



Break the strikebreakers! Spread the strike!

'Thirteen weeks into the present coal strike, a Mori poll found 35% of Britons supporting the claims of the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers -- not many fewer than the 41% supporting the National Coal Board. To the sort of people who read or write *The Economist*, this extent of public support is astonishing.' (*Economist*, 30 June)

What 'astonishes' this ruling-class organ is that sixteen weeks of *hard class struggle* have won the miners widespread support and respect. Neither hunger, arrest nor murder has intimidated the miners through one after another pitched battle with the capitalist strikebreakers. On 18 June, in the most climactic of a series of fierce battles at Orgreave, ten thousand miners engaged thousands of cops and forced BSC to temporarily call a halt to coke deliveries there. But with two strikers dead, more than 1000 injured and nearly 4000 arrested, and after sixteen weeks of bitter struggle and hard sacrifice, the miners are fighting alone against Thatcher/MacGregor. And the fault for that lies squarely at the feet of the trade union bureaucrats, who are stabbing the miners in the back and sabotaging class solidarity.

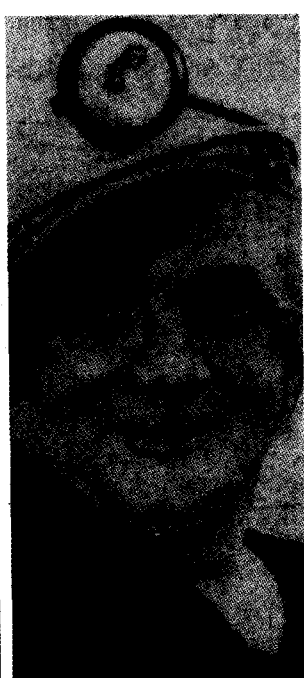
Millions of workers and minorities chafing under this viciously strikebreaking, racist, anti-Soviet warmongering government are looking



Determined to fight until victory: miners from all over Britain in Pontefract, 22 June, at funeral of picket martyr Joe Green.

to the miners for a lead. 'If the miners can WE CAN' reads a sign in a small factory occupation in Dundee. When the miners marched through London on the 27 June day of action, they were greeted, cheered and applauded by old-

age pensioners, young women wheeling prams, printers in their thousands lining Fleet Street, thousands more office workers in Holborn, pinstripe-suited clerks in the City. There were *continued on page 3*



Joe Green, union martyr

On 15 June Joe Green, a 55 year old miner at Kellingley colliery in Yorkshire was murdered. He was crushed to death by a scab lorry while on picket duty at Ferrybridge power station. Exactly three months after the murder of David Jones on a picket line at Ollerton colliery Joe Green became the second miner in this strike to have given his life for the cause of the miners and of the whole working class.

It is as a courageous fighter for the union that working people will remember Joe Green. Talking to a *Spartacist Britain* reporter on the day of his funeral, his old friend and fellow striker Cliff Knott requested that he be remembered in the following way: 'A great worker. As active in '72 and '74 strikes as he was in this one. He was very much a loner in his social life but always willing to join in a laugh and a game. He will be missed by a lot of guys who knew him.' Like many miners Joe Green had experienced the hardship of pit closures. Twenty years ago he was forced to leave Fife in Scotland when the pit where he worked was closed down.

On June 22 in Pontefract many thousands of miners, young and old, marched quietly behind his funeral cortege in a solemn display of respect, strength and determination. Hundreds of people from the town lined the wayside in silent tribute. There were NUM banners from virtually every mining area in Britain with Kellingley and

'He will never be forgotten'

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How miners fought the government in WWII ... p6

How Russians crushed Nazi Germany ... p6

Workers Power on the miners Waiting for Murray

What can you say of an organisation which, at the same time as demanding a general strike to smash the Tory attacks on the NUM, disgustingly goes along with the Tory/right-wing furore in favour of a scab ballot? Or that characterised the leadership of Reagan/Thatcher's favourite 'union', Polish Solidarnosc, as 'pro-capitalist' and says it defends the Polish planned economy, but nevertheless supported Solidarnosc' counterrevolutionary bid for power in 1981? Of an organisation that pronounced 'No to an Islamic Republic' before Khomeini came to power in Iran, but called for an 'armed united front' to put him in power and hailed his victory as an 'anti-imperialist' revolution? Confused? You bet! Trotsky defined centrism as 'crystallised confusion' and this description fits none better than the centrist Workers Power (WP) group.

WP's coverage of the miners strike has been full of left criticisms of the sellout Labour/TUC misleaders. They attack Benn, the hero of the openly Labour-liquidationist fake Trotskyists, for his parliamentary reformism, they denounce Neil Kinnock as a 'Judas', they criticise the 'left' leaders of the rail unions. But what are their practical conclusions? On two key questions facing strike militants -- TUC intervention and the ballot -- they stand to the right not only of thousands of the most militant strikers but also of the NUM leadership itself.

WP's key demand during the miners strike has been for the TUC to call a general strike. As the Spartacist League has consistently pointed out, a general strike is objectively necessary to beat back the Tory assault. The question is how

to get one. Central to our perspective has been the need to spread the strike to key ancillary industries like steel, rail, power stations and the docks. Our supporters in the unions have fought to implement this perspective. At every step of the way, a fight to extend the miners strike in the direction of a general strike means fighting against the outright sabotage of the TUC bureaucracy -- from Murray's open denunciation of even a token one-day strike in Yorkshire in May to the TUC steel committee's seal of approval for Bill Sirs' blatant scabherding in the steel industry. The mistrust of militant trade unionists in Murray's TUC is so widespread that even *Workers Power* (16 May) was forced to note:

'Many striking miners ... know that the TUC General Council ... cannot be trusted to call for, mobilise or lead a victorious general strike.'

But in the very same article they add:

'The alternative is to ... demand the TUC call an immediate general strike to win the miners strike and smash the anti-union laws. Put in plain English, WP's position amounts to telling NUM militants to hand their strike over to a bunch of proven scabherders and strike-breakers.'

To read *Workers Power*, you would think this was 1972 when under the pressure of a mass upsurge the TUC felt compelled to call a (one-day) general strike over the Pentonville dockers. It is correct at times to place demands, including the call for a general strike, on the reformist TUC misleaders. The Spartacist League demanded the TUC call a general strike in the

midst of the NGA dispute last December -- when the General Council was openly split between the 'left' backers of the NGA and Murray's intransigent 'new realists' -- after the TUC policy committee had just voted to back the NGA despite a provocative government ban on a 24-hour NGA strike. But to address this call to the TUC today -- after the consolidation of the Cold War 'new realist' victory at Blackpool has been drawn in blood over the NGA -- reminds one of nothing so much as the Stalinised Comintern's refusal to break with the TUC in the Anglo-Russian Committee after the General Council had betrayed the General Strike.

The practical import of WP's call on Murray is to deny any responsibility for fighting to spread the miners strike on the ground. For example, with BL blatantly stockpiling scab coal, particularly at its Birmingham Longbridge factory, an SL supporter at BL Rover Solihull has fought for all action necessary, including strike action, to stop the movement and use of scab coal. *Weeks* after the mass distribution of an SL leaflet at Longbridge exposing this vile scabbing operation -- supervised by 'left' convenor Jack Adams -- WP finally issued a leaflet (dated 14 June) noting, 'Some reports have been made of coal stocks being moved into Longbridge'. This is a disingenuous cover for the fact that WP has an active supporter in Longbridge who has not so much as raised the question of scab coal in the stewards' meeting, much less fought for blacking or strike action.

Central to spreading the miners strike in the direction of a general strike is the defence of the picket line. Where does WP stand? They denounce Neil Kinnock as a 'Judas' -- but share his central position in this strike: the ballot. When the NUM right wing (and the NCB) began their campaign for a ballot, WP tried to put a 'left' gloss on this attempt to break the strike from within, arguing 'At pithead meetings a show of hands should precede the constitutionally prescribed ballot' (*Workers Power*, 5 April, our emphasis). And this after counselling the NUM militants that 'Bureaucratic routine and rulebook fetishism should go into the dustbin.' Even after the NUM delegate conference, responding to the pressure of thousands of militants, had rejected the scab ballot, *Workers Power* (2 May) argued:

'In refusing point blank to call for any form of national vote for or against a national strike, Scargill, Taylor and Co have left themselves without any weapon for winning over Nottingham miners except mass picketing and demonstrations.'

This speaks volumes about WP. In the parliamentarist tradition of the British Labour Party, WP sees the picket line as a weaker instrument for class struggle than a ... ballot.

For all WP's talk about throwing out the rulebook, it is wedded to the institutions of British reformism. Tied by this umbilical cord to the womb of social democracy, WP has no perspective for forging a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat in political struggle against the reformist misleaders. Their politics exemplify the left wing of 'the possible'. *Workers Power* is not averse to making sharp criticisms of the Labour/TUC 'lefts'. But it always falls down on the side of the Labour Party, always calls for a vote to Labour in elections, always

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Scabs' mouthpiece

The fake-Trotskyist *Socialist Action* has had as its central preoccupation through the miners strike trying to convince the ballot-mongering, violence-baiting Neil Kinnock that if he were to 'back the pickets' it would increase his chances of getting into Number Ten. That in itself ought to be enough to disgust any militant who has been on the picket lines these past sixteen weeks of bitter class war. Then came the 1 June issue, which under the headline, 'The strike still spreads', featured an uncritical and indeed favourable interview with an Agecroft miner who had been crossing picket lines for ten weeks into the strike. 'It wasn't very hard for us to come out' says Alan Chadwick. 'For many weeks now we've been thinking we should join in.' For many weeks, the small minority of Agecroft militants who know that picket lines mean don't cross had been getting their heads busted by the cops while Chadwick and his mates waited until they were forced out by the threat of being branched and a recognition that they weren't going to get their strikebreaking ballot after all.

Not surprisingly this interview has created an uproar within the so-called Socialist League. Many supporters conspicuously did not sell that issue; one even replied to our comrades' challenge that he refused to take responsibility for the article. And the pro-US Socialist Workers Party wing within the deeply-divided Socialist League is trying to capitalise on this for its own factional ends. But we recall that Brian Grogan and his lot were all around four years ago when, in the midst of the steel strike *Socialist Challenge* (6 March 1980) ran a little item entitled, 'Hadfields -- The view from inside' while that notorious bastion of scabbery was being daily surrounded by mass pickets. And the American SWP they look to stood as its candidate in the 1980 presidential election one Andrew Pulley, whose claim to fame was that he had crossed picket lines at his workplace during a Chicago railway strike in September 1978.

Maybe the Socialist League can learn a lesson from the Welsh miners who have been distributing the Jack London poem which includes the following:

HADFIELDS -- THE VIEW FROM INSIDE

By a Hadfields worker

Join the strike. The closure threats should not be taken all that seriously.

Agecroft walk-out

The strike still spreads

July 70 Agecroft, king in d out ket for out 10 ick. he day e coming of- Man- and the idy pro- n office

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secretary, told the meeting that all Agecroft men have been suspended from the union, even those who weren't working.



So 40 of us went to the Bolton offices and Sid Vincent told us this was wrong, and we wouldn't be suspended if we didn't work. The lads who came they joined and we

ing to the miners to win this battle. We should all have been out from the start. OK, we did want a ballot in the first place, but now we've got 80 per cent of the NUM fighting for our jobs.

It wasn't very hard for us to come out. For many weeks now we've been thinking we should join in. To the rest of Agecroft I'd say this. Try and forget the past, if we do stick together then it will be a battle well worth taking part in. It can lead to a victory for miners' jobs and our children's futures.

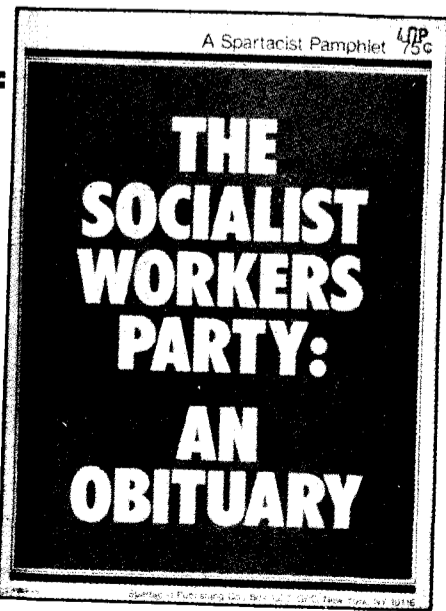
My messag- to miners still working is this. If you are adamant about the ballot, realise that there isn't going to be one, so please come out so that we

Scabs' mouthpiece: *Socialist Challenge* (6 March 1980) gave 'view from the inside' of scab Hadfields steel plant; now *Socialist Action* (1 June) prints musings of Agecroft miner who was still at work nine weeks into the strike

'When a scab comes down the street, men turn their backs. No man has a right to scab so long as there is a pool of water to drown his carcass in, or a rope long enough to hand his body with.'

We doubt it. For these characters the class line is a 'tactical question'. Just as they condone crossing picket lines when it suits them, so they and their American SWP friends love the Polish scab union Solidarnosc and support Khomeini's viciously reactionary regime in Iran. In fact, the American SWP has openly renounced its Trotskyist past. Good -- these scab-lovers have nothing to do with revolutionary Trotskyism. ■

Once the Trotskyist party in the United States, today the SWP (US) is an openly anti-Trotskyist and increasingly irrelevant shell. Read the SWP's political obituary -- and our revolutionary alternative -- in this new Spartacist pamphlet, 55p inc p&p from Spartacist Publications, PO Box 185, London WC1H 8JE.



Strike...

(Continued from page 1)

contingents of primarily Asian workers from the giant Ford Dagenham complex; black workers from transport, hospitals and elsewhere; banners from virtually every trade union in the London area; and, everywhere, the banners of the coalfield women's support groups. 'Pavements filled with office and print workers', reported the *Times* (28 June) 'helped to ensure there was no trouble'. In so many words does this Tory mouth-piece reveal that it is not the workers but the professional strikebreakers paid to maim and kill them who 'ensure trouble'.

Everybody now knows: the cops and the scabs have been given a licence to kill strikers. When young David Jones was murdered one week into the strike, it was treated with hushed embarrassment, not least by the fake lefts. Things like that aren't supposed to happen in 'little England'. Now 55-year-old Kellingley miner Joe Green has been crushed under the wheels of a scab lorry. Many miners on the march wore black armbands and, when they crossed over the Thames, threw wreaths and red carnations into the river in remembrance. But the image etched on every face recalled the words of Joe Hill, another miner martyred in the class war against the bosses: Don't mourn, organise!

As the flowery speeches of solidarity droned through the PA system at Jubilee Gardens, one Welsh striker remarked bitterly, 'Why don't they stop talking about it and do something?' Speeches, marches and more speeches -- while trains and lorries continue to run coal, and blast furnaces and power stations continue to burn it. 'If the miners lose, we're all in the shit' commented one printer on Fleet Street. Yet the reformist leaders who stand at the head of the labour movement would rather see seventy years of hard-won union rights destroyed and the best fighters murdered than unleash the social power of the working class against the capitalist state. We say: Dump the class traitors! The miners must not stand alone -- Spread the strike to rail, steel, power, transport and the docks! Break the strikebreakers before they break us!

Stop scab coal — shut down steel!

Through sheer tenacity and hard struggle, the miners have stood their ground against the overwhelming might of the capitalist state arrayed against them. But Thatcher/MacGregor continue to bay for miners' blood. Over fifty miners, including strikers at Betteshanger and Tilmanstone, have already been sacked for occupying their pits to prevent blacklegging.

Meanwhile the NCB and courts are openly promoting a Spencerite company union splitoff in Notts. The cop that knocked Arthur Scargill to the ground at Orgreave expressed the bourgeoisie's intent to bloody and break the whole union. That's why -- despite Peter Heathfield's talk of redefining 'uneconomic' pits and the evident willingness of several other NUM leaders to seek a sellout compromise -- the sham negotiations with the NCB broke down.

MacGregor and Thatcher can be brought to their knees, but this requires bringing the decisive weight of the trade union movement behind the miners. The Wirral railworkers who briefly shut down commuter traffic in early April in a successful action to defend a comrade victimised for blacking coal, the Yorks signalmen who crippled rail transport on the regional day of action in May, the Welsh railmen who are today solidly blacking coal and iron ore into Llanwern -- all point to the possibility for genuine solidarity on the strike lines. But two months after the leaders of the Cripple Alliance pledged to black all movement of coal, it continues to be transported by rail and lorry. With fully half the workforce at Shirebrook rail depot in Notts facing management discipline for refusing to handle scab coal, the NUR/ASLEF leaders refuse to mobilise their unions against the victimisations. Following the Wirral walk-out, ASLEF head office issued a directive against any further strike action. The hundreds of suspensions are hushed up by paying victimised members out of union funds, while a substantial section of NUR/ASLEF scabs on the strike. This farce must be terminated: miners and railmen must link up, set up solid picket lines and shut down Shirebrook and all coal traffic in Notts.

A crucial battle is again shaping up over steel. The ISTC leadership under right-wing anti-communist Bill Sirs remains disgustingly defiant in its scabherding, hiding behind the argument that it's the way to save jobs. The closure of Hadfields and Sheerness after their notorious scabbing in the 1980 steel strike proved otherwise. Contrary to the bosses' lies,



Miners march through London, June 27

the steelmen are not one solid anti-strike mass. When Yorkshire NUM official Dave Barker called for solidarity at last month's ISTC conference in Scarborough, he received a standing ovation from the delegates. Sirs followed Barker -- with a tirade against 'foreign competition' and pleas for import controls -- and was hardly applauded. Protectionism is counterposed to class struggle, and fits right in with the bosses' 'divide and rule' ploys.

What has allowed steel production to continue this long into the strike is the series of shabby deals negotiated by NUM area leaders like Emlyn Williams in Wales, Jack Taylor in Yorks and McGahey in Scotland. And while Scargill occupies himself in worthless negotiations with Sirs and the rotten TUC (which has not surprisingly given its seal of approval to the scabbing in steel), there are no NUM mass pickets outside the major steel plants. This is an open invitation to scab. Already unionised lorry drivers are carrying coal and iron ore into Llanwern in an effort by BSC to make the rail blacking a dead letter. ASLEF militants in Wales who have put themselves on the line complain that the NUM is not attempting to blockade the blackleg lorry convoys. In Scotland the TGWU has applied for dispensation for its drivers to scab. And all the NUM leaders talk about is taking action to black scab haulage firms *after* the strike. The time to fight is now! No more scab deals! Every lorry driver and railman that handles coal is scabbing -- and something ought to happen to scabs! Union militants in the NUR, ASLEF and TGWU must ensure there is concerted collective action to back the miners and the motto of striking Harlan County miners in the US ought to become the rule here: scabbing is dangerous to your health!

In his speech at the London day of action, Scargill called for the election of a Labour government which would ban overtime! But it's Kinnock and the Labour Party tops who are trying to kill this strike. A classwide fight for jobs must be waged now! The miners' fight against redundancies must be extended to a joint classwide fight for jobs through a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, thereby enabling the miners to make a clear class appeal to railmen, steelworkers and dockers threatened with their own redundancies. Such a fight requires breaking with the reformist trade unionism of even militants like Scargill who don't want to unleash an all-out fight that challenges the whole capitalist order.

Miners: Build solid mass pickets outside the steelworks that nothing and nobody crosses! Commit the NUM to joint strike action with steelworkers, railworkers, powerworkers and dockers for decent pay and jobs for all! Steelmen: Come out with the miners! Dump the traitor Sirs! Railmen, lorry drivers, dockers: Put a stop to all coal and iron ore shipments through solid national strike action! Dump the sellout wage agreement with BR! Elected strike committees must be constituted in all areas and delegates selected for a national strike council! Delegates from women's support groups, minority communities, the unemployed and unions taking industrial action alongside the miners (like the Welsh railmen blacking coal) should be drawn in, thereby laying the basis for joint strike committees that can lead a powerful classwide fight! Disciplined trade union defence guards must be organised to smash cop/scab terror!

The single greatest obstacle to victory in this strike is not the cops, not the recalcitrant scabs in Nottinghamshire, not the Fleet Street union-haters, but the workers' own misleaders. Neil Kinnock and Len Murray are rightly despised by most miners today. There isn't a militant anywhere who would call on them to organise a football match, much less a general strike. Murray, Sirs and their 'new realist' lot are doing their best to make the trade unions pliable tools for Reagan/Thatcher's imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union. And that means strikebreaking. From the Cold War witchhunt against Scargill at last September's Blackpool conference for his opposition to Reagan/Thatcher's favourite 'union' Solidarnosc to the NCB-backed campaign for a scab ballot to the threat of a Solidarnosc-style splitaway in Notts, the Cold War splitters have made the NUM their main target. Defence of the Soviet Union is integrally linked to defence of the workers' gains at home!

A programme for power is key

The lefts are no better in practice because they're tied to the same nationalist/protectionist and Labourite policies as the right. The coal keeps rolling because to seriously put a stop to it means shutting down the whole country. They won't mobilise a real fight against redundancies in steel, rail and the pits because that would shake the whole rotting edifice of capitalism to its foundations. And the Labourites hate and fear revolution as much as the Tories. After Orgreave Tony Benn talked about civil war in the coalfields and urged workers not to wait for their leaders to take industrial action with the miners. But Benn beat a hasty retreat from his brief foray into the realm of 'class struggle' rather than alienate his ballot-mongering friends on the Labour NEC. In fighting to defend their jobs, their picket lines and their union, the best militants are learning that they can't rely on the Labour/TUC misleaders, 'left' or right. It is out of these militants that the core of a new revolutionary leadership of the labour movement must be forged now. In the midst of the 1926 General Strike, Leon Trotsky explained:

'An English proverb says that one must not swap horses while crossing a stream. This practical wisdom is only true within certain limits. It has never yet been possible to

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BL strike against racism sold out

On 24 May, two days before the spring shut-down, 300 mainly white internal transport drivers at BL's Longbridge plant launched a determined strike for the reinstatement of Stacca truck driver Zedekiah Mills -- a black worker of 13 years standing. Brother Mills was harassed, racially abused and manhandled by a white foreman. When he defended himself the BL management sacked him. His union brothers immediately struck, paralysing the movement of parts in the factory. Only the intervention of a full-time TGWU official prevented pickets going up on the plant gates. For two weeks the drivers stayed out, bringing the whole of Longbridge to a halt in a matter of days. The strike eventually led to 19,000 layoffs throughout Austin Rover plants in the Midlands, as production of most of BL's vaunted new model range ground to a halt.

This anti-racist strike, even though kept isolated and eventually defeated by union leaders' connivance with the management attack, stands out as a hard fight by organised labour to defend a minority worker. Despite an avalanche of management propaganda in the local *Evening Mail*, and backstabbing, racist statements from local union officials, the strikers showed the potential for *class unity* in this factory (the biggest in Birmingham) where large numbers of West Indians, Asians and Irish work, against the racial divisions which the capitalist class incessantly promotes in its effort to beat down and destroy the strength of the organised working class.

The management at Longbridge, in a statement which literally nobody would believe, maintained that there is 'no racial prejudice' in the plant. Zedekiah Mills' own experience just in the last few months shows the reality of life for a black worker in BL: first a foreman swears at him and says 'coloured people' shouldn't be working in the plant; then a contract worker tells him to 'go back to the jungle'; now he is sacked for defending himself against racist abuse and harassment from another foreman, who called him a 'black bastard'. From the 'search

all black workers' policy at Cowley to Zedekiah Mills today: BL isn't going to let minority workers forget that Michael Edwardes got his training in South Africa.

From the start union officials and the works committee (convenors and deputies) made no move to call out the *whole plant* on strike. The strike was knifed by the 'left' national officials of the TGWU and the plant leadership, particularly Communist Party (CP) supporter and works convenor Jack Adams. Their role should come as no surprise. Jack Adams has been presiding over union collaboration with BL in the use of scab coal in the foundries at Longbridge (see report in *Spartacist Britain* no 58, May 1984) since the start of the miners strike. The last thing the bureaucrats wanted was for the strike over Zedekiah Mills to ignite a counteroffensive against BL and its government backers, alongside the miners.

The drivers were on their own, facing not only the company's propaganda but open backing for the management line from some union leaders. Most disgusting was the statement, emblazoned all over the front page of the 8 June *Evening Mail*, of Arthur Harper (convenor at BL's Drews Lane Tractors and Transmissions plant, with a reputation for militancy in the 1970s): the strike was 'absolutely stupid... Everybody in this company knows that if someone hits another person it means instant dismissal... No one condones racial discrimination but you have to have some sort of discipline.' This was the open face of union racism (and incidentally an object lesson in the logic of simple wage militancy ala the Socialist Workers Party that Harper once belonged to.)

The national TGWU officials responsible for the automotive industry said the Mills strike was a 'local issue' to be resolved at local level -- ie the union wouldn't back the strike. On 14 June a mass meeting voted to end the strike. Infuriating many of the strikers, Jack Adams himself announced on local radio *before* the meeting that it would be off. All reports indicate that with union backing the strike

would have continued. The workers were 'offered' instead the perspective of 'fighting through legal channels' -- even though it was admitted that an industrial tribunal could not order reinstatement even if it found in Zedekiah Mills' favour!

The Spartacist League contacted Zedekiah Mills at the start of the strike to offer our support for his fight, and distributed 2500 copies of the leaflet printed below, including at the two mass meetings held during the strike. Black workers particularly readily agreed with our title, 'Smash BL's racist frame-up!' Neither the CP nor the Militant tendency -- both with a significant presence in BL in Birmingham -- put out a leaflet on the strike, reflecting their deep loyalty to the racist social-democratic trade union bureaucracy.

The racist victimisation of Zedekiah Mills is part of the capitalist war on workers and minorities that is the reflection at home of the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive. Against the all-sided attacks on minorities we say: Down with the bosses' immigration laws! Smash the Nationality Act! No racist deportations -- full citizenship rights for all workers and their families! The 5000-strong labour/black mobilisation which drove the fascist Ku Klu Klan out of Washington DC two years ago and the successful defence of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, an interracial couple, both phone worker militants in California, against a racist anti-labour frame-up last year -- both initiated or heavily built by the Spartacist League/US -- point the way to a programme of class struggle to sweep away this racist, capitalist system once and for all.

Likewise the class-struggle unity demonstrated in the Longbridge strike, if harnessed behind a revolutionary leadership, offers a powerful example to workers and minorities throughout Britain. BL militants must fight to reverse the rotten sellout of their misleaders. Reinstatement Zed Mills with full back pay! ■

Reinstate Zedekiah Mills

Smash BL's racist frame-up!

On Thursday, 24th May, Zedekiah Mills, a black Stacca truck driver who has worked in Longbridge for 13 years, was sacked for defending himself against a vicious stream of racist abuse from a foreman. Blacks, Asians, Irish and other minorities have to face this kind of racist abuse day in and day out at BL. The union should be declaring war on these 'divide and rule' tactics of the management. An injury to one is an injury to all! The whole of Longbridge should come out now and stay out until Brother Mills has been reinstated with full back pay -- and the strike should be spread to the whole of BL if necessary!

But the future of BL workers cannot be separated from the life and death fight that the miners are now locked into. They are fighting for the rights of all workers. If the miners lose, we all lose! Spartacist militants have been fighting to stop the scab coal in BL. BL workers have got enough to strike about -- what better time than now? They should link up with the miners, as they did in 1972 when thousands of car workers and engineers in Birmingham downed tools and marched out to back the miners picket of Saltley Gates. Remember Saltley Gates!

Whilst Thatcher meets apartheid butcher Botha, her policies of anti-Soviet war fever, racism and unemployment feed fascist and racist terror at home. But the CP and the Labour 'lefts' call for import controls to 'save' British capitalism, fuelling deadly racist divisions in the working class and emboldening the fascist sewer rats of the National Front, who last year goosestepped their way through the solid working class Longbridge area calling for 'British jobs for British workers'. Drive NF scum out of Longbridge! For union/minority mobilisations to

smash fascist and racist terror!

When Longbridge workers spontaneously came out on strike in defence of Derek Robinson they were right! They recognised that management's witchhunting of 'Red Robbo' was setting the scene for the smashing of trade union militancy in BL, for wage cuts, unemployment and speedup. But Terry Duffy ordered the BL workforce back to await his scab 'enquiry'! Robinson went along with this sell-out. His CP politics of trying to 'save' BL through deals with management lost him his job. NO SCAB ENQUIRIES FOR BROTHER MILLS!

The trade union leadership's betrayal of Derek Robinson and their subsequent capitulation to management attacks on BL workers have led to the present situation in BL. And black workers and other minorities are in the front line of these attacks, from the security officers at BL Cowley ordering all black workers to be searched leaving the plant, to Junior Williams being framed and viciously beaten up by the racist cops, to Brother Mills today.

A victory for Brother Mills could start to turn around the attacks on the BL workforce, and send the racist filth in BL back into their holes! But we need a multiracial class struggle leadership, not just in BL, but throughout the trade union movement to replace the sellout bureaucrats, if we are to stop Thatcher's attacks on workers and minorities -- from her drive to thermonuclear war against the USSR in league with racist butcher Botha and the KKK endorsed anti-Soviet nut in the White House to the Police Bill and the martial law in the coalfields. All out strike now to reinstate Zedekiah Mills! For union/minority mobilisations against police/fascist terror! Smash Tory rampage against the miners!

Joe Green...

(Continued from page 1)

Scotland leading the march. A lone Scottish piper played as the coffin was borne into the crematorium. Several wreaths were presented, including one from the family of David Jones with the message, 'You will never be forgotten'.

The blood of Joe Green and of David Jones is on the hands of Thatcher and MacGregor. The bosses are out to kill the miners -- in order to defeat the NUM and the entire trade union movement. Then their lying press describes Joe Green's murder as a 'road accident'. As miners president Arthur Scargill said 'Joe Green gave his life for the right to work. Every miner, every trade unionist in Britain must ensure that he did not die in vain.' Fighting for a victory in the battle Joe Green died for, is the most fitting tribute to this man. For Joe Green, for David Jones, for the miners and the other millions targetted by this vicious ruling class vengeance will only come when the working class is mobilised in its full strength to end once and for all the misery of capitalist exploitation. Striking miners defending their picket lines will not forget the murder of Joe Green! Miners must not stand alone! Steel, transport and power workers, dockers and railwaymen, strike with the miners to win! ■

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Try the traitors Sakharov!

The reported hunger strike of Russian 'dissident' Andrei Sakharov, said to have begun on May 2, has become the latest anti-Soviet cause celebre. A *New York Times* (25 May) editorial, 'The Cold Winter in Gorky', denounced the 'ugly', 'dangerous' and 'vindictive' behaviour of the Soviet 'tormentors' who have, they say, 'cruelly denied medical treatment abroad' to Sakharov's wife Yelena Bonner, and who are allegedly forcing an 'aging scientist' on protracted hunger strike to the 'ultimate calamity'. Ronald Reagan has taken up the case, as has every anti-Communist leader from France's Mitterrand to West Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher to Australia's Bill Hayden (the foreign minister, not Karla's mole). Mitterrand used the occasion of his first official visit to Moscow for a provocative attack against the Soviet government over Sakharov. The *Times* (25 June) applauded this 'Socialist' Cold Warrior for 'plain speaking' -- 'when Western powers come to deal with the Soviet Union it is vital that they do so without ambiguity'.

Now the American HBO cable network is rushing to broadcast its new TV film *Sakharov*, starring Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson. A network executive crowed, 'We do not think that this subject will disappear in a day no matter what happens to Sakharov.' The bourgeois press has begun printing rumours that he has died, and indeed, Sakharov could be worth even more to the West dead, as a supposed martyr of 'Soviet totalitarianism'. This 'free world' hullabaloo over the Sakharovs is a patent attempt not only to defame the Soviet Union but to blackmail Moscow into handing over to the West the father of the Soviet H-bomb, who may well have knowledge of vital military secrets.

The imperialists are not screaming for the freedom of Nelson Mandela, the black South African liberation fighter locked up for more than a quarter of a century in the Robben Island prison fortress, whose wife Winnie Mandela is banished to an impoverished rural 'bantustan' and forbidden to speak publicly. No, these 'democrats' brandish economic threats in the case of a Sakharov, who is a traitor to his country and the October Revolution. He performed great services to the Soviet Union, developing its capacity to defend itself against the imperialists' nuclear domination, for which he was duly rewarded. But today he actively campaigns for the US to develop nuclear first-strike weapons and to blackmail the Soviet people with grain boycotts. We say: Try the traitors Sakharov!

The Sakharov plot

While the imperialists claim that Sakharov is starving himself to death to press demands for medical treatment in the West for his wife, the statements have not specified exactly what is wrong with Ms Bonner, alluding only vaguely to a heart condition, nor where it is she wants to go. (The Soviets insist that Ms Bonner has no need to seek medical treatment in the West as she has access to the best clinics of Gorky and to the central clinical hospital of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.) And a May 30 TASS statement denied Sakharov was on a hunger strike, claiming he 'takes regular meals and leads an active way of life'. Ms Bonner, they added, is not hospitalised and 'does housework and types a lot on her typewriter', adding sardonically that her writings go straight to the US embassy in Moscow.

The Soviet statement reiterated earlier charges that the whole business had nothing to do with her health, but was part of a plot cooked up in the American embassy where Bonner would take 'asylum' while Sakharov began his hunger strike. US officials at first screamed the Sakharov plot story was a total fabrication. But on May 18 Washington admitted that copies of letters to the US ambassador from Yelena Bonner detailing plans for the hunger strike and Bonner's temporary asylum had been left in an embassy car. It was also confirmed that American embassy officials had regularly kept in touch with Bonner, and that on April 12 when the letters were found, American diplomats had driven her to a railroad station in Moscow where she caught a train for Gorky.

Behind the smokescreen about Ms Bonner's health, for the past year the Sakharovs have been trying to defect to the West. A *New York Times* article of 12 May 1983 reported that Yelena Bonner had told Western reporters that the couple was prepared to emigrate to end the 'nightmarish existence' they had been living



In 1977, Sakharov flaunts letter from US imperialist chief Jimmy Carter, an opening shot in the anti-Soviet 'human rights' crusade.

since Sakharov was banished to Gorky in 1980. But TASS said at the time:

'It has been repeatedly pointed out in the Soviet press that, by virtue of his scientific activity, Sakharov is a person possessing important state and military secrets. For this reason and in the interests of national security, he is deprived of the possibility to go abroad. This ban stems from Soviet legislation and is the sovereign right of any state.'

Just imagine what would happen, by way of comparison, if an eminent Israeli physicist working on their nuclear weapons tried to obtain asylum in Syria! And when American atomic scientists Alfred Savant and Joel Barr left the US at the height of the Rosenberg witchhunt hysteria, they were labelled spies by the US on the basis of no evidence at all. In addition to Sakharov's specific knowledge of military secrets, his intimate familiarity with Soviet defences, based on 20 years' work at the highest levels of Soviet military industry, would be of incalculable aid to imperialism. Even the *New York Times* admitted that Sakharov has knowledge that 'would probably still be of major value to foreign governments'.

Nuclear blackmail

The anti-Soviet propaganda mills like to present Sakharov's appeals to the liberal intelligentsia of the West. In 1975 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. This, of course, has nothing whatsoever to do with peace, but was in fact an award for contributions to the anti-Soviet war drive, as shown by its award two years earlier to imperialist mass murderer Henry Kissinger. The bourgeois media preferred Sakharov, having had certain difficulty selling an open worshipper of the tsar like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, a man who thinks houses should be no more than two stories high, who praises the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds and denounces the 'decadent West'. In fact, however, in recent years Sakharov has become so reactionary that his views are as anti-Soviet as those who want to return to the days of the obscurantism of the Russian Orthodox Church when the knout of the tsarist autocracy reigned supreme.

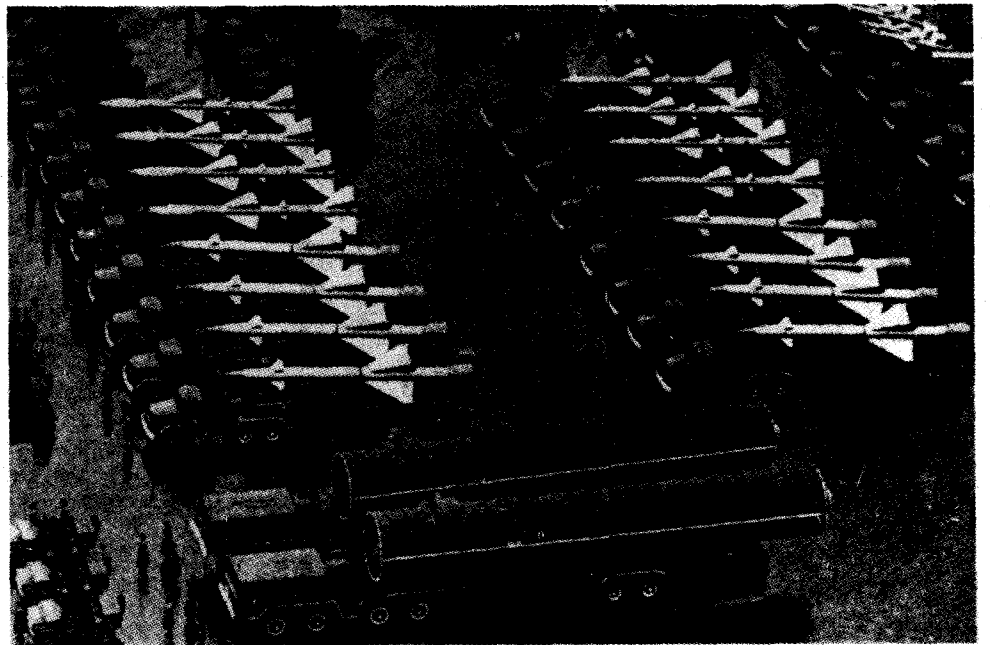
Andrei Sakharov has long been the US imperialists' favoured anti-Soviet 'dissident'. Just weeks after Jimmy Carter took office in 1976, Sakharov became the linchpin of the Democrats' anti-Soviet 'human rights' crusade. Blustering State Department warnings were followed by a well-publicised 'private' Carter letter to Sakharov. In January 1980 Sakharov really emerged as the imperialists' darling as he called for an Olympic boycott and for the West to take steps to force Russia to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. A Western correspondent reported the Sakharovs lamenting the 'weakness' of US 'resolve in the face of Soviet totalitarianism'. It was then that the Kremlin, complaining that Sakharov had blabbed military secrets in his innumerable chitchats with

Western correspondents, stripped him of his various medals and sent him into internal exile in Gorky.

But it was Sakharov's open letter in the Summer 1983 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine which really showed this counterrevolutionary's traitorous perfidy. Here Sakharov came out for Reagan's plans to build the MX missile, the first-strike weapon against the USSR, as well as for US deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe! This places him to the right of right-wing CIA-loving Labourites and the capitalist Democratic Party mainstream. 'If it is necessary to spend a few billion dollars on MX missiles to alter this situation, then perhaps this is what the West must do', he wrote, arguing the imperialists should continue the arms race for 'ten or fifteen years'. *This is concrete aid to the enemy.* Reagan used the Sakharov article to whip up support in Congress for the MX, whose purpose is to give the Americans the capability to engage in nuclear blackmail, annihilate Soviet cities, and pose the destruction of the Soviet state itself. The Sakharovs should be tried as traitors!

The mass bloodletting of the Stalin regime is a thing of the past; today's political opponents are now frequently confined in the straitjacket and tranquilliser nightmare world of the mental hospital. Some, such as pre-eminent Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, are kept in isolation from the outside world, with a 24-hour guard posted outside their door. As Trotskyists, whose forebears were the prime target of Stalin's campaign of slander, suppression and murder, we know full well that the Kremlin bureaucracy knows only the methods of frame-ups, mindless intimidation, anti-Semitic slander and similar sledgehammer techniques. But our communist opposition to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union is based on unflinching defence of the gains of the October Revolution. We insist that the USSR has the right to take measures to defend itself. At bottom it is the bureaucracy itself -- with its conciliation of imperialism and commitment to 'peaceful coexistence' -- which has historically posed the greatest danger to the defence of the Russian Revolution.

The Stalinists frequently portray all dissenters as agents of imperialism. Indeed, with rare exceptions, the current generation of dissidents have become increasingly and blatantly pro-imperialist, that is to say, counterrevolutionary. They even go so far as to



Soviet military power has prevented U.S. imperialism from igniting nuclear holocaust. Sakharov, father of Soviet H-bomb, would gladly spill military secrets to Pentagon and CIA.

pass on state secrets, as was the case with Anatoly Shcharansky, the Zionist computer programmer found guilty of treason in July 1978. While the liberals shrieked in outrage at our headline, 'Shcharansky Is Guilty as Hell!' (*Workers Vanguard* no 212, 28 July 1978), we insisted that was literally the case, even attested to by bourgeois journalists who reported Shcharansky had passed on plans of secret defence plants. But for the rest of such Soviet dissidents, no matter how reactionary and anti-socialist their political views, as long as they are not actively engaged in attempting to overthrow the gains of the revolution, we would as a norm uphold their freedom of expression. These Trojan horses for Reaganite imperialism inside the Soviet bloc should be fought politically.

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Trotskyists supported workers s

How miners fought

in W

The fortieth anniversary celebrations of the D-Day landings once again revived -- this time for the purpose of banging the anti-Soviet war drums -- the myth that World War II was an 'anti-fascist' or even a 'people's war' waged by Britain and the United States. For the *Morning Star* and sections of the Labour 'left' the war is viewed as a golden age of 'anti-fascism', national unity and friendship with the Soviet Union. This is a lie. The imperialists fought for the same reasons they fought in 1914: to defend their 'right' to oppress and exploit the toiling masses of the world. Whilst Nazi Germany was unparalleled in its barbarity, the Anglo-American Allies were by no means fighting for 'democracy' or 'freedom'. Hundreds of thousands of German civilians died at the hands of Allied Bomber Command firebomb terror raids, hundreds of thousands of Japanese were killed and maimed by atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and millions of oppressed subjects of the British Raj died as a result of British imperialism's deliberate starvation policies in South Asia.

In Britain the Churchill/Attlee coalition interned 150,000 'aliens' and introduced anti-working class measures so draconian that even the *Times* commented that nothing like them had been seen since the seventeenth century. Policed by Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour, and Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, the working class was deprived of its right to strike outside official arbitration. Workers could be moved from town to town and job to job arbitrarily and by the end of the war more than 18,000 had been fined or jailed for lateness or absenteeism.

Like today, the miners were in the front line against the bosses' war on the working class. Churchill's war machine demanded massive increases in coal production and sought to ride roughshod over mineworkers to achieve them. But again and again throughout the war miners fought back to defend their rights and conditions. In 1942 three were jailed and over 1000 fined for

striking illegally at Betteshanger colliery in Kent. At Tareni in South Wales three more were sent to prison for 'impeding production'. In Yorkshire, miners at Cortonwood, today faced with MacGregor's axe, were fined for striking. Nearly 300 miners at Hatfield Main were dealt the same treatment. The capitalist press spewed out slander upon slander against these heroic men and against the Trotskyists who alone defended them, wailing about 'Nazi infiltrators' and 'subversive forces'. This campaign continues even today: a 30 March 1984 article in the rabid anti-union *Sun* rails against the Betteshanger miners' strike of 1942, 'They went on strike in war -- They're still pig-headed'.

During World War II only the Trotskyist movement defended the workers' struggles, sought to give them a lead and consistently politically opposed the imperialist war. As war approached in the mid-1930s Leon Trotsky spelled out the necessary revolutionary working-class stance in his 'War and the Fourth International':

'Remaining the determined and devoted defender of the workers' state in the struggle with imperialism the international proletariat will not, however, become an ally of the imperialist allies of the USSR. The proletariat of a capitalist country that finds itself in alliance with the USSR must retain fully and completely its irreconcilable hostility to the imperialist government of its own country.... The transformation of imperialist war into civil war is that general strategic task to which the whole work of a proletarian party during war should be subordinate.' (*Writings 1933-34*, emphasis in original)

Trotskyist cadres in World War II fought, heroically and often against great odds, for this perspective. Many paid with their lives and liberties, suffering alike at the hands of the Nazis, the 'democratic' imperialists and the



Rabid anti-union *Sun* (30 March 1984) rails against Kent miners' strikes today and in 1942.

D-Day wa

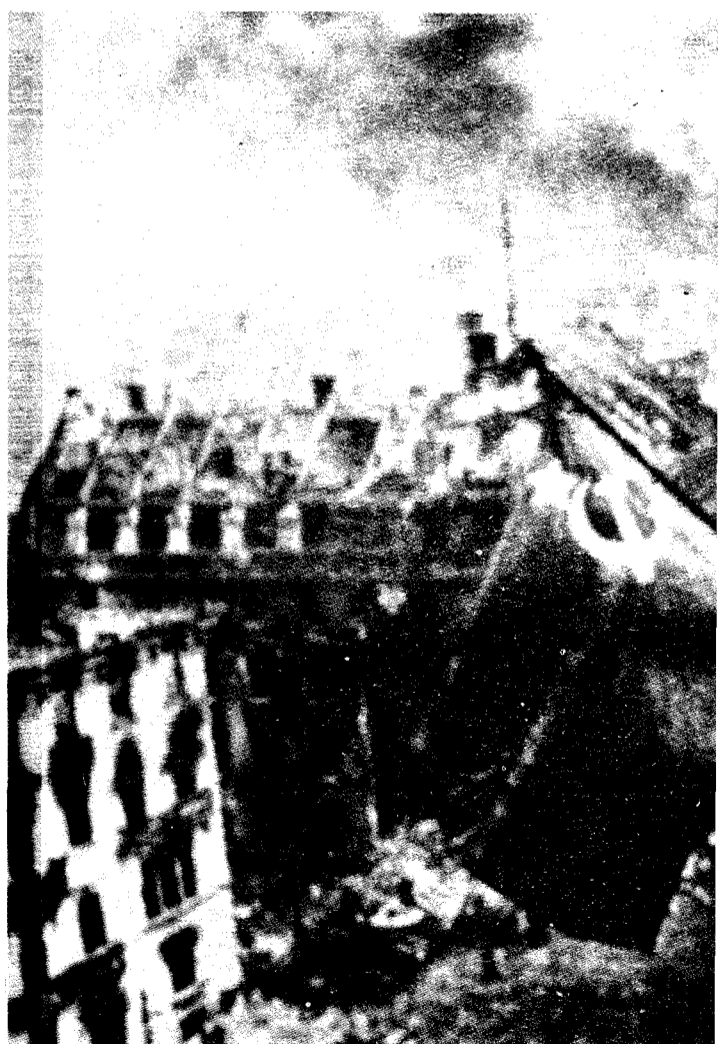
The Russians crus

As the news media cranked up the old wartime propaganda machine, the chieftains of the Allied imperialist powers scurried off to the Normandy beaches for the fortieth anniversary of D-Day. What brought these assorted imperialist war-mongers and monarchs together, more than a celebration of the past, was a reaffirmation of their commitment to the next world war, and to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance. A piece in the *Times* (6 June) said, 'The D-Day landing in Normandy on June 6 1944 represents the zenith of achievement for the Anglo-American wartime partnership.' This was the last popular war for the Anglo-American imperialists, and it was popular because it was advertised as a 'war against fascism', against Nazi Germany -- a genuinely evil empire which turned Europe into a nightmare, exterminated the Jewish people, millions of Slavs and other peoples, strangled all working-class organisations and threatened to destroy the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state. Reagan and Thatcher would dearly like to revive the crusade atmosphere of World War II to mobilise for war against Communism.

Once again the US and British imperialists are trying to claim credit for 'defeating fascism'. It was a lie then, and it's still a lie. It was the Russians who crushed Nazi Germany. In a column entitled 'Chernenko Deserves to Be at Normandy', an anti-fascist liberal, Allan A Ryan, Jr, pointed out: 'In July 1943, the battle of Kursk broke Hitler's back in the East -- an estimated 70,000 Nazis died and 5,000 tanks, planes and artillery were destroyed. Had the outcome been different, there almost certainly would have been no Allied landing in June 1944 and the swastika might have flown in Europe until 1950.' (*New York Times*, 5 June)

In fact, during most of the war in Europe there was no Western front to speak of -- nearly 95 percent of all German troops were engaged against the Russians until the 1944 invasion as Soviet Marshal Ustinov noted bitterly last week.

But even as Reagan paid lip service tribute to the 20 million Soviet citizens who died in the war (the US lost 292,000), he managed to turn the ceremony into an anti-Soviet demonstration. 'Some liberated countries were lost',



May Day 1945: Soviet Red Army liberates Berlin from Nazi rule

Reagan complained in his speech near Omaha Beach. Lost for whom? 'The great sadness of this loss echoes down to our own time in the streets of Warsaw, Prague and East Berlin. The Soviet troops that came to the centre of this continent did not leave when peace came', he said. That complaint is really what the D-Day ceremony was all about. The *Times* (4 June) grudgingly admitted, 'The Russians did indeed fight formi-



Trotskyist RCP's *Socialist Appeal* backed workers' struggles, fought for colonial independence, opposed the bosses throughout the imperialist war.

Struggles, CP supported Churchill at the government

WWII

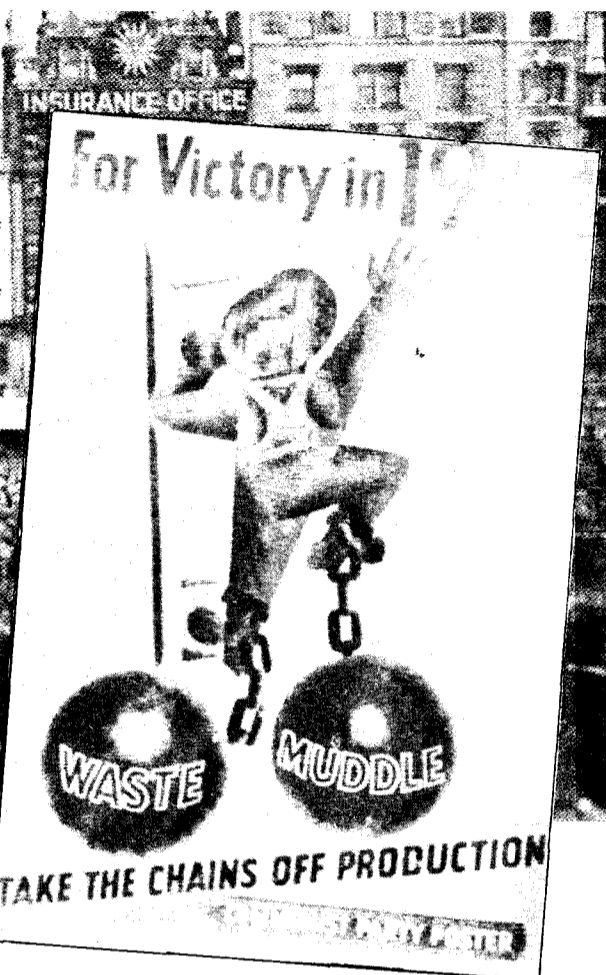
Stalinist bureaucratic rulers of the USSR. Scores of Trotskyists were shot by the Nazis throughout Europe, including 65 French and German Trotskyists shot in 1943 for building revolutionary cells in the German armed forces. Ceylonese Trotskyists who had gone to India to spread anti-imperialist propaganda and set up the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India were tracked down by the British and jailed. As the German army attacked the USSR Stalin had thousands of imprisoned Trotskyists, who had asked to be released to fight the imperialists, taken out and executed instead. Merchant seamen members of the US Socialist Workers Party were lost on Allied convoys sailing to Murmansk where they sought to distribute copies of Trotsky's 'Letter to Russian Workers'. In 1944 the Roosevelt government jailed 18 SWP members for their opposition to the imperialist carnage.

Here in Britain the Trotskyists, fighting under the Leninist banner 'The Main Enemy is at Home!', were denounced as 'Hitler's Agents' by a popular front stretching from press baron Lord Rothemere to the Churchill government to the Communist Party (CP). In June 1944, a week after



Communist Party leader Harry Pollitt addresses pro-war 'Open the Second Front' rally in Trafalgar Square in 1942.

1942 CP poster says 'Take the chains off production'. Stalinists hailed strikebreaker Churchill, denounced miners' strikes.



a sideshow shed Nazi Germany



Plume and sickle fly over the Reichstag.

redividing the booty of capitalist profits, and for this 'cause' they dearly wish that Hitler had broken the power of the Soviet Union. As Senator (and later President) Harry Truman put it in June 1941, the day after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union: 'If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and in that way let them kill as many as possible' (quoted in John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* [1982]). Thus D-Day was repeatedly delayed by the US and Britain in the hopes that Nazi Germany would bleed Russia (and vice versa).

However, Russia defeated Germany on its own and carried out an anti-capitalist social revolution, albeit bureaucratically deformed and from above, in Eastern and Central Europe. Shortly after World War II ended, Western imperialism launched the Cold War to 'roll back' Communism. No imperialist politicians are as fanatically committed to that aim as Reagan and Thatcher.

Operation Barbarossa sealed Hitler's doom

The assertion that D-Day was the 'turning point' of the war is a total myth. Although the Normandy landings were the largest amphibious operation ever launched, the guts of the German army had *already* been destroyed on the Eastern Front, especially in the decisive battles of Stalingrad and Kursk in 1943. The Eastern Front, and this front *only*, saw the titanic struggle between fascism, the most barbaric expression of capitalism's death agony, and the Soviet state which originated in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

The Russian people paid a terrible price for their victory over Nazism. When Hitler first launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the German army swept across the country on a devastating thousand-mile front. In the first three months alone, Soviet losses (those killed and taken prisoner) were *three million*! By the end of 1941 the German armies stood at the gates of Leningrad, where the Bolshevik Revolution was born, and of Moscow, the Soviet capital.

Hitler's blitzkrieg almost succeeded because

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the D-Day landings, four members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), British section of the Fourth International, were jailed for their involvement in apprentices' strikes against conscription into the mines. Like today, the capitalists had no hesitation in using the might of the state to try and crush those who opposed their war on the working class. But the Trotskyists did not bow before the bosses and their war; indeed as the war continued they significantly increased their influence and hearing among the workers, particularly in the mines.

War and the Fourth International

On the eve of the war the British Trotskyist movement had split into two organisations: the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), official section of the Fourth International, and the Workers International League (WIL). The WIL had split on an unprincipled basis from what became the RSL leadership and refused to attend the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938. Its national-centred, cliquist origins rendered this organisation all the more susceptible to the powerful pressures of nationalist and 'democratic' illusions among the proletariat. It adopted for a time a variant of the 'Proletarian Military Policy', implicitly posing the utopian idea that British workers could fight German fascism without the existence of a workers state in Britain through controlling British imperialism's army. This led the WIL's Ted Grant (today leader of the left Labourite Militant Tendency) to declare in a burst of enthusiasm in 1944 'Long live our Eighth Army!'

Such social-patriotic remarks were not typical of the work of the WIL, however -- and despite its cliquist origins it proved to be a more active and effective organisation than the RSL (with which it eventually reunited in 1944 to form the RCP). It carried out generally principled and often impressive work in the miners' and other trade unions and championed the immediate and unconditional independence of India and other colonies shackled by Empire. Indeed in 1942 a Tory MP called for the WIL's *Socialist Appeal* to be banned after it printed photographs of British atrocities in Burma. In October 1943 the WIL and the Indian Workers Association (which the WIL had been instrumental in setting up five years previously) picketed a Birmingham meeting of Secretary of State for India Leo Amery in protest against Churchill's starvation policies which led to 150 people dying every

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D-Day...

(Continued from page 7)

the defence of the Soviet Union had been undermined and sabotaged as a result of a political counterrevolution -- the rise of Stalin's bureaucracy usurping political power from the working class. Stalin consolidated his bureaucratic regime in the 1930s through bloody purges in which many of the Red Army's best officers were killed, including Marshal Tukhachevsky, the most brilliant general in the civil war of 1917-21. Leon Trotsky, the commander of the Red Army during the civil war, was driven into exile in the late 1920s and finally murdered by a Stalinist agent in Mexico in 1940.

Stalin relied on the paper promises of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact to avoid war. Even when Operation Barbarossa was clearly imminent, he tried to stave off attack by ordering his armed forces not to fire at German planes, not to approach the frontiers, not to provoke the Germans at all costs. Chief Marshal of Artillery N N Voronov later recalled:

'My heart was very troubled. The war was drawing closer with every hour... But at the People's Commissariat of Defense little attention was paid to the danger signals....

'It was clear that the General Staff did not believe that there would be war in 1941. This point of view emanated from Stalin.' (Seweryn Bialer, ed, *Stalin and His Generals* [1969])

What saved the day was the devotion of the Soviet working people to defending the gains of October 1917 despite Stalin. In Leningrad the entire city was mobilised for a determined battle to the death. In one typical heroic episode when the giant Izhorsk factory, which produced such critical items as the T-34 and KV-60 tanks, came under fire from German artillery, the workers formed a battalion and went to the front. After the initial German thrust was halted, the city dug in for a siege of 900 days, a true horror which tested the limits of human endurance when starvation ran rampant in the winter of 1941-42. Over 800,000 died within the city, but the Nazis never succeeded in taking it.

The historic turning point of World War II came at Stalingrad, a fact later admitted by even such an arch anti-Communist as Winston Churchill. Here the Soviet army and the city's population fought street by street, house by house, factory by factory. Soviet Marshal Vasili I Chuikov, who led the inner city defences, described the monumental struggle years later:

'The local authorities and thousands of inhabitants in the factory areas were giving the 62nd Army every help they could. For example, at the Tractor factory, right up to the last minute, until October 14 [1942] that is, our tank crews were repairing tanks with the help of the workers, and at the Barrikady works the workers and our artillery men together were repairing guns.' (Vasili I Chuikov, *The Battle of Stalingrad* [1963])

Again and again the German army stormed Soviet defences, and in October 1942 they got within 300 yards of Chuikov's defences. Finally General Zhukov launched a massive counterattack, and in February 1943 German Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus surrendered his forces. For the first time in the war an entire German army (some 334,000 men) had been destroyed. The myth of Nazi 'invincibility' was smashed, setting the stage for the decisive battle of Kursk five months later.

At Kursk in July 1943 the cream of the German army, the tank corps, was smashed to smithereens in the greatest tank battle ever fought (3600 Soviet tanks versus 2700 Nazi tanks). Over 1.33 million Soviet soldiers engaged nearly a million German troops for over a week

in a titanic battle which decided the course of the war.

After Stalingrad and Kursk the Red Army began sweeping west as the Germans fell into retreat. By June 1944 most of the Soviet Union had been liberated and the Russians were preparing to enter Nazi-occupied countries from the Balkans to Poland. The defeat of Nazi Germany was in sight. For the Western 'democratic' allies, who had let the Soviet Union bear the brunt of the Nazi war machine for three years, the question now arose: 'Who gets Berlin?' And therein lies the origins of D-Day -- the race for Berlin and Germany, the key to Europe.

The Second Front and the popular front

For three long years Stalin pleaded with his Western allies to open up a second front to take the pressure off the Soviet Union. This was part of the 'popular front' strategy of relying on the good will of the 'democratic' imperialists in Washington and London. In the name of the 'war against fascism' the Stalinists of the American Communist Party supported Roosevelt's sending Japanese Americans to concentration camps, opposed all strikes (CP leader William Z Foster tried to lead a back-to-work movement in the 1943 coal miners strike) and denounced efforts to eliminate racism in the armed forces.

But the Stalinists' slavish support to US imperialist militarism did not prevent their hero Franklin D Roosevelt from seeking to bleed Russia white while preserving American military/industrial power intact. This treacherous policy has been publicly admitted by Averell Harriman, who was US ambassador to Moscow during the war: 'I believe he [Roosevelt] had in mind that if the great armies of Russia could stand up to the Germans, this might well make it possible for us to limit our participation largely to naval and air power' (quoted in Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*). The US ruling class intended to enter the European theatre at the very end, as it had in World War I, and dictate its terms to all the war-ravaged European powers, its allies no less than the defeated Axis.

It was the Red Army's unexpectedly rapid advance toward Eastern and Central Europe, not any desire to finish Hitler off, which determined the timing of D-Day. The second front was launched not to save the Soviet Union but to save imperialist interests from the Soviet Union. In a scholarly work, *Second Front NOW -- 1943* (1980), Walter Scott Dunn Jr extensively analyses all the resources available to the Allies and Germans -- tanks, submarines, landing craft, aircraft, combat soldiers, intelligence, etc -- and concludes that the 'timing of the second front was influenced by both political and military considerations'. The military requirement for the invasion of France 'was met by April 1943'. Retired US General A C Wedemeyer endorses this view in a foreword to Dunn's book and now laments that the Americans did not get to Berlin before the Russians:

'They, instead of the Soviets, could have seized and occupied much of Central Europe. Postwar history could then have unfolded under political and economic conditions much more favorable to the interests of the Free World.'

US imperialism wanted to dominate all of Europe; the Soviet victory prevented that.

While the Stalinists were agitating for an American/British invasion of continental Europe, the Trotskyists recognised that a victory for Roosevelt's America in World War II would enormously strengthen the most powerful imperialist country on earth. In early 1942, shortly after the US entered the war, James P Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist US Socialist Workers Party (SWP), stated the revolutionary position on World War II just as Roosevelt was moving to throw him and the other SWP leaders into prison

under the Smith Act:

'The considerations which determined our attitude toward the war up to the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and the Axis powers retain their validity in the new situation.

'We considered the war upon the part of all the capitalist powers involved -- Germany and France, Italy and Great Britain -- as an imperialist war.

'This characterization of the war was determined for us by the character of the state powers involved in it. They were all capitalist states in the epoch of imperialism; themselves imperialist -- oppressing other nations or peoples -- or satellites of imperialist powers. The extension of the war to the Pacific and the formal entry of the United States and Japan changed nothing in this basic analysis....

'This characterization of the war does not apply to the war of the Soviet Union against German imperialism. We make a fundamental distinction between the Soviet Union and its "democratic" allies. We defend the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, although degenerated under the totalitarian political rule of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Only traitors can deny support to the Soviet workers' state in its war against fascist Germany. To defend the Soviet Union, in spite of Stalin and against Stalin, is to defend the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That is a progressive war.' ('A Statement on the War', *Fourth International*, January 1942, emphasis in original)

Today, when Reagan's America is planning a nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union, we Trotskyists again stand firmly on the barricades in defence of the gains of October.

Abridged from *Workers Vanguard* no 357, 22 June 1984

WWII...

(Continued from page 7)

day in Calcutta at that time. In the midst of imperialist war the slogans of the picket read, 'Down with Amery and Churchill!' and 'For complete Indian independence!'

Whilst calling for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union and the immediate despatch of arms to the USSR under the control of the trade unions, the WIL opposed the Stalinist CP's call for the opening of a second front in Europe because 'the boss class cannot liberate Europe'. 'Capitalist Second Front will crush European Revolution' read a *Socialist Appeal* headline. It unconditionally opposed the Churchill/Attlee coalition and refused to even consider critical electoral support to Labour whilst it was in the coalition, raising the slogan 'A vote for Labour is a vote for Churchill'. In the 1945 Neath (Glamorgan) by-election RCP (and former WIL) leader Jock Haston stood on this platform against a Labour coalition candidate and, under the slogan 'A vote for Haston is a vote for communism', gained 1781 votes in a solid mining community, a total far higher than CP leader Harry Pollitt had won on the two occasions he stood in that region.

CPGB: His Majesty's Communist Party

While Labour participated in Churchill's coalition government with direct responsibility for cracking down on the working class, the CP acted as Churchill's direct agents within the trade union movement. The Stalinists prostituted the legitimate anti-fascist and Soviet-defencist sentiments of the thousands of militants who looked to the CP into social-chauvinist support for an imperialist war. As is clear even from the *Morning Star's* (6 June) fortieth anniversary apologetics for its 'second front' campaign, the Allied imperialist war effort had nothing to do with defending Russia and was in no way responsible for defeating Nazi Germany. Thus we read that 'Their strategy was to stand by while the Soviet and German armies beat each other into mutual destruction -- leaving the West as victors in control, ready to crush revolutionary and progressive movements, securing Western Europe for capitalism.' Forty years on the CP now acknowledges that Churchill was 'inspired by anti-Communism and imperialist self-interest' (what would you expect from the butcher of Tonyandy?).

The Soviet Union could only be defended through a resolute policy relying on the revolutionary mobilisation of the working class throughout the capitalist countries; this was counterposed to the CP's role as the most vicious strikebreakers for the notoriously anti-communist Churchill. The CP was quite clear in its propaganda that it was imperialist Britain

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31 July
Britain needs workers revolution: Leninism v Labourism
Time: 7.00 pm (for further details tel 01 278 2232)



above all that it was defending. As Pollitt said at the 1942 CP conference:

'We do not call for the Second Front with such insistency because we mean it to save Russia... We call for it in order to save Britain herself... This wave of strikes in the coalfield, while it is the direct responsibility of the coalowners, cannot be condoned by the miners themselves... The trade-union official who said in Lancashire 'Let the strike continue, it will help negotiations', was doing a disservice to his own Union and to his country...' (quoted in Robert Black, *Stalinism in Britain*)

In the name of defending 'democracy' the CP not only opposed the working class at home but trampled over the democratic right of the Indian people to independence. The 1944 Congress of the CP explicitly opposed this demand, calling instead for 'Freedom for the Indian people to choose their own form of government after the war' (emphasis added).

Nor could the CP's support to English and American imperialism fight the fascist danger. Echoing its own bourgeoisie the CP joined in the jingoistic anti-Hun racism, demanding of Germany that 'the entire nation must take responsibility for crimes committed in its name' (*Daily Worker*, 21 July 1944). Were the German workers, many of them socialists and communists, then to be held responsible for the fascist scourge which had crushed them under heel? Indeed the policy of the Stalinists acted only to drive the German workers deeper into the arms of their own bourgeoisie, just as the social chauvinists did in World War I when they justified support for their respective bourgeoisies as a 'democratic' war either against the Kaiser or the Tsar. And the German proletariat well remembered that the outcome of that war was the humiliating and rapacious Versailles treaty.

The CP's support to the imperialist war derived from its allegiance to the Stalin bureaucracy, which subordinated the international interests of the proletariat to diplomatic manoeuvres with the imperialist powers, dressed up in the 'theory' of 'socialism in one country'. The Stalinised Communist International betrayed the struggle of the German workers against Nazism when it allowed Hitler to come to power in 1933 without a shot being fired under the slogan 'After Hitler, us'. This world-historic betrayal represented the decisive rupture of the Comintern from the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. Beginning in 1934 the Comintern clamoured for a Franco/British/Soviet pact to resist Germany while the CPs implored the parties of the imperialist bourgeoisies to enter 'anti-fascist' popular fronts.

So when the Stalin/Hitler pact was signed in August 1939 most of the Stalinist membership, and leadership, were taken by surprise. Nevertheless, at the outbreak of war the following month, the CP supported the war effort of the British. Within days word came from Moscow that the war was to be characterised as imperialist and to be opposed. The CP, which had just published a pamphlet, 'How to win the War', was forced therefore to sharply reverse its line. Some like Pollitt, remained recalcitrant in continuing to support the war, resolving the contradiction between loyalty to the Stalinist regime and to their own bourgeoisie in favour of the latter. The social-chauvinist premise of the CP's subsequent support to the war is today reflected in the retrospective position taken by the anti-Soviet Eurocommunist majority that the CP should have supported British imperialism during the period of the Stalin/Hitler pact as well.

Even then the CP's opposition to the war had nothing in common with Leninist revolutionary defeatism. Its 'neutral' stance tilted toward Nazi Germany and, instead of calling for civil war against the bourgeoisie the CP called for an imperialist peace. Thus the CP's October 1939 Manifesto called for the 'ending of hostilities and the calling of a peace conference'. Indeed in the first months of the war the CP was giving backhanded support to Hitler's 'peace initiatives'. And the CP's main work up to June 1941 was focussed on the 'Peoples Convention' which met in January 1941 supported by the obligatory Anglican Bishops, without whom no British popular front would be complete, and called for a 'Peoples Government to fight for a peoples peace'.

This was dumped when Hitler's Wehrmacht smashed into the USSR in June 1941. Pollitt, now rehabilitated after being exiled to Manchester for supporting the war, outlined the CP's policy now as 'a fight for a united national front [which] means support for Churchill's government and all measures for common victory' ('Britain's Chance Has Come', July 1941). Consequently the CP often worked for Tory candidates at by-elections and opposed all strikes as harmful to

Report from Mansfield

I spent four days with a striker's family in Mansfield. Mansfield is a town under police occupation -- the cops are everywhere, patrolling on foot and in cars. Near a colliery or an estate where miners live their presence reaches saturation point. The method of patrolling/surveillance is exactly the same as they used in Handsworth after the 1981 ghetto explosions: cops walking in pairs about fifty yards apart -- only this time they are on the look-out for young, and not so young, miners instead of black and Asian youth. As I was walking to the picket line at Sherwood on the Wednesday morning I was stopped by two cops, asked if I was a miner and when I said no was told that if I went to the picket line I would be arrested.

The other tactic the cops are using is the intimidation squads. Aside from plainclothes cops in the pubs listening to conversations, the intimidation squads are there to investigate claims of 'intimidation' from the scabs. Any scab with a grievance simply has to ring up the cops who then undertake 'investigations'. The scabs' word is law. Miners who house pickets from other areas are particularly singled out by the cops. The split between the miners and the scabs is total, there is no communication between them at all. One young miner cancelled his wedding because he didn't want it to be paid for by his fiancée's father who was still at work.

There has been a gradual drift back to work, more pronounced in Nottinghamshire than in North Derbyshire. For instance at Warsop there are now 10 miners at work. The NUR and ASLEF began blacking coal only when Knapp and Buckton went to Shirebrook to appeal to railworkers there. The NUM had put up a picket outside the depot at one point but it was only token, essentially they were waiting for Scargill to ask Knapp to give the orders. Even so, about two thirds of the workforce were still moving coal about last week.

While I was there, Socialist Action had a meeting on Cuba which consisted of Jonathan Silberman showing slides of his holiday in Cuba and recounting how fantastic it was. It was all very reminiscent of starry-eyed fellow travellers returning from their holidays in the USSR in the thirties. The main thing he was at pains to demonstrate was how democratic Cuba was, in particular in comparison to the Soviet Union -- the point of it all being that Castro should be more acceptable to social democrats than the nasty Russians. I intervened on the need to defend both Cuba and the USSR against the imperialist war drive, how Castro's policies of 'peaceful coexistence' are essentially no different from the Moscow Stalinists and the need for workers political revolutions to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies. But at least Castro opposes counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarnosc -- a key question for the miners - unlike Socialist Action.■

Smash NF march in Kent!

On 14 July, the race terrorists of the National Front intend to stage a provocation in Maidstone, on the edge of the militant Kent mining area. These vile scum have invited Jean-Marie Le Pen, the French fascist leader, a torturer of Algerian freedom fighters in French imperialism's dirty colonial wars. At a time when Thatcher's cops have declared open season on the miners, these fascists seek to parade their grisly 'final solution' in Kent.

Crushing this planned fascist mobilisation is part and parcel of breaking the strikebreakers and winning the strike. It is notable that at the inquest on murdered NUM picket David Jones, a witness revealed that 'extreme right-wing' leaflets had been distributed to the gang of thugs who had gathered shortly be-

fore the brick that felled the young strike militant was hurled. The large minority communities from nearby London, who face fascist/cop terror every day, have a vital interest with the Kent miners and other workers in driving these genocidal murderers out! Local politicians have appealed to the state to ban the fascist rally. Calling on the bosses's state and its cops to ban the fascists -- a strategy advocated by the Communist Party, whose supporters are prominent in the leadership of Kent NUM -- is suicidal. Just look at the massive police strikebreaking operations in the coalfields, including roadblocks to prevent miners leaving Kent! The only way the fascist, strikebreaking NF scum will be stopped is through mass union/minority mobilisations!

the 'national interest'. The CP was at the forefront of setting up 'Joint Production Committees' of workers and management to boost production and overcome such difficulties as union demarcation lines and the unwillingness of workers to work longer hours. The *Daily Worker* (September 7, 1942) hysterically demanded that Churchill 'mobilise every able-bodied man and woman for war service in the armed forces, civil defence and industry. No evasions to be tolerated. Speed the training and placing of women in all industries to release large numbers of men for the armed forces.'

Trotskyism v Stalinism in the coalfields

Due largely to conscription, the wartime increase in the demand for coal had to be met by an older and smaller workforce. After June 1941 the CP set itself the task of mobilising its considerable base in the mines, especially in Scotland and South Wales, in the 'battle for production'. CP member and South Wales Miners Federation President Arthur Horner outlined the party's policy:

'There is too much avoidable absenteeism in the mines, particularly on Saturdays and Sundays. It should be regarded as a crime to the First and Eighth Armies and to the Red Army not to work every available shift, including weekend overtime in the present period of crisis. The avoidance at all costs of strikes and the suspension of the custom where a pit closes down after a fatal accident would greatly increase production.' (*Daily Worker*, 19 December 1942)

However, to many miners it was clear that the bosses were using the war as an excuse to drive down wages and working conditions. Supporting the many strikes and other struggles which resulted, the Trotskyists called for the nationalisation of the mines, without compensation to the coalowners and under workers control.

In 1942 a strike wave swept through the coalfields, and in South Yorkshire the contrast between the Stalinist and Trotskyist lines could

not have been clearer. The CP threw its members behind the attempts of Yorkshire Miners Association President Joe Hall to get the strikers back to work whilst *Socialist Appeal* called for the organisation of strike committees and all-out support to the miners. The popularity of the WIL's programme, particularly amongst young miners, sent Hall into a frenzy. After trying to beat up WIL members outside a London meeting he launched a vicious witchhunt against the Trotskyists when he told striking Darfield miners that the WIL was 'definitely subversive and pro-Nazi'.

This opened the floodgates for the yellow press, the Labour Party's *Daily Herald* leading the pack with the headline 'Pro-Nazis at work to upset coalfields'. In Parliament the Tories demanded to know what Home Secretary Morrison intended to do about the Trotskyists. Morrison replied that he doubted whether *Socialist Appeal* had 'any appreciable influence' in the coalfields but nevertheless promised to make 'further enquiries'. At this CP MP Willie Gallacher leapt up to ask Morrison if he would also 'enquire into the good effect that the [then banned] *Daily Worker* would have?' That is, a 'good effect' for the bosses in suppressing class struggle! Tory MP Sir Jocelyn Lewis called for the internment of the WIL leaders and the ending of paper supplies for *Socialist Appeal*. The impact the Trotskyists' ideas were beginning to have among miners was shown at that year's Miners Federation of Great Britain conference, where National President Will Lawther felt compelled to say of the WIL, 'Their sort of tactics must be stopped.' When a delegate shouted from the floor, 'They have a right to criticise', Lawther replied, 'We have a right to be criticised by the people we serve, not by tools outside... Anyone associated with that attitude is playing Hitler's game' (*Daily Telegraph*, 22 July 1942).

The CP contributed two pamphlets to the capitalist witchhunt: 'Clear out Hitler's Agents!' in 1942 and 'Hitler's Agents Exposed' in 1943.

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WW II . . .

(Continued from page 9)

Complete with extensive Big Lie quotations from the Moscow Trials, both pamphlets purported to 'prove' that the Trotskyists were in the pay of Hitler. In this task the CP was aided by Lord Rothermere and his *Daily Mail*, which less than a decade before had been screaming 'Hurrah for the Blackshirts!' The *Mail* not only retold the CP's lies but also recommended its readers should read CP literature to get the 'truth' about the Trotskyists! The WIL responded with a leaflet entitled 'Clear out the Bosses' Agents!' which detailed the CP's opposition to strikes and colonial independence and exposed the CP's backing for Hitler's 1939 'peace' moves. The leaflet ended with an offer of a £10 reward 'To any member of the Communist Party who can prove that the so-called quotations from Trotskyist publications in the pamphlet "Clear out Hitler's Agents!" are not forgeries or, to any member of the CP who can show any page of this pamphlet which does not contain a minimum of five lies.' No CP member ever dared respond and the £10 was never claimed.

The CP's Nazi-baiting was unable to prevent a steady trickle of recruits to the WIL from the CP, particularly after Stalin formally dissolved the Communist International as a gesture to the imperialist 'Allies' in May 1943. In 1943 a group of German Communist Party exiles was won to the WIL. Their 'Declaration for the Fourth International' stated that 'It is to the credit of Leo Trotzki that he first perceived the cancer growing in the body of the Comintern and therefore inspired and organised the Fourth International. . . . The Third International is dead. Long live the Fourth International!'

Churchill and Bevin crack down

By late 1943 preparations for opening a second front in Europe were well underway, and it was clear that sustaining the military effort required coal production to be increased dramatically. In December Bevin announced the 'Bevin Ballot Scheme' whereby ten per cent of all engineering apprentices were to be conscripted into the mines. Both miners and apprentices greeted the proposal with outraged opposition and after a series of demonstrations and fruitless parliamentary lobbying 12,000 engineering apprentices on Tyneside and Clydeside struck against the scheme in March 1944. At the same time 180,000 Yorkshire and South Wales miners were on strike against a pay award which cut wages and 24,000 Belfast shipyard workers were out over the jailing of four aircraft workers for 'illegally' striking. This upsurge of working-class militancy posed a direct threat to Allied plans to invade Europe in order to stop the Red Army liberating the whole of the continent.

The newly-formed RCP threw its forces into the strike wave, distributing tens of thousands of leaflets headed 'Fight the Pit Compulsion Plot'

at pits and engineering factories throughout the country. Needless to say, the CP opposed the strikes, announcing in the *Daily Worker* 'Lads duped to aid Trotskyist and ILP anti-war campaign', and even attacked a judge for being too lenient on an apprentice brought to court for refusing to go down the mines! But not only the Stalinists were watching the Trotskyists' activity with trepidation. On 22 February the deputy secretary at the Ministry of Labour wrote, 'I think it is clear from this [report] that the militant socialist movement is playing an exceedingly active part not only in the apprentices agitation but also in the mineworkers troubles. . . . It is likely that the Minister will be asked to take steps to intern these agitators' (quoted in Richard Croucher, 'Engineers at War').

On 5 April Bevin cracked down. The RCP's headquarters were raided and in Newcastle RCP members Ann Keen and Heaton Lee were dragged from their beds at three o'clock in the morning and arrested in connection with the strikes. At Bevin's request the TUC issued a statement warning 'all workers against persons and organisations that have been active in fomenting disturbances' and called for a return to work by all strikers. In Parliament Bevin introduced the dictatorial Regulation 1A(a) which provided for five years prison for advocating support to or providing financial aid to an unofficial strike. Within days the strike wave had collapsed under the government's iron heel.

On April 28, RCP leaders Jock Haston and Roy Tearse appeared alongside Keen and Lee at Newcastle City Police Court. With the court sitting in camera, all four were charged under the 1927 Trades Disputes Act and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. Unprecedentedly, bail was refused. The case came to court seven days after the Normandy landings. The Trotskyists freely admitted aiding the apprentices while (unfortunately for the prosecution) the nine apprentices called as prosecution witnesses all admitted that they were prepared to strike without the RCP's assistance. Summing up, the judge told one of the witnesses, Bill Davy, secretary of the Tyneside Apprentices Guild and an RCP member, that he should have been in the dock and not the witness box. Found guilty of 'aiding and abetting' and 'furthering an illegal strike', Ann Keen was sentenced to thirteen days in prison, Jock Haston to six months and Tearse and Lee to twelve months each.

The RCP immediately launched a vigorous campaign for the release of the Trotskyists. Supported by six Labour MPs, including Aneurin Bevan, the Federation of Indian Associations and more than eighty trade union bodies, the campaign also won the support of 82 Royal Engineers serving with the Eighth Army in North Africa. Finally in August 1944, when the strike wave had safely ended and the second front was well established in Europe, the Appeal Court quashed the convictions, thereby demonstrating that the whole affair was a frame-up, and released Haston, Tearse and Lee.

'Capitalist Second Front will crush European Revolution'

There are no other words for the Communist Party's strikebreaking role in World War II than betrayal and treachery. And even after the war the CP kept right on cheering for Churchill. Doing its best to paralyse prospects for renewed class struggle the CP came out far to the right of even Major Attlee's Labour Party by calling for a continuation of the wartime coalition in the 1945 elections. As late as 1947 the CP was still demanding joint production committees to 'secure a greater output per man on the basis of the existing equipment in the industry' ('Britain's Plan for Posterity', 1947). Seeking to maintain the 'Great Peace Alliance' the Stalinists continued their wartime strikebreaking until the introduction of the Cold War Marshall Plan, which resulted in the CPGB discovering new criticisms of the Labour government and the Italian and French CPs being slung out of their respective cabinets.

On the continent, where the CPs were generally larger and more influential and the revolutionary possibilities after the war greater, these parties directly helped to crush proletarian upsurges. The Italian CP in 1944 joined the monarchist coalition headed by Marshall Badoglio, who as a leading fascist had directed the invasion of Ethiopia, and PCI leader and Minister of Justice Togliatti was responsible for disarming the workers and peasants who formed the core of the Resistance. In France the PCF joined de Gaulle's provisional government in late 1944 and was given the task of setting up production committees. Opposing strikes as harmful to production PCF leader Thorez counter-signed the order to bomb the Vietnamese city of Haiphong, resulting in the deaths of over 6000 men, women and children. Stalinist Minister

of Defence Billoux was placed in charge of French imperialism's drive to crush the Algerian and Vietnamese struggles for national liberation. In Greece heroic rank-and-file Communist Party militants were left to die by Stalin, who agreed with the imperialist powers that Greece would not be in the Soviet 'sphere of influence' and thus allowed the victory of a monarchist and imperialist offensive.

Some Stalinist apologists claim that the presence of US occupying forces in Europe meant that any revolutionary moves by the West European proletariat would have been immediately crushed, giving the PCI and PCF little choice but to oppose revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. This is self-serving pro-capitalist claptrap. (Moreover, it ignores the fact that the Stalinists called for American intervention in the first place!) By the end of the war significant cracks had appeared in the US army. In France and the Phillipines there were mass demonstrations of GIs calling for demobilisation and the right to return home. A revolutionary appeal to these soldiers, particularly the black GIs who still faced Jim Crow discrimination in the forces, coupled with a revolutionary mobilisation of the working class, could have split the base of the army away from the officers and destroyed its capacity to act against the working class.

But of course the Stalinists would not and could not do this. Upholding the programme of 'socialism in one country', they were pledged to support their own capitalist classes when they allied with the Soviet Union and to plead with a supposedly 'peaceloving' wing of the bosses during the Cold War. The CP's desire to defend British imperialism during WWII led it to oppose the miners' fight for their rights and to support Churchill. So today, the CP's desire to 'save British industry' through nationalist import controls and other capitalist measures leads it to cover for the Labour/TUC misleaders of the working class who are moving might and main to sell out the NUM. And the Eurocommunists, now dominant in the party, have taken 'socialism in one country' to its logical conclusion and renounced even a pretence of defending the Soviet Union or fighting for proletarian revolution.

Thatcher, with Reagan and the rest of the NATO alliance, is today driving towards a thermonuclear World War III against the USSR. And in order to wage anti-Soviet war the imperialists must first crush the resistance of the working class at home. Militant miners who are battling to save their jobs, rights and livelihoods today can take inspiration and draw important lessons from the struggles of their forebears during the Second World War -- and from the Trotskyists who uniquely supported their struggles and those of all workers and oppressed in the face of imperialist war. As *Socialist Appeal* (July 1944) wrote as the four RCP comrades were incarcerated for their anti-war activities:

'We declare that the trial has demonstrated the terror that our political programme strikes in the hearts of the class enemy. They realise that only our programme can challenge their rule and that our programme can offer an alternative to the working class. We declare that imprisonment and persecution will not still our voice, will not deter our course. With redoubled energy we will continue the struggle for the victory of the workers under the banner of the Fourth International.' ■

Europe of NATO . . .

(Continued from page 12)

German imperialism. And in the end, as we have already analysed in 1979:

'The EEC was originally set up in the mid-1950s as part of the American-directed reorganisation of West Europe against the Soviet bloc. Washington policymakers were concerned that French opposition to German dominance of Europe could lead to a revival of Paris' traditional alliance with Moscow, as in the 1935 Stalin-Laval pact. The Common Market was and remains an economic compromise essentially between the French and German ruling classes in the context of their political/military alliance against the USSR. '... the EEC is the means whereby West German imperialism helps finance the unity of the "free world"....

'... We are implacably opposed to the EEC above all because it provides economic glue for holding together the Western imperialist alliance against the Soviet Union.' (*Spartacist Britain* no 12, June 1979)

The Marshall Plan and the creation of the EEC were closely linked to the intervention of the CIA in the European workers movement in order

Spartacist League Public Meetings and social for the miners

**Miners must not stand alone!
Rail, steel, power, dock
workers - join the strike now!**

**HOW TO BREAK THE
STRIKEBREAKERS**

EIBHLIN McDONALD

Spartacist League/Britain Central Committee
DICK HALL

North Derbyshire NUM (in a personal capacity)
JON BRULE

Spartacist League/US Central Committee
Eye-witness report from German metalworkers strike

Friday, 6 July, 7.30 pm
Duke of York pub
24 York Way
London N1
(near King's Cross)

IN BIRMINGHAM

After the-miners' rally, Saturday, 7 July
Dr Johnson House
Bull St
Birmingham

to weaken and split it. Entire sections of the social democracy were placed at the service of US imperialism and its anti-Soviet crusade. But the 'European' organs of the Cold War are also the organs of counterrevolution in West Europe. NATO's committee for 'civil defence' prepared the civil war in Greece and Italy. The economic aid offered by the EEC countries to Portugal was part of the counterrevolutionary intervention in that country.

The main enemy is at home!

Our opposition to the Common Market is the very opposite of the traditional anti-'boche' (anti-'kraut') chauvinism of the Eurostalists of the PCF which opposes the 'German' Common Market in the name of defending 'national independence' and 'French interests'.

Certain recent departures from the PCF regrouped in the Committee for the Reconstruction of the Communist Party (generally termed 'anti-opportunists') also oppose the Common Market and NATO, but in a bloc with ... the residues of 'left' Gaullism, the Union Democratique et Populaire! Scarcely parted from the PCF in opposition -- they say -- to its reformism and its rejection of internationalism, and scarcely more than a handful (making the whole affair even more ridiculous), they rush to mimic the activities of the PCF in the 50s 'against German rearmament': popular-frontist coalitions with bourgeois elements on the basis of anti-'bochisme'. It is not the USSR which they defend in this way, but after all the subjugation of the proletariat to its own bourgeoisie and thus to the 'civil peace' which is the necessary domestic component of the foreign politics of 'peaceful coexistence'.

Everywhere in the world the imperialists multiply their provocations against the USSR: in just a few months, using the KAL 007 airliner to test Soviet air defences, a Soviet submarine rammed in the Sea of Japan, mining of Nicaraguan ports, overt and massive support for the anti-Sandinista contras etc. Finally, threats of kidnappings and violence against Soviet athletes and their security services at the Olympic Games in Los Angeles. (Happily, there, the Soviets said: 'Enough! Nyet!') A clear warning to Reagan that he'd better not 'mess' too much with the Russians! In the past, wars have broken out for less than this!

For the Socialist United States of Europe!

But the working class has not been broken. Just for example, the powerful German proletariat has not been destroyed by the Nazi dictatorship like in the 30s. On the contrary it is today engaged in gigantic combat against its bourgeoisie. The workers in struggle across Europe must inscribe on their banners the unconditional military defence of the USSR against the imperialists and internal attempts at the restoration of capitalism. Today's proletarian battles evoke the possibility of the Socialist United States of Europe; but for that, the social-chauvinist leaders of the proletariat and their 'far left' valets must be unmasked and swept away in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of the revolution. ■

Sakharov...

(Continued from page 5)

The Sakharovs have been treated with kid gloves. Far from being confined in the cellars of Lubyanka or the frozen gulag, their movements have been limited to the city of Gorky which is, while off limits to foreigners, no Siberian tundra but a thriving metropolis of one million, 250 miles east of Moscow. Here they have a four-room apartment, and with Sakharov's membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences, access to all the special stores. Despite Sakharov's penchant for hunger strikes for personal ends, Moscow has, if anything, been rather flexible in this case. In 1981 the Kremlin even relented to their demands to allow Yelena Bonner's daughter to emigrate and join her husband-by-proxy in the US, where he was a graduate student at Brandeis. And this while Sakharov has been beating the drums for Reagan's war drive, and Bonner hobnobbing endlessly with Western 'correspondents', who almost to a man are connected with the CIA, MI5, or what have you.

All this hue and cry is part of an imperialist propaganda barrage against what Reagan calls the Soviet 'evil empire'. Headlines proclaim 'Sakharov's Kin Urge West to Act for His Freedom'. Extortion, not freedom, is their aim. Compare this to the reception accorded the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky when he was booted out of the Soviet Union by Stalin. He was confined to a Turkish island, his requests for asylum, a historic democratic tra-

dition, turned down by virtually every Western 'democracy'. Even requests to visit Germany for medical treatment were turned down. 'I could appreciate the full advantages of democracy only as a corpse', wrote Trotsky in the last chapter ('The Planet Without a Visa') of his 1929 autobiography, *My Life*. In contrast, he noted, the toppled shah of Persia and the king of Afghanistan had no difficulties obtaining asylum from the crowned heads of Europe. Nor would the 'dissident' Sakharov.

It is perfectly clear that Dr Sakharov would blab everything he knows to the West. Even today he has valuable secrets which haven't necessarily decayed with time. And we have a modest proposal. Since the Cold Warriors and Reaganites claim their only concern is 'humanitarian' and not strategic-military, the Kremlin might suggest a simple trade of 'aging' scientists: Sakharov in exchange for Edward Teller, the father of the American hydrogen bomb and now a prime mover of Reagan's plans for the 'Star Wars' programme to annihilate the Soviets from space.

Adapted from Workers Vanguard no 356, 8 June 1984

Strike...

(Continued from page 3)

cross the stream of Revolution on the horses of reformism, and the class which has gone into battle under opportunist leaders is compelled to change them under enemy fire. This determines in advance what the really revolutionary elements of the British proletariat must do -- above all, what the Communists must do. They must support in every way the unity of mass action, but they cannot permit even the appearance of unity with the opportunist leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions.' (Preface to *Where is Britain Going?*, 6 May 1926)

Miners who have been reading our paper will know that it is the only one that does not whitewash and excuse the betrayals of the Labour and trade union misleaders or coddle cops and scabs. This is a sharp contrast to the message of the fake left. The supposedly Trotskyist *Socialist Action* (30 June) rushed Benn's speech onto their front page just in time for him to renege on it. *Socialist Worker* urges 'Turn sympathy into solidarity' but refuses to fight for solidarity that counts -- spreading the strike. *Militant* wants cops unionised and scabs given 'dispensation'. And the *Morning Star* is busy peddling lies that Kinnock is backing the miners. And where Spartacist League supporters in the NUR in London and the T&G in British Leyland fight to mobilise the unions in industrial action alongside the miners, the fake left policy of tailing after the trade union tops means in practice opposing the fight for solidarity strikes with the NUM.

The miners have shown great courage and en-

durance. But time is running out. Waiting for the strike to 'bite' next December is no perspective for victory. A real breakthrough is necessary now. The future of the unions is at stake. Militants must act decisively to turn this into a classwide fight against Thatcher/MacGregor, to smash the Tory assault and lay the basis for the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that can lead the working class to overturn this decadent capitalist system. ■

Waiting...

(Continued from page 2)

supports the 'left' against the right in trade union elections (and even proposed that Labour MPs take a loyalty oath to Michael Foot three years ago). WP is prepared to call for a general strike at all times and in all places -- except when the reformists are in power. They refused to call one during the 'winter of discontent' which brought down the Social Contract Callaghan Labour government; they refuse to call one today against the Mitterrand-led popular front in France. The reason is very simple: a general strike poses the question of power. If you're committed to going through the Labour Party, what do you do when Labour is already in power?

Four years ago under the impact of the imperialist furore over Afghanistan, WP took an important step to the left in breaking with its prior Soviet-defeatist position. But when the Russian question really hit home in Europe over Poland, WP fell into step behind the social-democratic Cold Warriors. Their support to counterrevolutionary Solidarnosc puts them on the same side of the fence as the Cold War witchhunters who went after Scargill and the NUM at Blackpool last September. No wonder they can look to Murray to call a general strike today. The requirements of the anti-Soviet war drive dictate that the Cold War right-wing majority in the General Council would rather split the union movement than move a muscle to support the miners.

Whether it comes to fighting against scabbing or fighting for socialism, WP is ready to leave it to somebody else -- ie the Labour Party and the existing leadership of the trade union movement. That is what all their talk of building a 'rank-and-file movement' -- whose main task will be to 'hold their leaders to account' -- boils down to. But forcing reformist leaders to be accountable gets you no closer to building the revolutionary leadership needed to defeat the bosses. And that makes all their left criticisms and their tactical offerings (flying wedges etc) at best advice to the class traitors who head the labour movement today. Workers Power would like, in the words of Trotsky, 'to cross the stream of Revolution on the horses of reformism'. And their fancy words notwithstanding, from that starting point, they end up doing nothing more than condoning scabbing and sowing illusions in strikebreakers. And that ain't Trotskyism. ■



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SPARTACIST BRITAIN

The Europe of workers struggles against the Europe of NATO

Spartakist



We reprint below (translated from *Le Bolchevik* no 58, June 1984) a statement by our comrades of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF)* on the recent elections to the so-called 'Parliament' of the European Economic Community. The most dramatic (and ominous) result of these 'Euro-elections' came in France, where the fascist *Front Nationale* of Jean-Marie Le Pen gained more than 11 per cent of the vote, nearly surpassing that of the French Communist Party (PCF).

The present growth of French fascism is graphic testimony to the dangerous consequences of a popular front in power -- the anti-Soviet austerity government of Francois Mitterrand, including PCF ministers. When the fascists staged a race-hate march through Paris 14 June, the reformists organised a tepid counterdemonstration away from Le Pen's rally. But more than forty demonstrators joined in with a spirited LTF contingent, drawn behind our banners calling for mass trade union/minority mobilisation to sweep the fascists off the streets and for a general strike to smash Mitterrand's austerity drive and open the road to a revolutionary workers government.

Most of the self-styled 'left' in Britain responded to the Euro campaign with pathetic pleas for workers to get out and vote for Neil ('I deplore the miners' violence') Kinnock's Labour Party -- notwithstanding their own 'little England'-centred nominal opposition to the Common Market. Socialist Action (1 June), self-appointed dogsbodies for the Labour bureaucrats whined that 'it's not going to be an easy job marshalling the ranks and getting Labour's supporters to the polls'... and indeed only 31 per cent of the electorate even bothered to vote. Most striking, however, was the centrist Workers Power group (WP). Its 6 June article correctly labelled the EEC a 'bosses market', pointed to the EEC's significance to European imperialism's 'role as junior partner to the USA in its attempt to put pressure on, to undermine and to break open the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to capitalist exploitation' and then urged... a 'vote for Labour'. And for what? So that the strikebreaking, pro-imperialist Labourites would have 'a tribune to denounce the policies of Europe's capitalists'! Don't hold your breath. Trotskyists draw conclusions from their analyses. We said: Boycott the 'elections' to NATO's Common Market!

For the second time since 1979 elections are taking place for the European 'Parliament' -- against the background of a West Europe deeply shaken by the combined effects of the rise in class struggle throughout the continent, and of the imperialists' preparations for war against the USSR and the deformed workers states where the bourgeoisie has been expropriated, in order to give a transfusion of new blood to the sclerotic veins of capitalism.

But, as Trotsky explained before the Second World War, 'war requires "civil peace"'. The bourgeoisies cannot wage war against the USSR without having first defeated the proletariat.



Already, hundreds of thousands of Europeans have mobilised against NATO's decision to make Europe the 'theatre' of its 'limited' nuclear war, even polarising certain countries like West Germany. To be sure, the missiles (6 or 8 minutes from Moscow) are an accomplished fact. But, today, the fantastic social power of the proletariat is finally on the rise, counterattacking throughout Europe against the capitalist austerity plans. And in France, if the immigrant workers, above all in the motor industry, are the special target of Mitterrand like the reactionaries of all stripes, this is precisely because they simultaneously have been the spearhead of workers' struggles for the past three years and are the least susceptible to the chauvinist propaganda for the indispensable 'Sacred Union'. The West German metalworkers like the British miners or Italian workers are engaged in class battles among the most important known in these countries. And it is these sorts of battles which will decide the fate of Europe and of the planet.

Boycott the 'European' elections!

Revolutionaries generally seek to participate in elections and in national bourgeois parliaments in order to use them as tribunes for propaganda and agitation for the revolutionary programme. But the Strasbourg 'Parliament' is a parliament only in name. A structure without power, its political function, alongside that of the other structures of the EEC, is to maintain and give voice to the common interest of all these rival imperialisms: their fundamental class antagonism against the countries of the Soviet bloc, which remain workers states (in

German metalworkers strike for 35-hour week; NATO heads of state on Normandy beaches: Mitterrand, Q.E.II, the grand duke of Luxembourg, Reagan (left).

spite of the bureaucracy which has usurped political power from the working class and which must be ousted through political revolution by the proletariat of these countries).

In its balance sheet of the Strasbourg 'Parliament', *Le Monde* (30 May) concluded on 'the failure of the Assembly in the realm of the community', but in contrast noted that 'the condemnation of the Russian troops' intervention in Afghanistan and the support given to the resistance of the trade union Solidarity to the Polish regime were a constant concern among the European parliamentarians'. Thus, for example, Mitterrand's recent speech about 'relaunching the West European union' was concretised in only one initiative: a noisy campaign by the EEC in favour of the pro-imperialist dissident Sakharov. (The imperialists would like to blackmail the USSR and force it to send the father of the Soviet H-bomb to the West, and with him his vital military secrets which even the *New York Times* says are 'probably still of major value to foreign governments'.) We defend the right of expression for the dissidents, including anti-socialists and reactionaries, so long as they are not actively engaged in an attempt to overturn the gains of the 1917 Revolution. In the case of Sakharov, there is no doubt that he would proceed to tell all he knows to the West and, in this case, we insist that the USSR has the right to take measures of self-protection.

Such anti-Soviet campaigns orchestrated around a Sakharov or the counterrevolutionaries of Solidarnosc, spiced up with the biggest lies possible (like the so-called 'victories' of the Afghan mullahs who are in fact, and happily, retreating before the Red Army -- see the *Guardian*, 27 May), seek above all to prepare public opinion for war against the 'evil empire'. And the snivellings of Mitterrand, Thatcher or Kohl about 'human rights' are always accompanied -- as if by chance -- by the military reinforcing of the imperialist bloc (helicopters, spy satellites etc).

The initiatives for constituting the states of capitalist Europe into a military bloc turned against the USSR came with the first Cold War. Already in 1946, Churchill, in a resounding speech in Zurich, launched the idea of 'a sort of United States of Europe' founded principally on an 'entente' between French and

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