- World Party of Socialist Revolution!* ■

International protest

Genocidal Pol Pot gang out of UN!

Defend Vietnam/USSR against imperialist war drive!

Seat the real government of Cambodia - the People's Republic of Kampuchea!

The Spartacist League will be organising a picket to protest the seating of genocidal butcher Pol Pot in the UN, one of a series of pickets called by sections of the international Spartacist tendency. For details, contact us on (01) 278 2232.

In fear of Trotskyism

We reprint below for the interest of our readers an article from the latest issue of *Real Life*, journal of the Communist Party youth group, the Young Communist League (YCL). The article, by one Mark Lewis of the Tower Hamlets YCL, clearly accords with the views of the so-called 'Leninist' grouping, a small tendency which seeks to provide an 'ideological' left cover for the CP/YCL and their cravenly reformist politics.

Lewis's attempt at polemic against the Spartacist League is notable for two things. First is the picture he paints of the pathetic state of the YCL -- and of the impact our Trotskyist politics have had among its members. He admits we have been winning revolutionary-minded working-class youth from the YCL because the latter is 'totally unable to offer them that vision of revolution'. Indeed! And no wonder. Just look at the kind of politics the CP/YCL push:

- Bowing before imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War -- calling for Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, supporting counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc. When Cold Warriors railed against Arthur Scargill over Solidarnosc at the TUC not a single CP supporter, including dissident so-called 'tankies', rose to denounce them.
- Shackling the workers to pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and Labourites; promoting

class-collaborationist alliances with SDPers and even Tory 'wets'. They even had youth thrown off the People's March for chanting 'Tories out'!

• Capitulating utterly to British imperialism. The CP doesn't even think the troops should get out of Ireland now. And while the Trotskyists say 'Defend the Soviet Union against NATO imperialism', *Morning Star* headlines tell CND marchers to 'Defend Britain!'

No wonder one Scottish youth could tell us, at the April YCL congress, that before he joined the YCL he too believed you needed a revolution to overthrow the capitalist state -- but no longer. Any would-be communist who joins the YCL must either quickly become a cynical reformist or else start looking for a revolutionary alternative. A series of former YCLers, including the three Merseyside youth excluded at the April congress, have discovered that on the key issues of the day the Trotskyist Spartacist League has this revolutionary alternative.

Which brings us to the second point about Lewis's polemic. It clearly exposes the role of the misnamed 'Leninists' as 'left' water boys for CP/YCL treachery. Lewis gives only a hint of the deep internal turmoil presently afflicting these organisations. In the lead-up to the November party congress, calls are flying thick and fast for the ousting of the McLennan/Eurocommunist executive. But none of the various over-

lapping oppositions even approaches a communist alternative. *Straight Left* wants to liquidate even deeper into the Labour Party. Chater/Costello and the *Morning Star* want to suck up even further to the trade union bureaucracy. All uphold the anti-revolutionary Stalinist programme of 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialism.

And what do the 'Leninists' say? They try to throw sand in people's eyes with various polemics, sometimes even abstractly correct polemics, against 'liquidationism'. They emit studiously vague mutterings about 'problems' with the history and tradition of the 'world communist [ie Stalinist] movement'. Then they get to their operative conclusion: you should bloc with one leadership clique (Chater/Costello) against another; perhaps there are difficulties but 'some elements' are 'evolving', which is 'healthy'; the YCL congress showed 'weakness' but 'marked a strong shift to the left'. And, to crown it all: 'The place for all genuine communists is in the Communist Party of Great Britain.' Except genuine communists who, like the Merseyside youth, try to fight for revolutionary politics, get thrown out! The goal of Mark Lewis and the 'Leninists' is to make the CP and YCL more effective against these politics.

Why? Because for all their 'left' noises the 'Leninists' share the same bankrupt Stalinist

MARX AND SPARTS

Delegates to the recent YCL congress (April 1983), must have been rather surprised by the close attention paid to them by the Spartacist League (S.L.) paper sellers, and by the constant harassment and brow-beating that YCL comrades suffered at the SL's hands every time they ventured outside the congress Hall. Ominously, the YCL has now lost (so far) at least 4 comrades to the fundamentalist ranting of the SL. Admittedly, this is a small part of the continual haemorrhaging of League membership, a drop in the ocean in fact, but nevertheless, this figure is significant.

The comrades that we lost were not simply 'wild-eyed' Trots, who had infiltrated us in order to destroy us. They were, (and presumably still are), young working class people who wanted to be revolutionaries, and who fell under the SL's influence because they found the YCL totally unable to offer them that vision of revolution. The fact that they have opted for the bizarre revisionism of the SL is again an indictment of us - it is indeed a depressing perspective when people prefer the SL's grey biblicism to anything the YCL can offer.

The SL itself originated inside the American SWP as the Revolutionary Tendency - circa 1961. After their bureaucratic expulsion, they constituted themselves as the SL in 1964. Since that time their entire political outlook has been characterised by a barren sectionalism -

"We recognise that a currently embryonic Party organisation must necessarily constitute itself in the form of a 'fighting propaganda group', in order, by destroying ostensibly revolutionary organisations, to initiate and/or drive forward a regroupment process in order thereby to build up ones own organisation".

(From 'Spartacist Truth Kit', J. Lister, quoted in 'The Death Agony of the Fourth International', page 63).

This is the main task that the SL sets itself, not to win other left groups by argument, but rather to 'destroy' them. This attitude to other left groups and ideological struggle was graphically illustrated by the unprincipled conduct of the two 'contract' members of the SL who operated inside Liverpool YCL branch. They at no time engaged in any real form of ideological struggle - they never once, for example, submitted an article explaining their ideas and positions to Challenge or Real Life. Instead they limited their "struggle" for "leninism" to trying to split away members of a new and relatively inexperienced branch. Evidently, their grasp of Leninism was a little shaky and wisely decided not to commit themselves to print.

I feel this a great pity, for I, for one, would have enjoyed their attempts to defend the Trotskyite Tradition.

For example, all Trotskyite organisations are faced with a fundamental problem. Was the 1933 defeat of the German CP qualitatively the same as the social patriotism of the Parties of the 2nd International during World War I? Did it, as Trotsky claimed, represent the "definite passing over of the comintern to the side of the Bourgeoisie..."? Clearly not.

The handling of the German question by the Comintern was a colossal and tragic blunder and I doubt there would be many in the World Communist movement who would present it as anything else. But was it a betrayal? A conscious decision by the Comintern to sell out one of its single most powerful component parts - the German Communist Party? Does this, in all honesty sound likely? Surely only the most pedantic sectarian could claim that it was.

Another problem confronts our Trotskyite friends. Following Lenin's organisational split from the opportunism of the Second International the mass upheavals in many countries were led by the Parties of the Third International - the flowering of this revolutionary epoch, of course, coming in the Russian Revolution of 1917.

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THEORETICAL AND DISCUSSION JOURNAL OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

It was precisely because the Social-Democratic parties of the 2nd International had betrayed the interests of the international proletariat and gone over to the side of their 'own' bourgeoisie that the 3rd International became a genuine 'World Party' that tens of millions looked to for political leadership and inspiration. If, as the Trotskyites claim, the 3rd International in its turn had become "counter-revolutionary", then Trotsky's prediction that:

"During the next ten years the programme of the 4th International will become the guide of millions..." (Trotsky-Writings 1938-9 p.20) would have been perfectly justified. However the real experience has been that the 4th International has split time and time again, remained miniscule in proportion to the grandiose nature of its claims and nowhere has led a revolution. This is conclusive proof that the characterisation of the 3rd International as "counter-revolutionary", for all its bureaucratic and conservative deformations, was nonsense.

The S.L. are no more than a minor irritant - but there are general lessons to be learned from our involvement with this organisation. Firstly, and most glaringly, we can clearly see the need for far more education for our members.

This aspect of League work has been criminally neglected by the League leadership in the past and its consequences were graphically illustrated by those few League members who actually tried to engage the S.L. in political debate. The majority of comrades retreated to such an extent that most of them denied the relevance of Lenin to modern day Britain and some even of Marx himself!

Secondly, we must reject the conspiratorial, sectarian, and bureaucratic modes of inner League life that have dominated us over the recent period. For instance, I was personally suspected of being an 'under-cover' 'Spart' merely because I had quoted from their American review, 'Workers Vanguard'. This is indicative of the way different ideas and tendencies have been treated within the League. Instead of debating different ideas openly, people are merely labelled Euro's, 'Tankies', or, increasingly, 'Trots', and consigned to different corners, marginalised, and their ideas simply not discussed. Now, obviously, I'm not saying that there are not very different tendencies within the YCL - only a fool would say that sharply antagonistic groupings do not exist within our organisation. However, the point is that we are now (thankfully) a democratically centralist organisation. A fundamental tenet of democratic centralism is a free, unfettered and open discussion of all political differences and points of view in both Real Life and Challenge. We must be careful not to conceive of Democratic Centralism as allowing us to exclude those views and standpoints that we may disagree with.

This is not democratic but bureaucratic centralism. The airing of differences

openly in the pages of all League publications can only be healthy for the League as a whole.

Thirdly, and lastly, we must be aware of why the S.L. turned up in such numbers and with such a dogged determination to do battle with us. The S.L. are the vultures of the British left - they turned up to harass us precisely because we are so weak, both ideologically and organisationally. The Congress, though it marked a welcome shift to the left in the League, did not represent a decisive break with our record of degeneration, and an examination of its causes and remedies.

Until that task is undertaken, we will not build our organisation in a real sense, as we will be destined to repeat our past errors. The Congress was healthy of the League, but that most important of tasks remains to be completed.

Mark Lewis
(Tower Hamlets YCL)

tradition and programme. Lewis makes this clear in his arguments on Germany 1933, the history of the 'world communist movement' and the supposed irrelevance of the Trotskyists. These are not original; indeed most are just feebly cribbed from arch Eurocommunist Monty Johnstone's anti-Trotskyist diatribes. We have fully dealt with them on many occasions, including in our pamphlet 'Stalin School of Falsification Revisited' and most recently in our April 8 letter to the 'Leninists', reprinted in *Spartacist Britain* no 49, May 1983. (To date, they have neither published nor answered this.) Here we can only repeat some basic points.

The German CP allowed Hitler's unopposed rise to power, saying 'After Hitler, us'. This left the most powerful workers movement in Europe crushed, literally for decades, and directly paved the way to the carnage of World War II, including the mortal threat to the Soviet Union on the Eastern Front. All this, to Mark Lewis, was a mere 'blunder', albeit a 'tragic' one. When the Stalinist Communist International leadership concluded that nothing major was amiss, that the policies of the German CP had been correct -- and when there was no opposition from within the Comintern -- Trotsky concluded that the Comintern was dead as a revolutionary instrument. His approach was identical to that of Lenin in 1914 with regard to the Second International. He concluded that the only road to the international extension of the October Revolution lay through a new Fourth International, based upon the fundamental revolutionary acquisitions of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the early Comintern.

That this perspective was correct was fully and rapidly confirmed when the parties of the Stalinised Comintern began propounding the policies of the popular front, forming class-collaborationist alliances with so-called 'progressive' bourgeois elements. The programme of 'socialism in one country' adopted by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR had its inevitable counterrevolutionary consequences: revolutions in other countries would be sacrificed on the altar of what became known as 'peaceful coexistence' between the Soviet state and the capitalist west.

This programme has led to countless bloody betrayals of the proletariat (yes, Mark Lewis, *betrayals*): from Spain in the late 1930s to Greece and Italy after WWII, to France 1968, Chile 1970-73 and much more. In Britain it turned the CPGB into, at best, a second-rate Labour Party. It isn't a matter of academic quibbles, of snotty jibes about 'grey biblicalism'. This is the tradition and the programme that, purged of some extreme variants, the 'Leninists' seek to excuse, justify, continue and defend against the Trotskyist revolutionary alternative.

For this, Lewis wants more education. Ironically (but predictably), the only 'educational' document he actually cites is the so-called 'Spartacist Truth Kit' written by an individual who styles himself ... 'Trotskyist'. (In reality, John Lister of the Workers Socialist League is a virulently anti-Soviet Labourite.) To our knowledge, since its appearance last year this pamphlet has been put to precisely two uses: first, to give ideological support to anti-communist, pro-CIA trade union bureaucrats who want to purge Spartacist-supported militants from the unions (see our article 'WSL's witch-hunt manual', *Spartacist Britain* no 47, February 1983); and second, to give politically-impooverished anti-Spartacist polemicists like Lewis something to say. And what Lewis does say is telling -- against himself. 'Building up one's own organisation' through a 'regroupment process' is *fundamental* to Leninism. How else did Lenin's Bolsheviks build a revolutionary party but by winning adherents from and politically destroying their ostensibly revolutionary opponents, centrally the Mensheviks and SRs? Indeed the revolutionary CPGB was founded in 1920 through just such a regroupment. But this would of course seem an abomination to Lewis and his friends, whose idea of 'regroupment' is cheering on Chater/Costello and whose model of a revolutionary party is a rotten federated party with 'open discussion of all political differences' in the public press.

Finally, readers of Lewis's article should note a couple of shoddy lies and cover-ups. He claims that the Merseyside YCLers 'at no time engaged in any real form of ideological struggle'. Even a glance at their leaflet to the YCL congress (reprinted in *Spartacist Britain* no 50, June 1983) will shoot that one down. But their political fight inside the CP/YCL also included letters and documents, centrally on Poland, submitted to *Morning Star*, *Comment* and ... *The Leninist*. While the first two refused to publish anything, the last printed; belatedly, a partial version -- and then declined to make a political response. ('Spart out', read *The Leninist's* inventive headline.) Further, we recall that at the YCL congress our friend Mark

RCP: anti-Soviet cult

What would you think about a group whose leader tells 'jokes' about stoning homosexuals to death in Iran, publicly announces that 'the veil is just another article of clothing' while shouting to all and sundry that 'the woman question is a tenth-rate question', and then has his signature auctioned off for £100 in a room filled with his followers? A group whose monthly newspaper claims that 'The Soviet Union is an enemy of the working class'? Some religious cult? No, the group in question is the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the would-be ayatollah RCP leader Frank Richards. The RCP's pretentiously misnamed July educational conference, 'Preparing for Power', provided graphic evidence that this petty-bourgeois radical cult, opting hard for anti-Sovietism in this period of Cold War, can go off in many strange and dangerous directions.

The RCP, firmly mired in the anti-Soviet 'third camp' beside its Socialist Workers Party godfathers, even denies that there is an imperialist war drive against the USSR. Richards' opening address to the conference ('Marxism since 1945') moaned that Marxism had died in the 1920s as a result of the 'bureaucratic takeover' of the Soviet Union. The Russian Revolution was scarcely mentioned, Trotsky once in passing and the struggle of the Left Opposition not at all. Behind the political bankruptcy and defeatism exemplified by Richards' speech and the crude mass party posturing and bully-boy bravado which permeated the conference is a strident capitulation to imperialist Cold War anti-Communism. When Spartacist League (SL) speakers confronted Richards in the discussion period with the RCP's support to the Polish nationalism of counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc and cheering for CIA-backed mullahs against the Red Army in Afghanistan, his only response was to 'joke' about 'clerical reaction' meaning white-collar workers.

The RCP's real reply came a few minutes later. When the opening session had finished and the hall had been cleared, out poured RCP thugs who, amidst pushing, shoving and threats to push Spartacist supporters down the stairs, announced that all SLers were henceforth excluded from the conference. We underlined the politics of this anti-communist exclusion in a protest picket, chanting 'Poland today, Korea '53: Richards, Cliff -- friends of the bourgeoisie'. As we pointed out in a leaflet entitled 'Why is the RCP afraid of Trotskyism?',

'Three years ago Tony Cliff's SWP bureaucratically excluded the SL from its "Marxism in the Eighties" for exposing their "third campist" capitulation to imperialist anti-Sovietism. Frank Richards signed a protest statement. Now Richards excludes us -- for the same reason.'

The RCP, vicarious enthusiast of petty-bourgeois nationalist 'anti-imperialism', repudiates the defence of the gains of the first workers revolution in order to fall in behind imperialist anti-Sovietism in Poland, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

For the rest of the week aggressive SL sales teams sold literature to conference partici-

pants, including dozens of *Spartacist Britains* with our article 'RCP: "born again" Cliffites'. A *Workers Vanguard* obituary on heroic Soviet spy Donald Maclean drew particular venom from these 'anti-Stalinists' who apparently prefer British imperialism to the USSR. Eventually RCPers were assigned to act as thought police, instructing their members and contacts not to buy literature or talk to us (many did anyway). Individuals who protested the exclusion inside were 'sent to Coventry' -- not answered and ignored for the rest of the week, in the hope they would go away. Not surprisingly the RCP ended its educational week a half day early and devoted a total of six lines to it in the next step.

Trotsky wrote in 1934, 'Every political tendency that waves its hand hopelessly at the USSR, on the pretext of its "non-proletarian" character, runs the risk of becoming the passive agency of imperialism' ('Class Nature of the Soviet State'). So with the RCP, a rightward-moving petty-bourgeois organisation with increasingly bizarre and openly anti-working-class positions: calling the trade unions 'part of the establishment' and refusing to defend such hard-won gains as the closed shop against attack; opposing the elementary demand 'No platform for fascists'; renouncing the communist programme



RCP contingent on national Chile demo, September 11. The words may oppose imperialism, but the colours are red, white and blue. Under which flag, RCP?

for women's emancipation in favour of a call to 'free the family from the Tories'; bowing to anti-working-class petty-bourgeois nationalism from Iran to Ireland; and acting in practice more and more like a mere left pressure group on Labourites and such like, with its calls on Labour councils to set up 'PTA-free' and 'apartheid-free zones'.

Indicative of how weird the RCP's politics can go was an incident one evening of the conference in which a gaggle of RCPers riding a bus route on which British Movement types are often observed fingered an SL supporter they recognised with wild shouts of, 'There's a communist on the bus'. Most recently we saw Richards & Co marching on the September 11 national Chile solidarity demo behind a red-white-and-blue banner amalgamating the British and American flags that looked for all the world like a National Front banner. No communist red banners for these Russia-haters! Where is the RCP going? Under which flag? As our 'Preparing for Power' leaflet warned, 'If you're a member or supporter of the RCP who really wants to help make a socialist revolution, ... we say you'd better stop and think, once, twice, ten times.'

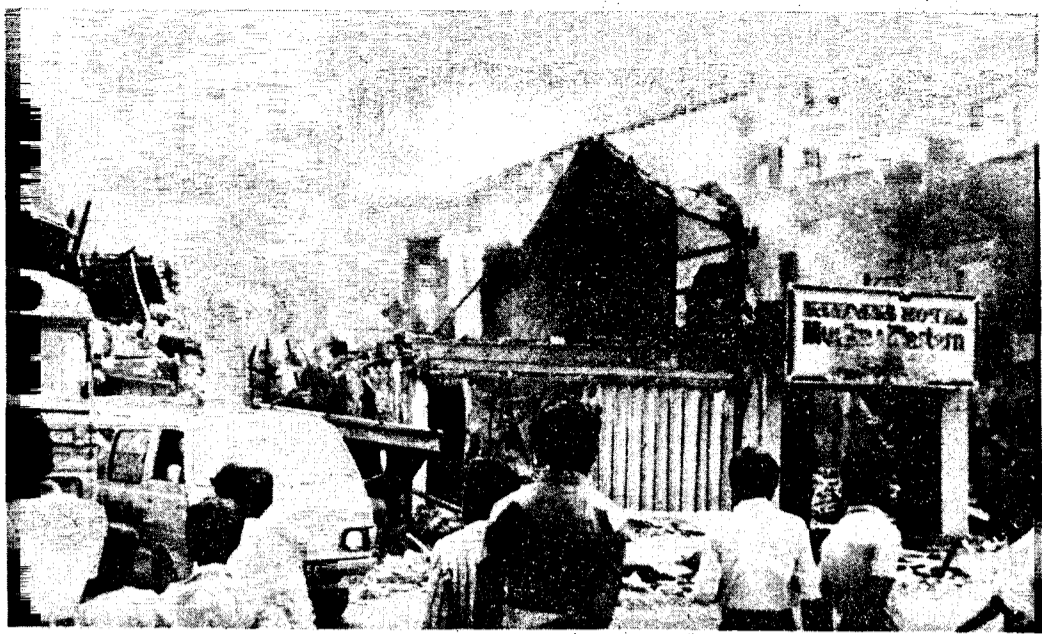
Lewis was among those who continually rushed past the excluded comrades as they stood at the door distributing their leaflet and seeking political debate. And his article notably avoids taking up any of the key contemporary issues on which they fought -- the war drive, Poland, Ireland, CND, you name it. Some 'ideological struggle'!

The CPGB is long dead for revolution, and Mark Lewis and his friends want to stop would-be revolutionary youth from looking elsewhere for a genuine communist alternative. Lewis complains about YCLers looking for 'undercover' Trotskyists -- even he was suspected, it seems. Read his article, then read what the Merseyside

youth and other former YCLers who joined the Spartacist League had to say. Do you really want to defend and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution, oppose your 'own' bourgeoisie without flinching, and build a revolutionary party which can break the grip of Labourism on the working class and lead the workers to power? Then you've got to reject the CP/YCL and their 'Leninist' con artists. Study our press, join in our activities; we're confident you'll see that real Leninism today is uniquely embodied in the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League.

(PS: Responsibility for the many typographic and spelling errors in Lewis's article is purely that of Mark Lewis and *Real Life*.)

Under the terror in Sri Lanka



US out of the Indian Ocean! For the right of Tamil Eelam!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (no 337, 9 September 1983), paper of the Spartacist League/US.

The seventh national conference of the Spartacist League/US was held in August. International Spartacist tendency (iSt) fraternal delegates and observers were present from seven other countries. Unable to be with us were comrades of our section in Sri Lanka. That small Indian Ocean island nation was being torn apart by Sinhala chauvinist terror against the national/religious minority people, the Tamils, as pogroms instigated and organized by sections of the governing United National Party (UNP) of JR Jayewardene ripped the country apart along national lines. The army which has for years terrorized the overwhelmingly Tamil North simply ran wild, while in Colombo and throughout the South Sinhalese mobs carried out wholesale burning of Tamil-owned businesses and wholesale massacres. Tamil men, women and children were incinerated inside buses, thrown from moving trains, beaten and torn to shreds in the streets.

The anti-Tamil terror is severing the economic and geographical interpenetration of Lanka's peoples. The systematic destruction of Tamil-owned factories and stores (incidentally destroying 150,000 jobs) has wiped out formerly important Tamil commercial layers of Colombo and the South (and the government has now seized all damaged property). The orgy of bloodletting is compacting the Tamils into the North as 100,000 or more have fled in terror for their lives. Among the tens of thousands of homeless

refugees still starving in government camps are many 'stateless' plantation workers from the uplands. This super-exploited plantation labor force (legally disenfranchised in 1948) has been central to the island's economy since British colonial days.

Despite the government's press censorship, the foreign press has documented the wholesale army rampages in the North and the participation of the cops and army in the killing elsewhere. *India Today's* comprehensive story (31 August) on the terror stressed the leading role of the UNP and rightist Buddhist extremist groups, and the organized quality of the terror: eg 'spontaneous' Sinhalese mobs had voters lists and detailed addresses of Tamil-owned property. Eyewitness accounts in the foreign press have also destroyed the government's claims, absurd on their face, that the massacre of 52 Tamil activists inside Welikada prison was carried out without the connivance of the authorities. Some of the most prominent Tamil spokesmen on the island -- Kuttimani, Jeganathan, Rajasunderam -- were slaughtered in this atrocity aimed at beheading militant wings of the Tamil nationalist movement.

JR responded to the pogroms by refusing to even hypocritically criticize the anti-Tamil terror for weeks, illegalizing advocacy of a separate Tamil state (Eelam), cracking down on three Sinhalese leftist parties (but not the hopelessly discredited reformist shell of the LSSP), and quietly sounding out the possibility of US imperialist or other foreign help against his mutinous army, spinning for such a purpose

fantastical tales about 'Marxist officers' and a Soviet-planned or JVP-inspired 'left-wing' military coup. (Swift protest from India against the prospect of Sri Lanka bringing foreign powers into the region brought denials from Jayewardene and the explosion of the UPI correspondent who broke the story.)

It has since become a commonplace that the mutinous ringleaders of the anti-Tamil pogroms were rightists, virulently chauvinist forces high up in the UNP and the military. Figures like hard-line chauvinist UNP demagogue Cyril Mathew and the increasingly prominent Douglas Liyanage have emerged as factional powers within the UNP. Meanwhile, with India acting as mediator in negotiations between Jayewardene and the bourgeois-nationalist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF, which formally advocates Eelam), the occupying army continues to rule the North under the murderous 'emergency' regulations, round-ups of leftists and others reportedly are continuing, government workers are being forced to undergo loyalty oaths (eschewing advocacy of Eelam), and the whole island is poised for the next outbreak of catastrophic anti-Tamil terror.

Until shortly before the American national conference occurred, we had received from Sri Lanka no information on the safety of our comrades, who while a very small group had become known in the course of their work as outspoken and active defenders of Tamil national rights on the island, including by seeking to link up the leftist student movement at Colombo University with the militant Tamil nationalist activism on the Jaffna campus. Over the past several years international protests against the anti-Tamil terror in Lanka, including united fronts between exile Tamil groups and iSt sections, have also received significant publicity on the island.

The main document adopted by the conference, written before the massive government-inspired pogroms in Lanka, noted 'the increasingly ominous backdrop of anti-Tamil terror and state semi-bonapartism'. The document further noted:

'Ours are Sinhalese comrades whose main work, in accordance with their Marxist-Leninist propaganda, is necessarily linked to the defense of the Tamil people, which makes them a unique Bolshevik formation on that island. The fight against Lanka's incorporation by U.S. imperialism is intimately linked to opposition to the anti-Tamil terror. The J.R. Jayewardene government, which has been moving large numbers of Sinhalese into the traditionally Tamil Eastern province where Trincomalee is located, sees the prospect of Trinco as a military base for U.S. imperialism as the trade-off to secure access to the U.S. market for the cheap manufactured products produced by the superexploited, mainly female workforce in the Free Trade Zone.'

Right before the conference, we received our first word from Sri Lanka, a press release which we published in *Workers Vanguard* no 336 (12 August). The SL/US national conference adopted a motion of communist solidarity with the Spartacist League/Lanka comrades. The greetings from the Lanka section published here were not received in time to be presented to the conference. We are also publishing [on page 7] another special dispatch from Colombo, which has been excerpted and slightly condensed for reasons of space.

Sometimes heroism is not a matter of doing things, but just of being there and standing fast. Forward to a federated socialist republic of Eelam and Lanka! ■

Greetings from our comrades

Spartacist League/Lanka
Colombo
8 August 1983

The Spartacist League/Lanka (SL/L) sends these warm greetings to the seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/US at a time when Sri Lanka is enveloped in the most severe political complexities ever recorded in its recent history.

The six-year administration of the pro-American, rightist JR Jayewardene's UNP government has not solved any problems of the people. Instead, they have become aggravated from bad to worse. The 'open economy' and the 'free trade zone' theories that the government sought to use as supporting pillars for the crashing economy, are now cracking under the unbearable burdens that rest on them. By abolishing one by one the rights of the people and by introducing tough legislation the government keeps away the people from the path of struggle. This cruel government that appeared to brighten up not only the earthly life of the people but even their lives after death, and boasted that it laid the foundation for a 'Dharmista' [Buddhist righteousness] society, has now got all its dictators' medals soaked with agony and blood of the Tamil people -- the victims of violent suppression during the last weeks. The intellectuals' and students' movements within the judiciary, religious and human rights organisations and also in the other layers of society are filled with unrest. More than at any time before, the poorest sections in the island are now facing brutal military law and the force of thugs.

The government, to keep up with its friends, is using all public media, political platforms and forces to declare a 'cold war' against the Soviet Union. To serve American and other imperialists' interests, Sri Lanka is invitingly waving its hand to American forces via capitalist trade tactics. It is seeking to join ASEAN [the Association of Southeast Asian Nations] and other counter-revolutionary organisations in an attempt to disgrace the Red victories in Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea. The government is highly respectful of the Solidarity trade-union movement activities in Poland whilst denying the right of the local workers to demonstrate, picket and strike! The fierce government, having been unable to get out of the capitalist crisis, is now gradually absorbing military juntas into its administration.

As part of the International, we of the SL/L today join you not only to fight capitalism, but social democracy, reformism and centrism too. Our part in the world is extremely difficult. Risky. We are devoted, as a propaganda group against all types of reactionaries, to building a party on the lines of Bolshevik traditions.

Comrades, Colombo is filled with guns, bayonets, barbed wire, fire, ash and burnt remains, and refugee camps. And from this city, with deep comradely feelings we hold your hand that is raising the red banner of struggle in the conference today.

- The main enemy is at home!
- Indian/Lankan workers key to socialist revolution in South Asia!
- For the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Direct from Colombo

Colombo
Friday, July 29th 1983

We are now witnessing the cruelest attack on the Tamil people in Lanka ever recorded in recent history. It all began on the evening of the 24th, when the government wanted to bury some bodies of soldiers, killed by 'northern terrorists', secretly in a cemetery in Colombo. Relatives of these dead soldiers wanted the bodies to be taken to their home towns (in Sinhala areas). As a show of protest they began attacking all Tamil shops and commercial establishments around the cemetery area, Borella (Colombo-8). By morning on the 25th the whole area was burned, and people who gathered in the city were agitated by newspapers in bold thick headlines. These people, encouraged by utterances and behaviour of some cabinet ministers and Members of Parliament of the UNP during the last few years, ran amok in the city.

All hell broke loose when mobs, gangs, thugs, private armies armed with knives, krises, iron bars, steel hammers, daggers got on to the streets searching for Tamils. From all the high-rise buildings in the Fort [down-town Colombo] area to the slums in Peliyagoda every Tamil property was set afire, destroyed.

I walked through the city on Monday. Colombo was wrapped in a mist of dark black choking thick smoke. Men, women, little children were running for their lives. Half-naked, drunken thugs were chasing after Tamils who like on any other weekday reported to work. Huge flames of fire were swallowing Tamil kovils (temples), hotels, jewelry and textile

shops, and finally spread and gutted the huge factories of Cyntex, K G Plastics, St. Anthony, Consolidated Engineering, Getro, Tata textiles. All this happened in the presence of the police who were by that time deployed on the streets....

I saw a hundred [Sinhalese] chasing a Tamil man running for his life (towards a police post) and several cops, armed, just watching this man fall and then be set upon by the crowd that followed. I saw logs being placed on roads, vehicles stopped and the search for Tamils going on. What happened when an armed patrol passed by? They waved and cheered. But what shook me most was when I saw workers on McCullum Road (J.R. Wijewardena Mawatha) defending the government, smashing vehicles and demanding national identity cards. The same men and the guns they stood to defend today will be the death weapon not only of themselves but of the entire labour movement of Lanka....

Arson, looting, murder continued on Tuesday. Burning, charred cars, lorries, coaches still remained on the roads smoking.... Wednesday, 'officially', curfew was declared the whole day....

Then came the most disgusting news -- the very people who we demanded be released were hacked to death in their prison cells. Kuttimani, Jeganathan and others (37 some say, 75 others say), all Tamil political prisoners and suspects, were beaten to death. Believe it [the official account] -- these prisoners were in the maximum security section, hard-core terrorists as they were known, transferred from the Army Cantonment at Panagoda -- fellow Sinhala prisoners broke open their own cells, pushed aside the guards in a maximum security section (in the largest prison in the island), broke into the cells of the Tamil prisoners and

simply crushed them to death! How many shots were fired by the guards?... Then it happens again, the following day, the prison riots repeat and 18 Tamil prisoners are slaughtered. All these prisoners and suspects were held under that act that we demanded be repealed -- the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Thursday, and now people begin to feel the impact of the riot. Long queues form opposite government retail stores and distribution centres. The 'bread queue' is the longest. Food prices soar, black marketeers and racketeers make the buck. Many who came to their workplaces found them smashed, burnt, looted or closed down.

Friday, the President's and Prime Minister's speeches are already heard and read by everyone.... On August 4th legislation will be introduced in parliament to proscribe the call for a separate state. So this is going to be the UNP solution (with the SLFP) to the national question. What legislation cannot the UNP pass in parliament with its 6/7 majority?...

So now we have refugee camps (concentration camps) holding over 40,000 Tamils in Colombo alone. Another attack in the North, and will not the gates of these camps be opened to the communists, who will simply repeat Shatila and Sabra here in Lanka?...

It appears that all political parties of the left (leave aside the bourgeois Sinhalese and Tamil parties) lack a correct solution to the National Question. Some even say they recognise the right of the Tamils to separation, but none raise the call: Not Sinhalese against Tamils but class against class! Lankan/Indian workers key to the socialist revolution in South Asia! Sinhalese, Tamils, men, women, forward towards a workers and peasants government!

Demonstrations protest anti-Tamil terror

As the smoke rose over burning Colombo, as the Tamil people were murdered and driven into concentration camps, as leftists were rounded up and imprisoned, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) mounted an emergency campaign of protest to 'Stop anti-Tamil massacre in Sri Lanka!' The two weeks in late July/early August saw more than a score of protest actions in six countries, including several demonstrations and pickets in London.

In Melbourne, July 27, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) and some 60 supporters of the Tamil Association of Victoria demonstrated outside the Ceylon Tea Centre. In New York, July 28, 100 protesters came out to the call of the Spartacist League/US to picket the Sri Lankan Mission to the United Nations. In Paris on July 29, 400 Tamils joined a demonstration initiated by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF); on the same day in Toronto over 100 answered the call of the Trotskyist League of Canada. And in Berlin on August 7, 150 militants came out to the call of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD). Other demonstrations sponsored by or with contingents from the iSt were held in Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Canberra, Sydney and Bonn. In the course of the campaign, thousands of copies of the iSt press, including the Tamil-language *Illangai Spartacist*, were sold.

Militant trade unionists in Canada and the US raised the call for an international labour boycott of all Sri Lankan goods. In Australia, SL/ANZ leaflets called on dock workers and seamen to black Sri Lankan cargo on the Indian ship *Vishva Kaumudi* as it arrived in Melbourne. The call was warmly received, particularly by the Indian seamen -- and the next morning the ship's Tamil captain called a meeting of seamen to report an urgent directive from the Indian government that Indian ships stop carrying Lankan cargo and that Lankan goods already on board be unloaded at Bombay, bypassing Indonesia and Colombo.

On several occasions bourgeois elements attempted to break Tamil militants away from cooperation with the communists in defence activities. But significant numbers of Tamil youth rejected these intimidation efforts, and spoke out against the criminal attempts to divide the protest against Sri Lankan strongman JR Jayewardene's Cold War terror. In addition, there have been a number of incidents of chauvinist retaliation against Tamils in the

West. At a demonstration of 200 Tamils in New York July 29, a Sinhala 'photographer' set upon a Tamil protester. In France, at least one Tamil has been killed by Sinhala thugs who operate with no apparent fear of deportation (and two Sinhalese have also been killed). The Sinhala gang terror on an international scale is reminiscent of the Iranian SAVAK network under the shah.

London

On July 30, in the largest single protest in the West, 4000 people paraded past Downing Street on a march to County Hall. More than 100 militants, largely Tamils, marched behind the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) banner 'Halt anti-Tamil pogrom in Lanka! Down with bonapartist JR regime!' The crowd picked up our chants, 'Thatcher arms Lankan butchers -- Trade unions,

stop it now!', 'For Tamil right to separate -- Lanka needs a workers state!', 'Defend Tamil areas -- Imperialist hands off Trincomalee!'

A theme repeatedly expressed by Tamil demonstrators was an appeal for protection from the Indira Gandhi regime. One sign captured the spirit, 'Mother India save us!' In contrast Spartacist placards called for 'No faith in Indira Gandhi -- remember the fate of the Mukhti Bahini!', referring to the guerrilla fighters of Bangladesh slaughtered with Gandhi's blessings. While the iSt calls for patriation to the North of Tamils now in Sinhala areas, under the protection of the Indian army, we warn against any faith in the bourgeois nationalist regime of Indira Gandhi which presides over its own prison house of peoples from Assam to Kerala.

The question of Indian intervention came up as well at an SL/B public meeting in London July 27 when a spokesman from the Tamil United Liberation Front said, 'With regard to the call for help from India.... We are massacred, we are killed there, no food, no medicine.... We can only go to our next-door neighbour and ask for help.' SL/B spokesman David Strachan focussed on a strategy to 'seek to win not the Indian bourgeoisie, but the Indian masses' in powerful workers action to stay the hands of the Lankan butchers:

continued on page 10



London, July 30: 4000 gathered outside County Hall to protest anti-Tamil massacre in Sri Lanka.

Mission 007...

(Continued from page 1)

We offer below some of the innumerable contradictions in the American story. To begin with: how did the South Korean airliner get over Soviet airspace in the first place? Reagan suggests mistaken information fed into the plane's computer or machine malfunction, 'no one will ever know'. At least he hopes so. But the KAL 747 carried three state-of-the-art inertial navigational systems made by Litton Industries, which cross-check on each other. According to the *New York Times* (3 September) 'the odds against more than one computer malfunctioning are enormous'. Before being fed in, the coordinates are supposed to be checked by a second crew member. In addition the plane had a weather radar which can pick up land masses up to 200 miles away, and standard operating procedure along route R-20, because it is so close to Soviet territory, is to point the radar down and scan at every waypoint. Was it possible, Ted Koppel asked on ABC-TV's 'Nightline', that you had a problem with the computer, and the lights were out and the radio wasn't working? 'To have them all fail simultaneously or even in close sequence, the odds against it are astronomical', answered Captain Tom Ashwood, vice president of the Airline Pilots Association.

Then there is the course followed by Flight 007 once it left the standard route. 'The plane did not veer off suddenly in some completely random direction', said a senior intelligence official, 'It was on the wrong path for several hours, never deviating from a line that would have taken it straight to Seoul' (*New York Times*, 4 September). While intentionally flying through Soviet airspace was 'unthinkable' to experienced pilots, officials said other explanations like machine malfunction are 'even more unlikely'. And there can be no doubt that all pilots on the route are aware of the danger. The most widely used navigational map, the Jeppesen, carries a specific warning over Sakhalin Island saying that aircraft flying over Soviet territory 'may be fired on without warning'. The pilots of Flight 007 knew what they were doing.

This was further demonstrated by the plane's actions after being pursued by Soviet interceptors. According to the US, Russian fighters scrambled to chase the plane as soon as it passed over Kamchatka, but at no time in the next 2½ hours did the KAL pilots radio to American or Japanese air controllers that they were in trouble. When approaching Sakhalin Island, the plane radioed its position to the Tokyo airport as longitude 147 east, latitude 41 north. The press speculates they may have had the coordinates reversed, but then the plane swerved directly west across the Korsakov naval-air base. At 3.12 am, according to the US, Soviet pilots report visual contact with the plane. At 3.15 am, again without reporting any problems, Flight 007 requested permission from Tokyo to climb to 35,000 feet, which it did without receiving permission. As a *Philadelphia Inquirer* (4 September) article pointed out:

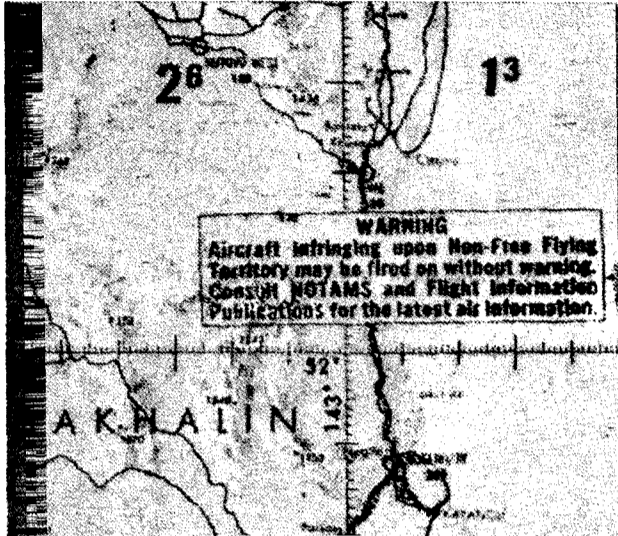
'... to interceptor pilots, who want to force the intruder to land, that is defiant action ... he may have been trying to shake the fighters as [former US National Security Agency director and former CIA deputy director Admiral] Inman speculated.'

What, then, about the Japanese air controllers, US and Japanese 'communications monitors' who were closely tracking the plane? The Americans claim to know precisely when Soviet radar picked up the KAL plane, how many fighters were sent after it, what the pilots said to their ground control. The Japan Defence Agency said its radar showed the plane crossing Sakhalin Island. But, noted the *Washington Post* (2 August), 'Despite the monitoring, there are no reports of anybody's warning the flight that it was badly off course. Nor is there any indication that the pilot radioed for help or sounded alarmed.' And, as TASS points out, no one bothered to inform Soviet authorities either. So why wasn't there any attempt to notify anyone? One only has to recall the imperialist fury against Gary Powers, the American U-2 pilot in 1959, for having brought his crippled plane down and lived, rather than dying in a fiery crash -- which would have let Washington go on peddling the lie that it was only a 'weather flight'. These are supposed to be suicide missions if you get caught. The KAL pilot did his job.

Then there is the 22-hour gap between when the airliner went down and when it was reported by US Secretary of State Shultz. Everyone remembers the 18-minute gap of Watergate fame, but this one is of monumental proportions. Especially considering, as the *Washington Post*

put it, 'somebody's radar knew a great deal about the progress of Flight 007'. The US claims it didn't know the KAL jetliner was in trouble until after it was downed, and excuses the delay with the difficulties of translating from Russian to Japanese to English. Both of these claims are contradicted by press reports. The *Washington Post* (3 September) reports that 'intelligence specialists ... listen to air communications as they take place', and that 'the information arrived in Washington sooner than has been publicly acknowledged'. Besides which, if the evidence is so conclusive, why haven't the unexpurgated tapes been played for public consumption?

What about the Soviet side? At the United Nations, the American delegate accused the Russians of 'wanton, calculated, deliberate murder'. The Soviets say that they were not aware that the intruding plane was a commercial airline. Whom to believe? In the first place, Reagan in his 5 September television speech said 'the 747 has a unique and distinctive silhouette ... there is no way a pilot could mistake this for anything other than a civilian airliner'. Wrong. There is a military plane



Standard navigation map provided for international airliners warns against flying over militarily sensitive Soviet areas.

which has exactly the profile of a Boeing 747, namely the E4B. Ronald Reagan is certainly familiar with this, since they are used as command-and-control centres for nuclear warfare. The Soviets have also said that their pilot might have mistaken the 747 for an AWACS radar plane. The AWACS has a bubble on the top; a 747 has a bulge. At 3.30 am, a Soviet pilot who probably had never seen a 747 before, since they aren't in the habit of straying into Russian airspace, might well have thought he had an AWACS in his sights, a particularly dangerous aircraft.

And the RC135, a US spy plane that was admittedly in the area and even crossed the flight path of KAL 007? Washington said nothing about this until House of Representatives Democratic Party leader Jim Wright inadvertently leaked that the Russians at first identified the South Korean airliner as an RC135. The 5 September *Pravda* reported that the US had seven RC135s flying off the Soviet Far East during this time period, in addition to three American naval vessels. 'I'm sorry it was ever mentioned', said Senate Democratic leader Robert Byrd. So, no doubt, is Ronald Reagan. But the fact is that Washington does conduct aerial surveillance of the Soviet Union on a 24-hour basis. Spies-in-the-sky are not limited to satellites. Moreover, the United States now concedes that the one RC135 they admit to was tracking the KAL 747. Curiouser and curiouser.

'We don't spy and we don't lie' -- oh, no?

The 2 September *New York Times* quoted Major General George Keegan, former chief of US Air Force intelligence, saying:

'I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace. Despite all that the Soviets had there, the Koreans continued to fly too close. The Koreans continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited.'

A Korean predilection for playing with fire, perhaps? There is indeed a precedent of another KAL flight, in April 1978, which belligerently intruded on Soviet airspace and was shot down. On that occasion, the South Korean airliner flew north from London on a polar flight, headed west over Greenland and then doubled back, 1000 miles off course, flying straight over the strategic naval base at Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula. That time, as well, the South Korean pilot took evasive action ... and received a blast of machine-gun fire from Soviet fighters. An 'enormous navigation error'?

Washington is pretending that civilian airliners never spy, or at least not for the 'free

world'. Ha! In the first place, there are the 'routine reconnaissance' flights of the U-2 or SR71s. Then there are the more than 400 American 'listening posts' surrounding the Soviet Union, from Helsinki to Hokkaido. And the use of commercial flights for espionage against the Soviet bloc is hardly novel. John le Carre's novel, *The Looking Glass War*, begins with a scene of a British intelligence agent waiting in Finland for the pilot of a civilian airliner contracted to go off course and photograph sensitive installations in East Germany. Impossible? In the *Philadelphia Inquirer* interview, ex-NSA chief Inman said that the US did not use passenger planes for spy missions, because it had adequate information from satellites. Of course, the US 'might at one time have used commercial craft for spying, "perhaps in the Berlin corridor" ... but that is supposedly ancient history.'

On the 1 September programme of ABC-TV's 'Nightline', former CIA director (under Jimmy Carter) Stansfield Turner repeatedly referred to Soviet 'paranoia' about intrusions into their airspace. Paranoia, but explicable paranoia. 'When the Koreans five years ago went 1000 miles into Soviet territory, and then have done it again this time, I think that makes them suspicious.' And 'paranoia' with good reason. What Hitler's Germany did to Soviet Russia was Pearl Harbor on a giant scale, the equivalent of seizing and destroying all of the US east of the Mississippi. Meanwhile, the USSR is besieged by American imperialism in every known malicious way, forced into a giant arms race, penetrated, damaged, you name it. In fact, a good part of the Western tourists, newsmen, scholars, etc etc that do turn up in and around the Soviet Union are spies. Take for example the 1980 salvage operation on the *HMS Edinburgh* related in the book *Stalin's Gold* by Barrie Penrose. Presumably a straight commercial venture, yet a British 'scientist' involved attempted to set off underwater charges in order to run tests in the shallow seas just off Murmansk.

And then the 747 is supposed to be the pre-eminently civilian aircraft. Never mind that it was originally designed as the world's largest military transport with a cargo capacity of 75 tons (almost double any other commercial plane). It's not hard to imagine KAL's Flight 007 with 30 Korean military men down in the freight compartment with various kinds of sensing devices: who would know the difference? And the South Koreans are not novices at this game. Ernest Volkman, 'national security editor' of *Defense Science* magazine, said in an interview broadcast by the Canadian CBC television network on September 2 the Korean Air Lines, among others, was 'notorious' for placing 'special sensors and photo equipment' on board their planes. He also

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SPARTACIST BRITAIN

noted that 'the pilots and crews of Korean planes are all military personnel'. In fact, the pilot of KAL Flight 007, Colonel Chung Byung, was the airline's senior 747 pilot, who flew Korean dictator Chun Do Hwan to Washington when he visited the US in 1981.

But it's not some kind of Korean speciality. The *New York Times* (2 September) noted that 'this week's incident came against the backdrop of an aggressive American effort to develop technical intelligence penetration of the Sea of Okhotsk over more than 30 years and after more than a score of such incidents....' The purpose of aircraft penetration would not only be for surveillance but also to test Soviet responses.

In particular, the Pentagon and NATO strategists are concerned to thwart a supposed primeval Russian drive to conquer access to 'warm water ports'. Located atop the Eurasian land mass, the Soviets can reach the high seas only through four main passages. On the northwest, the Red Banner Fleet based in Murmansk must pass through the narrow passage between Norway's North Cape and the Arctic ice pack. The Baltic Fleet operating out of Leningrad must traverse the shallow Oresund between Denmark and Sweden. To the south, the Soviet navy is bottled in by the Dardenelles. And in the Far East, ships leaving Vladivostok must either go through the La Perouse Strait between the Soviet island of Sakhalin and the Japanese island of Hokkaido or pass the Tsushima Strait between Korea and Japan. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, the tsar's Far Eastern fleet was destroyed at Tsushima. Today the imperialists seek to close off these strategic routes of access.

The Americans would like to repeat Britain's (successful) tactics against the German navy during World War II, when they destroyed the U-boats as they came out of their pens, from Hamburg to the Bay of Biscay. This military-strategic calculation underscores the importance of the Soviet naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam (and explains Washington's obsession with it). Likewise, it highlights the importance of opposing the US imperialists' attempts to forge a string of anti-Soviet naval bases from Cape of Good Hope through Diego Garcia, Trincomalee (Sri Lanka) and Singapore to Japan.

A recent critical study, 'Pacific command: the structure and strategy of the US military', notes that:

'... the homewaters of the Soviet Pacific fleet is the almost landlocked Sea of Japan. By building up its forces in the Northwest Pacific the US Navy hopes to "cramp" the Soviets in their prime base of operations, thus depriving them of the maneuvering space provided by the high seas. As the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff put it in their recent annual "Defense Posture", a major U.S. advantage "is the ability of American forces -- including those in Japan and Korea -- to bottle up the Soviets' Pacific Fleet at Vladivostok". This strategy of high confrontation is, of course, accompanied by war plans to insure preparedness if an "incident" occurs.... "To prepare for the possibility of such a swift, knock-out punch in the Sea of Japan, a massive deployment of forces is currently taking place in the area....

'This naval buildup in the Northwest Pacific has been accompanied by U.S. saber-rattling. Current Pacific command chief Admiral Robert Long, for instance, told an astonished Japanese correspondent, "This region [the Pacific], I believe, is most probably where we shall witness a confrontation with the Soviet Union."' (Walden Bello, Peter Hayes and Lyuba Zarsky, 'Preparing for war in the Pacific', *CounterSpy*, September-November 1983)

South Korea: launching pad for World War III?

The Koreans have acquired a pretty bad odour in Washington, what with the stench of corruption over 'Koreagate' and the issue of maintaining US troops at a cost of a few hundred million dollars a year or more. Moreover, Reagan is due to meet President Chun in November (on his Asian tour which includes a visit to murderous Philippines dictator Marcos). Perhaps the provocation-minded quislings in Seoul decided they could hand their American godfathers a present. Engineered by the KCIA, seconded by the CIA, no doubt they could bring in the Japanese as accomplices -- after all, it would take place over the Kurils and southern Sakhalin, both claimed by Tokyo.

The South Koreans evidently aspire to play the role of Israel in the Far East. KAL pilots, like those of El Al, are on military service, whether openly or 'in reserve'. Such local allies of US imperialism can play an explosive role. The Israelis, for example, are said to be 'only a screwdriver turn away' from having an atomic bomb. They have local delivery systems, but not long-range rockets. If they wanted to try to hit Russia, they would have to drop it

The 'third camp' is Thatcher's camp! 'Left' Cold War hysteria

In the wake of the cold-blooded Cold War provocation of Korean Airlines flight 007, the imperialists and their hired scribblers have sought to whip up a furore of anti-Sovietism. It hasn't been easy: Reagan's story is so manifestly a pack of lies and Mission 007 was so obviously a deliberate provocation. But that doesn't stop them from trying to pin it on the Russians, amid a shrill barrage of rhetoric about Soviet 'massacres', 'brutality' and 'barbarism'. And as they did with the Cold War outcry over Afghanistan and the Polish regime's spiking of Solidarnosc counterrevolutionary power bid, much of the fake left is capitulating before the imperialists' anti-Soviet onslaught.

Most despicable of the lot is the supposedly 'Trotskyist' *Socialist Organiser* of Sean Matgama. In an editorial entitled 'Plane truth' this ever more blatantly anti-Communist outfit buried deep inside Her Majesty's Labour Party retails all the imperialists' Cold War lies. *SO* denounces the downing of the jumbo jet deep inside Soviet territory as 'a dramatic indication of the recklessness for human life, the habitual brutality, the uncontrolled ferocity, which flow from the very nature of the Kremlin bureaucracy' (8 September). This anti-Communist tirade which would do a Solzhenitsyn proud surpasses even most of the yellow gutter press. But that's not the end of it. Says *SO*, 'Even had the whole jumbo jet been packed to capacity with camera-toting CIA agents, the worst possible response ... was to shoot down an unarmed civil aircraft.' No matter that the Russians patently did not know that this was an 'unarmed civil aircraft'; *Socialist Organiser* here flatly denies the right of the Soviet state to defend itself against agents of imperialist counterrevolution. Such a position has in the past been called, with justice, 'CIA socialism'.

The equally fake-Trotskyist *Socialist Action* and the recent split from Matgama's outfit which calls itself the Workers Internationalist League (WIL) have been somewhat more circumspect in falling in behind anti-Soviet hysteria (hewing more closely to the thinking of the mainstream Labour 'left'). *Socialist Action* (9 September) pleads that 'Every nation defends its own air space, not least the United States', while a WIL leaflet is at least prepared to recognise that it was a 'deliberate provocation'. But both then go into wild contortions in an attempt to deny that the imperialist war

drive is even aimed at the Soviet Union. Both conspicuously decline to even mutter the words, 'Defend the USSR!' Instead they seek to prove that Mission 007 and the anti-Soviet barrage are really directed against ... the 'colonial revolution'. The WIL wrings its hands over 'anti-Soviet hysteria', but stands with it where it counts, in condemning the 'conspiracy ... to smash Solidarnosc', while *Socialist Action* adds its own condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Genuine Trotskyists say: 'Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Down with Solidarnosc counterrevolution!', as part of our proletarian-internationalist defence of the Soviet Union against the imperialist war drive.

And where was the Communist Party in all this? The so-called pro-Soviet 'tankies' crowed over their victory in gaining control of the *Morning Star* several months ago. Well, the one editorial of the 'new' Chater/Costello-run *Morning Star* (3 September) echoes Fleet Street's 'humanitarian' concern over the 'jet tragedy' without once raising the need for defence of the Soviet Union in the face of anti-Soviet hysteria, nor even placing the responsibility for this cold-blooded provocation squarely in the imperialist camp. Two days later, the *Morning Star* front page quoted CP International Department head (and Solidarnosc-lover) Gerry Pocock under the heading 'World needs more info -- Communists', while burying a TASS statement condemning the anti-Soviet provocation on page three. And not one of the plethora of Stalinist trade unionists rose once at the TUC conference in Blackpool to oppose the Chapple/Duffy/Losinska anti-Soviet outcry. The CP's line is 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialism and its flunkies, abroad and at home, whether it means uncritically hailing SDP Cold Warrior David Owen's advice that Reagan 'cool it', or sitting silent in the face of an anti-Soviet outcry by TUC Cold Warriors.

What the jumbo jet provocation underscores most dramatically is the futility of seeking 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialist bourgeoisies bent on anti-Soviet war. As the imperialists gear up their war preparations, it could not be clearer that the only road to peace is international proletarian revolution.

- Down with the anti-Soviet provocations!
- Down with the Cold War boycott of Soviet flights!
- Defend the USSR!

off a plane with a 5000-mile radius. So some of those El Al 747s may well be fitted with bomb bays. They're subsonic, and it's a very primitive system requiring a lot of luck. But they're probably better performers than the American B52s. If an Israeli 747 approached the Soviets' southern perimeter, you can bet they'd try to interdict it. And who's to say a KAL jetliner couldn't serve the same purpose against the USSR's most strategic Far Eastern installations?

As the *New York Times* (3 September) noted in passing, 'The airliner incident could hardly have come at a worse moment for Soviet efforts to generate support for the Western antinuclear movement and the campaign to halt American missile deployments in Western Europe this year. This fact alone makes any Soviet motivation for the incident inexplicable....' In contrast, Reagan's interest in generating an 'incident' to show that the 'godless Communists' lie, cheat and steal is self-evident.

Reagan's efforts to use the shooting down of KAL Flight 007 to whip up anti-Soviet hysteria have encountered increasing scepticism, especially outside the United States. If Reagan is holding back from major new economic sanctions against the USSR, it is because he knows that the West Europeans and Japanese won't go along. But whether or not the Korean plane provocation succeeds in further inflaming anti-Soviet sentiment, the rulers of US imperialism are on a headlong war drive against the Soviet Union. They have in their hands the means to destroy civilisation and they will not be restrained by the universal horror of nuclear war. Only

socialist revolution -- by disarming the capitalist class -- can prevent imperialism from unleashing its awesome technology of death.

Meanwhile, over 200 innocent civilians are dead, not the first and, surely, not the last in this mad game on the road to the threatened nuclear holocaust engulfing us all.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* no 337. 9 September 1983

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International Spartacist tendency protests anti-Tamil terror: West Berlin, August 7; Paris, July 29; Toronto, July 29.

Demonstrations...

(Continued from page 7)

'For instance, this general strike which was called in Madras by the opposition parties -- that's something you genuinely want to look to, as something to build on. And international working-class support elsewhere; trade union bans on military goods, for instance, in this country, because the British imperialists have had a rôle in training the [Lankan] commandos....'

Middle Eastern Spartacist comrades at the meeting spoke powerfully of the experiences of communalist terror and retribution in Cyprus and Armenia.

Among several other protest actions was a demonstration called by Tamil organisations near the Soviet Embassy on August 1. Tamil militants chanted 'Russia help the Tamils' and warned, 'US after Trincomalee'. An SL/B spokesman addressed the connection between the anti-Tamil pogrom and the imperialist anti-Soviet war drive in his speech from the platform at an August 25 united-front Tamil defence rally organised by the Asian Collective of East London. He was strongly applauded by the audience of about 250, overwhelmingly Tamils, when he said:

'The government here in Britain, like the number one imperialists in America, has been backing Jayewardene to the hilt.... Thatcher and Reagan only scream about "repression" when it's done by the Soviet Union and its allies, like in defence of their friends in counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc. They especially back JR because he has something they want very badly: Trincomalee. They want this strategic deep-sea harbour for their battleships, aircraft carriers, military installations, because they are currently engaged in an international war drive against the Soviet Union, home of the world's first workers revolution. They want to use it as a base against the Russians and their allies like the heroic Vietnamese. And if JR's going to give them Trincomalee, then first he has to butcher and cow into submission the Tamil people, because Trincomalee is a majority Tamil area.... Thus it is clear that the vicious anti-Tamil pogrom is tied by a thousand strings to imperialism's war drive against the USSR. Just as the imperialists support Jayewardene, so all defenders of the oppressed Tamil people must stand for defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism's war drive!'

At another picket, near the UN offices on August 3, some supporters of the Eelam Research Organisation of Sri Lanka (EROS) objected to and sought to tear down Spartacist placards warning, 'No reliance on the UN, remember Korea/Congo!' While EROS chanted 'UN forces in Tamil Eelam', Spartacist comrades stood their ground and warned that only a year ago these same imperialist armies set up the massacre of the Palestinian people in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon.

Germany

In West Germany the anti-Tamil massacre was brought to the fore by actions of the government in deporting a number of Tamils to certain death at the hands of the Sinhala chauvinists. In early August in West Berlin five Tamils were deported. On August 4 the TLD demonstrated outside the detention centre in West Berlin's Kruppstrasse protesting against this 'deportation to death'. A TLD leaflet denounced the West German government for sending millions of D-marks to the butcher Jayewardene while denying political

asylum to Tamil refugees from the massacre. The TLD demanded 'No deportations of Tamils!' as well as the release of Cemal Kemal Altun, a Turkish left-wing prisoner in Germany.

On August 4, supporters of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Council (TELC) invited and welcomed a TLD contingent at a demonstration in Grevenbroich. But in Bonn the next day, Tamil bourgeois leaders mounted a crude attempt to exclude us, even calling on the capitalist cops. As the demonstration began the TLD, the only German organisation present, began to chant 'Arms to the Tamil people', 'US imperialism -- hands off Trincomalee!' and 'Defend Vietnam and the Soviet Union!' A TELC leader arrived with a police officer and demanded that our sign, 'No trust in Indira Gandhi, butcher of Assam and Mukhti Bahini' be taken down, threatening to confiscate it. The TLD, under protest, dissolved the contingent and then distributed a leaflet to the demonstrators, informing them of the cowardly betrayal by their leadership and calling on them to protest.

Tamil demonstrators were outraged by the anti-communist exclusion by their leadership. This polarisation was made especially clear at the beginning of the demonstration when the TELC leaflet was distributed by young Tamils only in 'censored' form. A sentence assuring the imperialists that the Tamils were not infiltrated by communists was obliterated on every single leaflet before it was handed out! The TLD has been the only German organisation to take up the cause of the Tamil people, a fact that even the anti-communist leadership has had to recognise. On the back of their leaflet they had reprinted excerpts from the TLD's leaflet.

In West Berlin on August 7, the TLD held a united-front rally which drew about 150, about half Tamils mobilised by the TLD and the Tamil Eelam Welfare Association. A call for the action was endorsed by an impressive list of leftists and defence organisations, individual trade unionists, political and cultural figures.

For international protest against anti-Tamil terror!

From Bangladesh to Assam to Sri Lanka -- the cycle of inter-communalist terror is the legacy

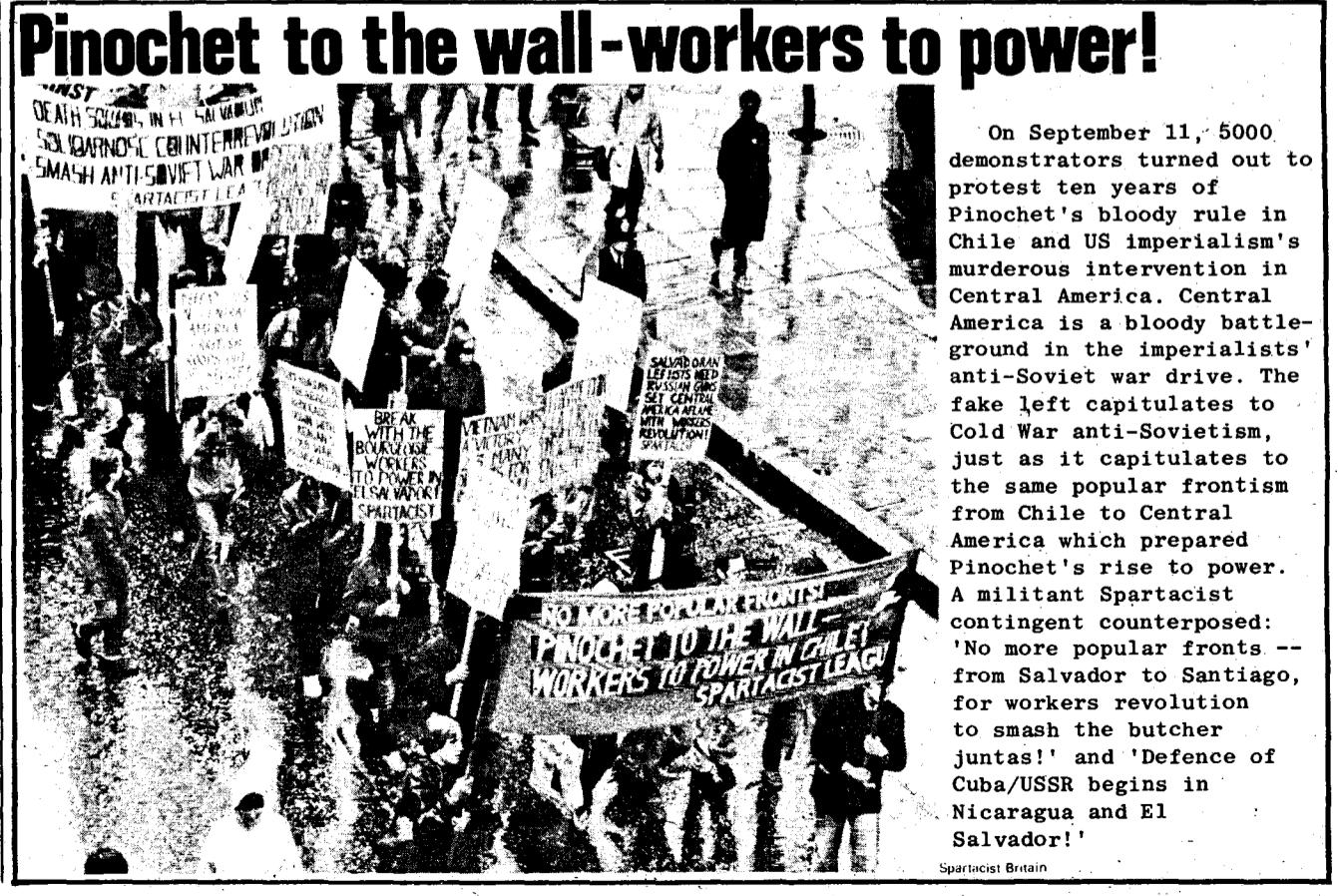
of the divide-and-rule policies of British imperialism carried out today by the 'independent' capitalist leaders. This is reflected in some elements of the Tamil emigre leadership whose hostility to united-front action with communists grows out of an appetite to make themselves 'acceptable' not only to the Indian bourgeoisie, but as quislings for JR himself and his American imperialist sponsors. For Tamil militants, the question is now posed: nationalist isolation or a revolutionary internationalist perspective. As the statement of the German TLD read:

'So what disturbs the TELC leaders about our militant working-class defence of the Tamils? Bala [TELC official] wants no red flags, no calls for defence of the Soviet Union, no criticism of imperialism and the Kohl government and does not even want to mention the Tamils facing deportation in West German prisons. This cynical answer is true to the politics of this popular frontist in exile following in the tracks of bloody Mrs B who paved the way for Jayewardene.'

Even should a Tamil Eelam state come about, it can only be an isolated bantustan on the barren north coast of Ceylon, dependent for its existence on the overlordship of the Indian army. The fate of the Tamil people will depend on a struggle for a socialist federation of South Asia, which can liberate all the many oppressed peoples in the region, including the almost 60 million Tamils in India. This perspective was raised in Paris July 29 at the demonstration organised by the Ligue Trotskyste de France joined by 400 supporters of the TELC and the Tamil People's Liberation Organisation. The LTF spokesman concluded:

'Comrades and friends, we want to end the demonstration with the singing of the Internationale. Tsarist Russia was another country which suffered bloody pogroms. What put an end once and for all to these tsarist pogroms was when the Russian working class led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party took power. This is the same perspective we want to bring to you today. For the socialist revolution, for the socialist federation of South Asia!'

Adapted from Workers Vanguard no 336, 12 August 1983



Spartacist Britain

Fifth column...

(Continued from page 12)

wingers see a Meacher victory as the end of the road. Hattersley, Shore, and, most notably, arch NATO/CIA lover Healey himself have threatened to refuse to serve in the Shadow Cabinet if Meacher wins. Further, there is talk of more defections to the SDP, a breakaway 'Democratic Labour Party', separate caucuses and an electoral pact with the Alliance.

We wrote last year that 'a distorted and uneven class line is being cleaved in the Labour Party under the impact of renewed anti-Soviet Cold War, between Little England reformists and NATO/CIA-loving "internationalists", lacking in sharp programmatic counterposition but necessarily reflected in and inseparable from domestic class questions' ('Labour's Cold War', *Spartacist Britain* no 41, April 1982). Kinnock, the seeming shoo-in for the leadership, is an aspirant Harold Wilson who played a decisive role in ensuring that Healey beat Benn in the 1981 deputy leadership election. He is an acceptable if not ideal figure to the Healeys and Chapples. But 'the Labour Party is at a political crossroads', wrote the *New Statesman* (22 July):

... a Kinnock-Meacher ticket would be an unmistakable signal that Labour's electoral college had played to its logical conclusion the kind of left-right struggle for power within the party that has been going on since 1979 and was not collectively concerned with making Labour once again the political expression of a new majority coalition.

Denis Healey & Co are a political extension of the SDP still inside the Labour Party. They have held sway in this party for a long time; now they threaten to split. We say, 'Good!' This would not be our split; a Labour Party denuded of the Denis Healeys would not be our party; but it would be a good thing for the working class if the hard NATO/CIA-loving right wing was hounded from the labour movement. They belong with their union-bashing Cold War friends in the SDP. The Healeys, Hattersleys and their TUC allies the Duffys and Chapples are the people who want to crawl on all fours to Tebbit, and are the chief instruments for pulling workers into line behind the anti-Soviet war drive. If a victory for Michael Meacher (or anyone else) will help to see them off, then workers should help assure that victory. Vote Meacher for deputy leader! Drive Healey and his NATO/CIA-loving henchmen out of the labour movement! Put the Benn/Meacher Labour 'lefts' in power where they can best be exposed before the workers!

Postwar Labour and the CIA connection

The original SDP splitters wanted to free themselves from the constraints of the organised workers movement, but a significant body of right-wing Labour leaders and (not surprisingly) trade union officials were not prepared to abandon the fight to control and shackle the workers' organisations from within. Healey/Hattersley/Shore in the Labour Party and Chapple/Duffy/Losinska in the TUC are a useful link to incorporating Labour into a Cold War austerity coalition if and when the bosses need an alternative to Thatcher.

All of these people stand firmly within the traditions of the Labour Party since the Second World War as a bulwark of anti-communist 'democratic socialism' in the European labour movement. All the Little England 'socialists' and their increasingly look-alike ostensibly revolutionary camp followers seem to remember about the 1945 Labour government is the National Health Service. But that government was taking Britain into the counterrevolutionary Korean War and butchering communist insurgents in Malaya, while Denis Healey ran about Europe doing the dirty work of American spy organisations fomenting anti-communist splits and counterrevolution-

ary opposition in Eastern Europe. In power in the seventies, Callaghan, Healey, Mulley and Owen made all nuclear decisions while Michael Foot conveniently absented himself and the rest of the 'left' professed blessed ignorance.

Writing about the Kinnock/Hattersley 'dream ticket', the *Guardian's* Richard Gott caught the flavour of this Labour Party:

'This is the old-style Labour Party in full fig: the party of Ramsey MacDonald and Lord George Brown, the party of mindless Celtic blather and the inexorable political machine, the party of the block vote and the fudged manifesto, the party of the tower block and the destroyed inner city, the party of the macho joke in the working man's club, the party of ideas in opposition that fails to put them into practice in government, the party of the Bomb, of the American alliance, of the Vietnam war. It is a party that has taken a long time to die. Its putrefying corpse still poisons the present and casts its baleful shadow over the future.' (17 June)

The NATO/CIA-loving Cold Warriors must be driven out, but there should be no illusions about Meacher and the Bennite 'lefts'. Fake 'revolutionaries' like *Socialist Action* and *Socialist Organiser* may (ludicrously) call it 'socialist policies', but even in its unadulterated form the Labour 'left' platform of the Alternative Economic Strategy and a 'non-nuclear defence policy' is an utter dead end for the working class. Workers have no interest in supporting import controls, which only set British worker against foreign worker and breed racist and chauvinist reaction -- while doing nothing to save jobs. For occupations to stop redundancies -- fight for worksharing on full pay! A 'non-nuclear defence policy' is still a policy to defend British imperialism, as Meacher has made all too clear. Our watchword must be: The main enemy is at home -- the British capitalist class! Not a penny, not a man for the bosses' army! Down with NATO and its economic adjunct, the EEC! Defend the Soviet Union against the imperialist war drive!

On Northern Ireland, Benn calls for continuing imperialist occupation, with UN troops replacing British troops. We say 'Troops out now!', and fight to forge working-class unity against imperialism and Orange and Green capitalism. And when it comes to major class showdowns, like the 1980 steel strike, the Labour 'lefts' are always found counselling caution, telling workers to 'wait for the next election'. We say that real social power lies in the factories and mines and on the picket lines. Not servile chats with Tebbit, but strike action to defend the unions, save jobs and smash the bosses' attacks.

Benn, Meacher and Co are, in their own Little England fashion, demonstrated agents of the capitalist class in the workers movement. As Lenin commented about their 'left' reformist forebears seven decades ago, their role in life is to be the bourgeoisie's last line of defence against revolution. In a recent editorial the *Bennite Tribune* argued that it was time for the Healeyite right to go:

'An early departure by those MPs who are unable to cope maturely with their minority position at least would provide Labour with an opportunity to unite behind new leaders and go into the next election speaking with one voice.' (19/26 August)

This is consummate parliamentary cretinism. A purge of the right would leave an unstable fake-left dominated party. What we would have at the top would be bitterly disappointed, failed aspirants to government post but at the base, tens of thousands of working people, broken from conventional, rigid Cold-War social-democracy and impelled in motion to the left. We want the NATO/CIA-loving right to be driven out so that the 'lefts' are in a position where their betrayals can be made manifest to every worker, to break the treacherous bonds of Labourite 'unity'. Labour can betray without the CIA connection! Only a revolutionary vanguard party, built through breaking the working class from the stranglehold of pro-capitalist Labourism, right and 'left', can lead the desperately necessary fight for a workers government and the expropriation of the capitalist class.

Covering for Labour treachery

It is not just the Bennites who bow to the dictates of the right. From the Communist Party to Militant, to the fake Trotskyists of *Socialist Action* and *Socialist Organiser*, the ostensibly revolutionary organisations are all trying to 'save', 'rebuild' and 'reorient' the Labour Party. They support the Labour 'lefts' because they agree with their politics, at least in their essentials. They are sad because Tony Benn isn't able to run for office himself, and wish Michael Meacher would measure up better to the model of Benn's 1981 campaign. They denounce the

'nuclear freeze' from the standpoint of ... unilateralism and the 'non-nuclear defence policy'. Their watchword is 'Make the lefts fight'.

Thus the real hero of most of the fake revolutionaries in the current Labour leadership elections is Eric Heffer, running as a no-hope protest candidate for the top job. *Socialist Action* (22 July) hails him: 'the only candidate with any elements of a policy to take the Labour Party forward'. The centrist Workers Power group supports him as 'that old warhorse of the left' (July/August 1983). *Socialist Organiser* (21 July) dubs him 'the serious left's candidate', who presents 'a strong reaffirmation of socialism'.

Piffle and nonsense. Eric Heffer is a mainstream Labour 'left' faker whose campaign is at this time peripheral to the Cold War divide that threatens to split the party again. And no wonder the right don't make a fuss about him, when you look at his record on the Russian question: Eric Heffer is probably the most virulent anti-Soviet 'democratic socialist' on the Labour 'left', a consistent campaigner for the likes of Solidarnosc quite happy to march alongside Pilsudskiites, SDPers and Tory Cold Warriors. The fake revolutionaries support him because they have political confidence in him, because they think his policies are good. Indeed, *Socialist Organiser* places particular confidence in him on the question of the Soviet Union. 'In substance, Eric Heffer is right', says *SO's* John O'Mahony of Heffer's mutterings against a supposed 'new class' in the USSR. Here we see just why the rightward-moving fake Trotskyists so readily collapse into Labourism: they utterly capitulate before the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet offensive. Kate Losinska's speech denouncing Scargill over Solidarnosc at the TUC could have been made by a supporter of *Socialist Action*, *Socialist Organiser* or Workers Power without changing a word!

Workers need a revolutionary party!

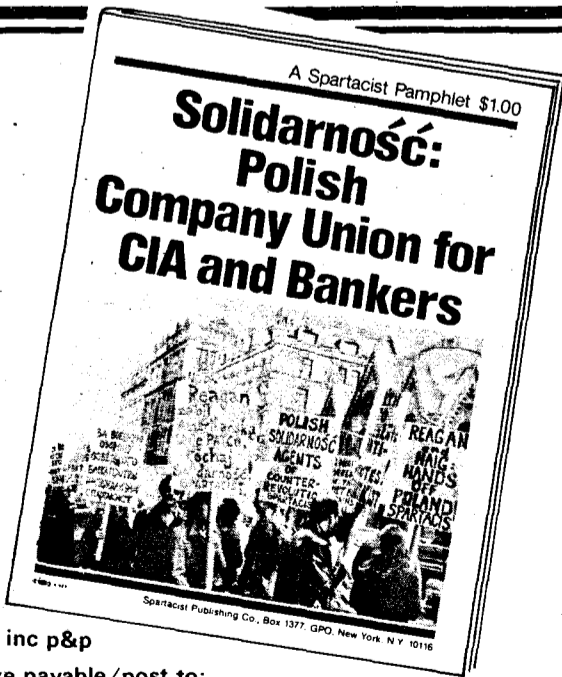
At bottom, the industrial decomposition of British industry, direct product of loss of empire, and devastating victory in two world wars, objectively poses point blank the need for a workers state. The maintenance of jobs in un-economic industries is just a stretched out version of the dole; and all the present Labourite and Tory schemes to shift the basis of the British economy naturally and necessarily involve brutally smashing every gain and right and privilege hard won by the British working people. Quite simply, to undertake a renewal of British economic life and to correspondingly vastly increase the presently pathetic quality of life for British working people is to pose point blank -- what class rules.

For all the Tories' attacks and the reformist misleaders' retreats, the British working class has not suffered any decisive defeat. The working class in this country has, for the most part, deep parliamentarist social-democratic illusions, illusions which in the present period of Cold War and Thatcherite reaction can only breed pessimism and discouragement. But these illusions can and must be shattered on the anvil of proletarian class struggle. The road forward in the coming class battles lies through breaking the deadening stranglehold of the Labour/TUC bureaucrats on the working class and forging a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the fight for working-class power. We the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League fight to forge that party. ■



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TUC '83: Chapple and Murray confer as Moss Evans speaks. Labour's chief protagonists and their clones: Benn, Meacher, Healey, Hattersley.

Labour/TUC right drive for Cold War austerity Drive out the SDP fifth column!

The chill winds of Cold War buffeted the annual TUC conference in Blackpool early this month. Instead of the usual 'socialist' and 'militant' rhetoric, delegates were subjected to a barrage of anti-Soviet hysteria from an assertive and dominant right wing, backed to the hilt by Fleet Street. On conference eve, the General Council blessed the imperialist provocation of KAL 007, declaring 'there can be no justification for this callous act [by the Russians]'. From the podium notorious anti-communist Frank Chapple presided where in earlier years he might barely have got a hearing from delegates. From the floor, his fellow right-wing supporters of the NATO/CIA mouth-piece, the Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding, dominated the debates.

Stung by Labour's massive June 9 defeat, the TUC bureaucrats' new codeword is 'realism'. That means toeing the line for Thatcherite austerity, domestic fist of the drive to war. It means crawling to Tebbit, accepting the Tory attacks on jobs, wages, living standards and social services. It means distancing the union movement from the Labour Party and preparing to discuss with the SDP. Thus Chapple, unashamed partisan of Cold War alliance with the SDP, takes the lead. His call for no equivocation 'between freedom and totalitarianism' is a pledge to march lockstep with the imperialist preparations for nuclear assault on the Soviet Union, homeland of the great 1917 October Revolution.

The gigantic furore against Arthur Scargill was a warning to all those who might step out of line. Scargill had the temerity to denounce Thatcher and Reagan as warmongers at a conference in Moscow and then to call Solidarnosc, the Polish company union for the CIA and bankers, 'anti-socialist'. On both counts, Scargill was dead right. But Poland especially is, for social democrats in West Europe, the cutting edge of anti-Sovietism today; in touching it, the NUM leader touched dynamite. As the storm blew up

Vote Meacher!
Labour can betray
without the NATO/CIA
connection!

around him in Blackpool he sat there ashen-faced and silent. *No one* -- not Scargill, not the Broad Left, not the supposed pro-Moscow Communist Party delegates -- took the podium to defend him and denounce Chapple, Duffy, Losinska and the other Cold Warriors.

Why did the right run rampant at Blackpool? Because the deep capitalist crisis leaves Labourite reformists so little room for manoeuvre. The 'left' reformists can't even offer believable reformism, and they deeply fear any struggle which might challenge the basis of capitalist rule. Thus they are incapable of providing a class-struggle alternative that can cut through the passivity and disillusionment engendered by betrayal, of tapping the deep hatred of Thatcher among the working class and oppressed. It was the 'lefts' who sold the hated Social Contract under Callaghan/Healey. It was the 'lefts' who went along with the TUC's channelling of class battles under Thatcher like the NHS strikes into Labour election rallies. It was the 'lefts' in the Labour Party who preached 'unity' with unabashed NATO/CIA lovers like Denis Healey before the last election. From the EEC to 'disarmament' and income's policy, they are today in retreat even from their own reformist policies, accepting the same Cold War austerity imperatives as the right, albeit sometimes reluctantly, slowly and unevenly. When one does take a stand, like Scargill over

Solidarnosc, it is quickly followed by an ignominious retreat (and a handshake session with Ian MacGregor). *Simply halting the Tory onslaught and breaking the will of the bosses requires the forging of a new revolutionary leadership of the labour movement.*

Labour's Cold War split

Now all eyes turn from Blackpool to Brighton for the Labour Party conference. Tony Benn's pollyannaish pretence that 8½ million people voted for socialism cannot hide the fact that June 9 was Labour's worst showing since 1906. Not only was Labour unable to convince its capitalist overlords that it was fit to govern, it was unable to convince the working class that it was a viable alternative to Thatcher. Talking from noon to night about 'despair', 'Falklands factor', 'the media', 'Thatcher's populism' and left- or right-wing 'sabotage' will not put the Labour Party's house back in order; nor will manoeuvres by 'left' bureaucrats in affiliated unions.

The struggle for party leader and deputy shows that. The proposal for a 'dream ticket' of Kinnock and Hattersley put together by a bloc of trade union bureaucrats (reportedly at a barbecue at the American ambassador's residence!) is an attempt at a centre/right deal, based on the exclusion of the 'left'. But the strong challenge for deputy leader by Benn stand-in Michael Meacher threatens to blow the deal apart. With Hattersley the right seeks an effective veto in the manner that Healey exercised over Foot. Despite Meacher's twisting and squirming for favour -- omitting unilateralism and EEC withdrawal from his manifesto, talking about a nuclear 'freeze' and a referendum on disarmament, mooting that he wouldn't fight over the Militant expulsions -- his candidacy remains out of step with the Cold War consensus demanded by the ruling class. Clearly a number of Healeyite right

continued on page 11