

of all, the ANL demanded that the march be led by Holocaust survivors in the vain hope that a good media image would be presented.

Then after the subsequent riot, the ANL chief steward (and unsurprisingly, leading SWP member) Julie Waterson stated: "We never wanted injuries on either side. We wanted both the police and ourselves to leave having enjoyed the day and united against the Nazis.

If a policeman's head hurts half as much as mine, I feel really sorry for him". And this from a leading member of a 'revolutionary' party?

The ANL/SWP attitude over the annual Bloody Sunday commemoration also reveals their weak liberalism. Despite it being the focus for the largest fascist mobilisation in 1993, they refused to organise for its defence.

#### RECRUITS

The SWP relies on recruiting people through a very basic political analysis and depends upon them then having a memory that lasts for little longer than a fortnight. These individuals are subsequently driven into the ground, and led around like

sheep.

The party does expect a very high turnover of membership. But the result of this manipulation, party-sanctioned lying is that many of the people who leave are disillusioned and disgusted with political activity. The number of people that the SWP has politically ruined is enormous.

For all its talk, the SWP is not a

#### GET TO IT!

It has nothing to offer the working class and will only play a reactionary role in any revolutionary movement. But this does not mean that we are against the members of the SWP - many members are very good, political activists. What we are opposed to are the politics and the institution of the SWP.

It is for this reason that we have put out this leaflet and want to engage in discussion with anyone who partially or mostly agrees with what we have written. If you are sick and tired of being lied to, treated like robotic sheep, given little chance to properly debate political ideas, nuzzling up more to liberalism than to revolutionary analysis then get in touch.

**Socialist Worker**

KEEP VOTING LABOUR!

**MONKS MUST ISSUE AK47s NOW!**

**WHY WON'T THE TUC ARM THE PROLETARIAT?**



*Artist's impression of final pre-insurrectionary issue of Socialist Worker*

revolutionary organisation. Its politics are fatally flawed and its form of organising is based upon the discredited methods of Lenin where centralism counts for a lot more than democracy.

*The Class War Federation is working for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the state. Our aim is communist society based on collective decision making that will ensure the proper planning of the production and distribution of resources. This will be without hierarchical structures that lead to elitism and done on an equal basis: no gods, no masters. We can be contacted at PO Box 467, London, E8 3QX - or telephone our hotline on 0272 870050.*

**CLASS UNITY - CLASS PRIDE**  
**LONDON CLASS WAR**  
PO BOX 467 LONDON. E8 3QX



# How low can you go?

## THE PRACTICES AND THE POLITICS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.



*The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is a self-proclaimed 'revolutionary party'. In its 'Where We Stand' column in the weekly paper, it is stated that "the present system...has to be overthrown", that "only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system" and that "a new society can only be constructed when the workers collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution". So the words might sound fine - but what about the reality?*

#### LENIN

The SWP is a Leninist organisation; This means it substitutes the actions of the 'party' for the 'class' in a revolutionary situation, and in effect means that where the word 'worker' appears in the above quotes - it should be replaced by 'party'. It also means it operates through democratic centralism. Democratic centralism supposedly ensures the most effective and efficient form of organising for a revolutionary grouping.

But in practice it means the perpetuation of control within the party by a long-standing elite. In the

words of one disillusioned SWP'er:

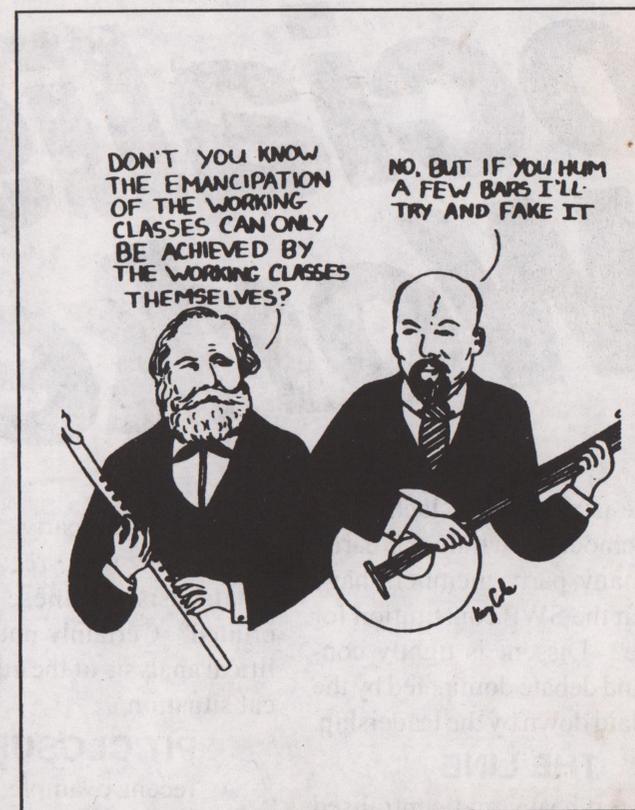
*"have you ever had a vote on who should be the leader of the SWP or on the Central Committee? The way this is decided on at SWP conference is very dubious. You're given a list of the new proposed CC and asked whether you agree or disagree. I've never heard of anyone not agreeing"*

(Republican Marxist Bulletin, Nov. 1992)

#### WORSHIP

Democratic centralism is inevitably a contradiction in terms because of the psychological effect it has on the ordinary members. It results in the leadership being put on a pedestal and being virtually worshipped - so it is very difficult to build any dissent from below against a CC member. The election of the CC by solely voting on

**The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is a self-proclaimed 'revolutionary party'.**



DON'T YOU KNOW THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY THE WORKING CLASSES THEMSELVES?

NO, BUT IF YOU HUM A FEW BARS I'LL TRY AND FAKE IT

slates also ensures that unpopular members of it are re-elected.

The reality of this situation was clearly shown last year when an

article submitted to the SWP's Internal Bulletin (1993, No. 2) was censored. The grounds for this censorship was that the article contained criticisms of the leadership!

**There is a complete lack of internal democracy within the party. How many party members have ever seen the SWP constitution?**

# Socialist Worker

There is a complete lack of internal democracy within the party. How many party members have ever seen the SWP constitution for example? Dissent is tightly controlled and debate dominated by the agenda laid down by the leadership.

## THE LINE

This top-heavy and centralised structure makes it extremely hard to put into practice local decisions. Not only this, it also ensures that local situations are ignored - for

example, the folding of the Anti-Nazi League in the early 1980's when in places this activity was still necessary. This particular change led to the expulsion of the group that became Red Action.

Essentially, what happens in the SWP is that the line comes down from on high and members are supposed to work themselves into the ground promoting that line - until the line changes as it dies with frightening regularity.

It is this naked opportunism that reveals the heart of the SWP: the party first and last mentality, regardless of political analysis. The Marxism upon which the SWP is supposedly based is nothing more than advertising copy. Time and time again the SWP have changed their line purely on the basis of what

is good for the party. This might mean a few more recruits, but on what basis are these people recruited? Certainly not on any political analysis of the current political situation.

## PIT CLOSURES

A recent example of this was the struggle over the pit closures. To the SWP, this was the big one: "Politics will not be the same again...the current struggle cannot simply be registered as another

peak on the same scale" ("Socialist Review", November 1992).

After having adamantly refused to call for a general strike in 1984-85, suddenly the party was issuing endless demands upon the TUC and Norman Willis: "TUC call a general strike now".

But the actual reality of the situation was that the struggle was conducted on much more unfavourable terrain than the 1984-85 strike - and the movement against the pit closures was dominated by tabloid editors, Labour frontbenchers and rabid Tory racists.

## DOWNTURN

The whole theory of the 'downturn' (which had dominated the party in the 1980's) was literally dumped overnight - at a time when it was never truer with the lowest level of strikes for 50 years! But the downturn had to be dumped because, according to Leninist logic, a revolutionary party can only expect to rapidly grow during times of mass class radicalisation - like now?

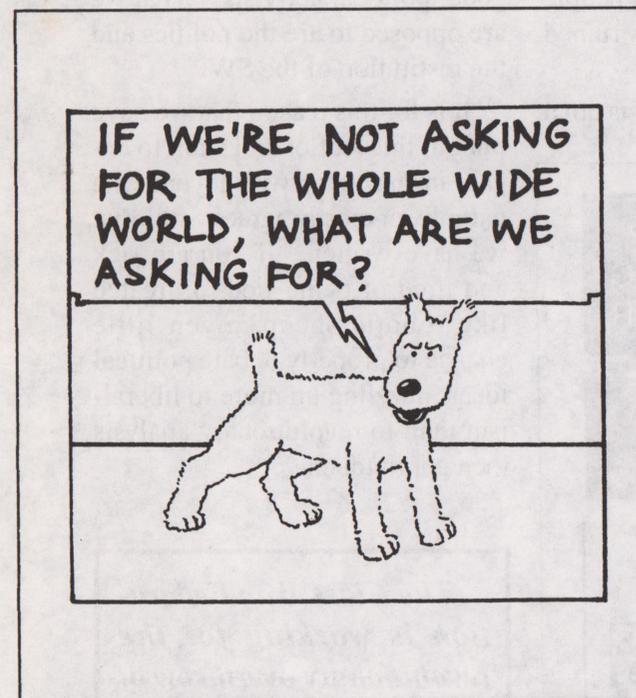
The SWP is not only an opportunistic, centralist organisation - its politics are up the creek as well. It is inextricably tied to the labour movement and the pages of its publications are continually filled by calls upon this bureaucrat or that bureaucrat to "do something".

When the bureaucracy (inevitably) fail to do anything, then the SWP cry out "cowardice", "betrayal" and bemoan lost opportunities. 'Socialist Worker' might be full of indignant outrage but it always misses the real question: how much longer are the SWP going to pretend to expect that the labour bureaucracy will do anything other than betray the working class?

## CAPITALIST SCUM

The TUC and the Labour party

are thoroughly capitalist institutions that have nothing to offer the working class. Yet it is organisations like the SWP who help to bolster the collapsing credibility of these dinosaurs by their endless calls upon them.



As an Armthorpe miner said in May 1993: "A lot of the lads were saying even then (back in October 1992) we should have ripped the heads off those bastards (the TUC General Council)". But its no good putting this in the pages of 'Socialist Worker' after six months of increasingly frantic calls for the TUC to call a general strike.

The SWP is desperate to maintain its radical credibility - but at the same time maintain its links with the labour bureaucracy. One thing that the SWP never like to mention is the last Labour government (from 1974 to 1979) - and this is true for virtually all the other Leninist outfits.

It's because this period shows the futility of labourism and the nonsense of even indirectly supporting it. If the Labour Party and

the TUC always betray the working class, what's the point of supporting them?

## VOTE LABOUR

Yet still the SWP bleats on: "Vote labour with no illusions", "The TUC must act". The party calls for a vote for Labour because of its links to the labour movement - but has refused to drop this analysis even though the Trade Union block vote has been abolished. This displays conservatism and an inability to adapt to changing circumstances.

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**SWP at heart conservative, it is also willing to twist historical facts for its own sake.**

Not only is the SWP at heart conservative, it is also willing to twist historical facts for its own sake. For example in Cliff and Gluckstein's 400 page plus 'The Labour Party - A Marxist History', the Winter of Discontent (a massive working class movement against a labour government) merits a mere 5 paragraphs. We wonder what the leadership are so keen to cover-up?

As well as the very limited analysis of Labourism, the SWP have a very poor understanding of the state. They have continually called upon the police to act against the fascists - as one Anti-Nazi League leader stated after a recent Brick Lane demonstration when the police had arrested the fascists: "We welcomed the police action, but it should have really come sooner".

It's this analytical poverty that led the SWP to support the troops being sent into the north of Ireland on August 1969. And 25 years later little has changed.

## ANAL PROBLEMS

The recent reformation of the Anti-Nazi League shows the SWP's opportunism, centralism and lack of revolutionary analysis. Only a month before the ANL was set up, the SWP had declared that there was no threat from fascism - and then suddenly in January 1992 everything had dramatically changed and suddenly there was this massive threat that needed to be opposed.

It was more that there was a massive opportunity to recruit people on the simplest programme. The ANL is supposed to be a 'united front' but in reality it is completely controlled by the SWP: nothing more than a transmission belt into the party.

And the ANL's main purpose in life seems to be to become loved by liberals, so physical combat is avoided at all costs (don't want to lose the support of all those bish-ops) and things are kept very passive. After all, it's a lot easier to be loved by liberals than to have a revolutionary analysis of society!

## WELLING

A good example of this was the October 1992 demonstration against the BNP in welling. First