



**ACTU leaders refuse to fight**

# Wages, Medibank under attack

Treasurer Phil Lynch's 20 May "mini-budget", the federal government's latest move in its program of austerity, slashed an estimated \$2600 million from proposed government spending and brought into focus the key elements of Fraser's anti-labour strategy. Programs for urban and regional development, health, aborigines and transport were sharply reduced, with further cuts promised in the budget proper in August. A major blow to the working class was the 2.5 per cent levy on everyone choosing to remain within Medibank and the elimination of Medibank as a universal health scheme. Despite its severe inadequacies Medibank was one of Labor's few attempts at real reform, a timid step in the direction of what should be a basic right for all working people -- universal free quality health care. Lynch's levy has now decisively undermined even that minimal advance, laying the basis for its complete destruction. A huge number of people will be forced back under private health insurance, ensuring for lower-income working-class patients, who on the whole will retain Medibank coverage, a second-class level of health care.

The Labor Party can offer no alternative to Fraser, who, after all, is only carrying through policies begun by the Whitlam/Hayden 1975 budget which initiated the first major cuts in government spending and likewise introduced heavy in-



ACTU and ALP President Bob Hawke.

Asp photo

direct taxes on consumer staples. The aspiring heir to the leadership of the parliamentary ALP, Bob Hawke, proclaimed the Lynch package "good in parts and bad in parts", and pontificated on the "tragedy" of the Liberals' original opposition to Labor's own earlier attempt to impose a levy to pay for Medibank (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May). Hawke's stand was "moderate and encouraging", the right-wing Fairfax press editorialised approvingly (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 May).

It was these reformist stooges of the bosses who laid the foundations for Fraser's attack on Medibank by watering it down to make it acceptable to capitalism. Despite their best efforts in this regard, the bosses have succeeded in mortally wounding it less than a year after its introduction. Nothing could show more clearly the bankruptcy of attempting to achieve any lasting reforms under a capitalist system in historical decline.

The other main features of the "mini-budget" -- the introduction of tax indexation and, to a lesser extent, the replacement of income tax rebates for children with increased child endowment -- were, in Lynch's words, measures to "contribute to fruitful discussions with the unions next month". These fraudulent "reforms" of the budget, which as a whole took back more than it gave, came as no surprise to the ACTU tops. The deal was all worked out beforehand, as revealed by *Sun-Herald* columnist Chris Anderson (23 May):

"At a meeting a few weeks ago in Melbourne, Mr Street [Minister for Labour], Mr George Polites (employers), and ACTU leader Mr Hawke all came to the conclusion that there was room for broad agreement. That line was also taken in private talks between Mr Fraser and tough Queensland union boss Mr Jack Egerton. It is reported that such an agreement was that, in return for the Government's dropping secret ballot legislation and introducing tax indexation, the union movement would talk seriously about wage restraint."

The remaining obstacle to these talks, the government's plan to bring all trade-union elections under the control of the Commonwealth Electoral Office has been temporarily dropped, and the meetings duly scheduled. These fakery must not be allowed to sell out workers' interests behind their backs. No secret deals with Fraser!

Having sold out already, the ACTU could hardly have been expected to mount any opposition to the decision by the Arbitration Commission, announced by its president John Moore on 28 May, to introduce the so-called "plateau wage indexation" ad-



Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser.

vocated by the Fraser government (giving a percentage increase equal to the percent rise in the price index up to the average award wage of \$125, but only a flat increase for wages above that). Indexation was never full compensation for inflation due to numerous loopholes; but now some 60 percent of the workforce are supposed to get substantially less than even the official rise in the cost of living, an *undisguised* attempt to cut real wages.

Reflecting the partial success of Fraser's strategy, the response from the unions to the budget/indexation package was initially muted, despite the threats of strike action if the full

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## The end of Peronist rule in Argentina

by the Organización Trotskista  
Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile

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## Bureaucratic rule spawns bourgeois nationalism

## Titoism in trouble

**PAGE 6**



Mihajlo Mihajlov.

# Fake Trotskyists refuse to defend Enriquez, Muñoz CL plays games with militants' lives

Communist League  
Sydney

This letter is to reiterate our proposal (made by telephone to comrade Mike Keenan on 17 May 1976) to the Communist League to join with the Spartacist League in building a demonstration to defend the lives of Edgardo Enriquez and Mario Muñoz, and to demand an end to political repression in Argentina and Chile.

We note that you have not yet endorsed the campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz, despite the April assurances of your spokesman, comrade John McCarthy, that you would. We also note that you did not see fit to mention the Muñoz case in your material on Argentina in the 6 May *Militant*. On the other hand, *Rouge* (27 April) has taken note of the campaign and advertised the address of the *Comité Pour Sauver Mario Muñoz*. And Luis Vitale, Carmen Castillo, and the American Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee have endorsed the campaign.\*

Representatives of the Communist League attending the 28 April meeting of the Mario Muñoz Defence Committee suggested activities which tied the case of Mario Muñoz with that of Edgardo Enriquez, and this proposal is in the spirit of that suggestion. Although in *Militant* (6 May 1976) you hope for a "broad-based committee to campaign in defence of Latin American political prisoners", neither we nor anyone with whom we have contact has been approached regarding the formation of such a committee. Indeed we are unaware of any significant progress toward that end. We hope that you can see your way clear to taking some action to defend these gravely endangered Latin American comrades even in the absence of such a committee.

We therefore hope to receive an early reply so that arrangements can be made to build a significant demonstration.

Fraternally,  
Bill Logan  
for the Spartacist League  
19 May 1976

\**Rouge* is the newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, which like the CL supports the majority faction of the United Secretariat (USec) led by Ernest Mandel. (LCR leader Alain Krivine has also endorsed the campaign since this letter.) Luis Vitale is a leader of the Chilean section of the USec, and the Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee is a group of CL/Mandel co-thinkers in the US. Carmen Castillo is a supporter of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

Spartacist League  
Sydney

We, of the Sydney Branch, Communist League, have received a number of requests by telephone and lastly by letter, to "join with the Spartacist League in building a demonstration to defend the lives of Edgardo Enriquez and Mario Muñoz, and to demand an end to political repression in Argentina and Chile".

In answer to this request we have decided that we will *not* actively join with you in "building a demonstration...".

We give endorsement to the campaign in defence of Muñoz and the broadening of that campaign if it in fact occurs. We endorse your campaign as a

matter of principle in so much as it intends to defend the workers' movement, its participants and allies, from politically motivated repression.

On the other hand, we do not believe [sic] that an alliance with your group nor the perspectives of your campaign would help towards those principled intentions.

On the contrary, our perspectives are quite different. As outlined in the *Militant* article which your letter abstracts from, we have noticed the debilitating effect on the overall Australian workers' movement's *effective* response against repression in Latin America by the numerous contending "committees against repression", "campaigns against repression" and "non-partisan" partisan "cultural groups" etc. We believe your present campaign fits squarely into this context. Furthermore, considering details which we outline below, we suspect your motivations of being predominantly of a sectarian nature and also aimed solely [sic] at your propaganda objective of "exposing" all other political tendencies in the workers' movement ... motivations which we do not share with you.

Our perspectives are, in fact, to unite those forces already active against repression in Latin America and to broaden all aspects of such existing work. We, too, have a deeper political perspective for such work which includes fighting against the misleadership and betrayals that have facilitated repression, and also winning militants to our overall ideas and our organisation. But that work, for us, takes place within the framework of building a real united campaign which can effectively respond to this repression ... this is based on the real needs of the working class both in Australia and Latin America.

You imply that you do not think we are "really" trying to build such a campaign, that this is merely an excuse for inactivity ... presumably because we feel politically weak and are afraid to work side by side with you. There are few who would be taken in by this ruse though.

The Communist League has consistently been in the forefront in trying to gain unity in action since the upsurge of activity following the coup in Chile in September 1973. We have argued for this unity inside every existing committee that we have obtained a hearing from, and we have argued to members of those committees that we have not been able to directly intervene in. We have argued in our press and have debated with other political tendencies who have disagreed with this perspective. What is even more important, we took direct action to initiate this unity and highlight its desirability for the whole workers' movement making concessions to the Stalinists' committees around plans for the big demonstrations of September 1974.

We could not succeed [sic] in gaining unity with the Stalinists except by breaking with our principals [sic] which we refuse to do, but we continued our work and along with the Socialist Workers League and Antorcha, we proved an even more important point: that the far-left, through initiatives in united action, can outflank the traditional reformist working-class leadership at times. From that point we were not able to carry on and use the strength gained by our actions to force the reformists to act on the basis of unity to build a strong campaign against repression in Chile and subsequently in Latin America as a whole.

We have continued to carry out that work to the best of our ability, but we will not unite in activity with you because it was precisely your activities along with the sectarians of the CPA and SPA and your subsequent lack of activity which jeopardised [sic] at every stage, our attempts to build unity in action. With the sole perspective of "exposing" us and every other left current you sabotaged the unity of the September 1974 demonstration. You split from the far-left organising committee and at the demonstration you attempted to set up an "alternative" platform which became a provocation to both the Stalinists and to ourselves later on. You made it clear that you were not interested in the immediate and real needs of the working class for a united cam-

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## Cops raid Melbourne leftists

Early in the morning of April 30 a group of gun-toting cops raided two homes of Melbourne supporters of the Communist League (CL). Packing warrants authorising them to look for explosives, they ransacked both houses and interrogated the inhabitants. From the first house, that of Gaelle Sobott and Annette Hulme, they took address books and photographs of demonstrations. At the second house the cops arrested David Armstrong and charged him with being in possession of stolen goods -- one library book and several Commonwealth biros! It was also alleged by the cops that Armstrong was in a mythical conspiracy to assassinate the proprietor of a large daily newspaper, the director of a Victorian television station and a prominent Liberal Party minister. Armstrong was told that conspiracy charges would be laid sometime in the future and was released on \$150 bail.

The cops' wild accusations of assassination conspiracies and their malicious and absurd charges of possession of "stolen goods" only underline the fact that the real motivation for the raid was calculated political repression, intended to intimidate not only the Communist League but also the left and workers' movement in general. It is a blatant attack on basic democratic rights and, if allowed to pass without effective protest, will only embolden the cops to extend this attack still further. An injury to one is an injury to all!

There is a marked similarity between the raids in Melbourne and the cop raid on Communist Party of Australia (CPA) members Libby Barratt and Mick O'Loughlin in Sydney in late November 1975. Raids on the left of this type have been almost commonplace in Queensland for years, and similar cop harassment is nothing new to blacks practically everywhere. These two raids, however, mark a significant extension of police repression since the political crisis last year. Yet the response of the left, in particular the organisations directly affected (the CL and the CPA), has been either criminally negligent or grossly opportunistic. In response to the Sydney raid the CPA did virtually nothing. And although the CL has been a bit more active, it has taken an astounding stand against militant protest action.

The CL's *Militant* (20 May 1976) states:

"...the Communist League vigorously opposes small demonstrations and pickets condemning the raid [!]. These are symptoms of weakness and isolation and cannot possibly help to stop the repression. On the other hand, the support of the whole organised workers' movement for a full trade union inquiry into the raids and the circumstances surrounding them is a sign of strength and unity and will be a blow against the forces of repression."

The fact that mass demonstrations are unfortunately not immediately possible indicates the *actual* strength of the campaign -- which cannot be wished away. Does the CL really think that the cops will be fooled into believing there is a broad campaign by the absence of "small" (less than 1000? 100? 50?) demonstrations? Or that *total inaction* has a *greater* impact than small but militant protests?

Of course not. The CL itself has built or participated in numerous "small demonstrations or pickets" since it came into existence and in fact, CLer Linda Boland, in meetings to defend Barratt and O'Loughlin in Sydney earlier this year, supported a proposal for such a demonstration. Not that the CL's past practice is any great surprise, since everybody knows small actions can *help build* broad support and create the *possibility* of mobilising broader layers. What has changed? Only the fact that the CL, now directly under fire from the state, has rushed to the labour bureaucracy as a strategy for protection. This is why the CL has now decided to "vigorously oppose", like the bureaucracy, *any* immediate militant action *even in its own defence!*

Thus, the *only* focus the CL has given the campaign is a petition calling for a trade-union inquiry. Why militant action is a sign of weakness, and a weak-kneed petition for an "inquiry" a "sign of strength", is beyond our feeble comprehension. For our part, we are willing to support both. However, the utility of this proposed inquiry would certainly be severely limited. What is there to inquire about? No new proofs

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International support grows for effort to save Chilean miners' leader

# Build the Mario Muñoz campaign!

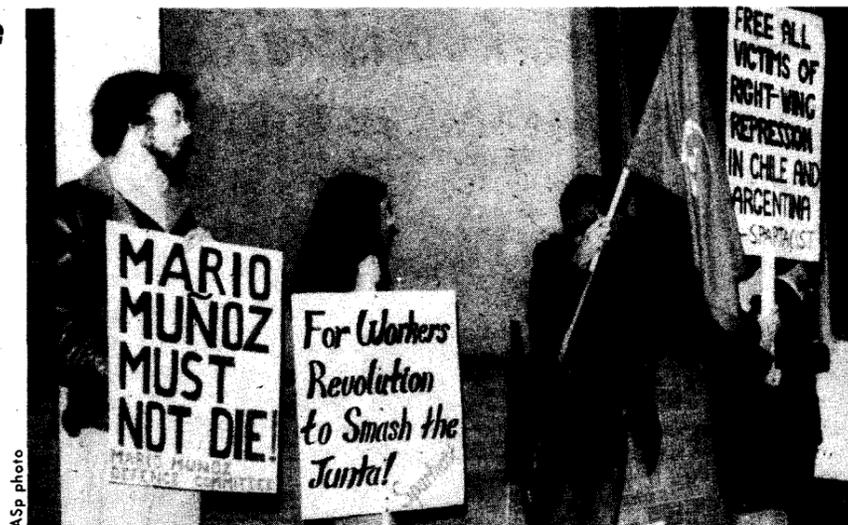
While the Argentine national police continue their man-hunt of Mario Munoz with orders to shoot him on sight, a continuing campaign to publicise Munoz' plight and that of other victims of the Argentine terror remains extremely urgent. It is vital that international pressure be kept up lest Munoz - if caught - be summarily executed.

Hatred for the murderous torturers of Pinochet and his "gentleman" counterpart, the slightly less rabid Videla, has united sharply counterposed political figures and tendencies in an excellent example of non-sectarian defence. In the month since the international campaign to save the life of Mario Munoz began unions, socialist organisations, civil libertarian groups and a large number of prominent individuals have pledged support to the effort to save him from the executioners of the Argentine junta. Initiated following the appeal of the European-based Committee for the Defence of Imprisoned Chilean Workers, Soldiers and Sailors (reprinted in *ASP* 31) the campaign has obtained broad international support. Demonstrations have been held in Australia, Europe and across the United States. Daniel Berrigan, Angela Davis, Kate Millett and Tom Hayden from the US have endorsed the campaign. The Canadian Labor Congress and Ed Broadbent, federal leader of the Canadian New Democratic Party, have also endorsed. European endorsers include Louis Althusser, Jean-Paul Sartre, Daniel Guerin, Ernst Bloch and Jiri Pelikan (exiled former Central Committee member of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party). Among the British endorsers are Richard and Cristina Whitecross (British citizens recently released after five months in Argentine jails), Ernie Roberts (assistant general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers\*) and five British Labour Party Members of Parliament. Amnesty International's London Headquarters has issued an Urgent Action memorandum. There are several new endorsers from Israel. Individuals from left-wing organisations who have endorsed the campaign include Carmen Castillo of the Chilean MIR, Luis Vitale, leader of the Chilean sympathising section of the United Secretariat, Pierre Lambert and Pierre Broue, veteran leaders of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, and Alain Krivine of the French Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire.

This united-front defence campaign is important not only to save the life of one important working-class leader but also as a part of the fight against the bloody repressiveness of the Argentine military junta. Beneath the hypocritical assurances of the junta's "moderation" and "legality" there lies a brutal reality of murder, torture and atrocities. Amnesty International estimates that there are 20-30,000 political prisoners in Argentina who have been arrested since the March 24 coup.

Among the victims of the Argentine junta and the vicious death squads of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance are the thousands of working-class militants who sought refuge in Argentina from equally brutal juntas in their own countries. Amongst these refugees are those who have lived through the defeats of the working class in Latin America and have experienced the bloody results of popular frontist treachery. These cadre are the potential leaders of the future socialist revolution throughout Latin America. It is vital that their lives be saved.

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Munoz protest outside United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Sydney.

## Munoz campaign endorsements

An international campaign has been mounted to save the life of Mario Munoz. Among its endorsers are:-

### AUSTRALIA

Abbotsford Branch ALP  
 Albert Park Branch ALP  
 WR Albury (Lecturer, LaTrobe University)  
 Altona Branch ALP  
 Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (Burwood, Melbourne and Sydney Branches)  
 Johann Arnason (Lecturer, LaTrobe University)  
 Australian Coal and Shale Employees' Federation (Miners Federation)  
 Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union  
 Australian Railways Union (Victorian Branch)  
 Australian Tramway and Motor Omnibus Employees' Association (Victorian Branch)  
 Australian Union of Students  
 Meredith Bergman  
 Fred Betts (actor)\*  
 GH Boehringer (Senior Lecturer in Law, Macquarie University)  
 L Brereton (MLA, NSW)  
 Elizabeth Brooke (Lecturer in Politics, Swinburne Institute of Technology)  
 BWIU (NSW and Victorian Branches)  
 J Burnheim (Senior Lecturer, University of Sydney)  
 Dr Jim Cairns (MHR)  
 Canberra Trades Council  
 Dr Moss Cass (MHR)  
 Max Charlesworth (Catholic Worker)  
 Senator Ruth Coleman  
 David Combe (Federal Secretary, ALP)\*  
 Combined Pensioners Association (Victoria)  
 Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People  
 Communist League  
 Steve Cooper (Research Officer, AMWU)  
 Eva Cox  
 Gregory M Dening (Professor of History, Melbourne University)  
 AF Donovan (Senior Lecturer, Department of Behavioural Science, University of NSW)  
 John Ducker (Member of the Legislative Council, NSW; President of the NSW Branch of the ALP; Junior Vice-President of the Federal ALP; Secretary of the NSW Labor Council)  
 BD Dyster (Lecturer, Economic History Department, University of NSW)  
 Grant Evans  
 Federated Clerks Union of Australia (NSW Branch)  
 Federated Cold Storage and Meat Preserving Employees' Union of Australia (Victorian Branch)  
 Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association of Australasia  
 Federated Liquor and Allied Industry Employees' Union (Victorian Branch)  
 Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union (Victorian and South Australian Branches)  
 Federated Shipwrights and Ship Constructors' Association of Australia (Victorian Branch)  
 Federation of Australian Anarchists  
 Dr Herbert Feith (Reader in Politics, Monash University)  
 Firemen and Deckhands' Union of NSW  
 M Fisher (Organiser, Storemen and Packers Union)  
 D A T Gasking (Professor of Philosophy, Melbourne University)  
 Senator George Georges\*  
 Senator Arthur Gietzelt  
 Caroline Graham  
 R F Hall (Professor, Department of General Studies, University of NSW)  
 Frank Hardy (author)\*  
 Bill Hartley (Member, Federal Executive of the ALP)  
 Bob Hawke (Federal President of the ALP, President of the ACTU)  
 Stephen C Hill (Professor of Sociology, University of Wollongong)  
 Dr R Horn (University of Sydney)  
 Robin Horne (Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Wollongong)  
 Hospital Employees Federation (Victorian Branch 2)  
 WE Hotchkiss (Lecturer, School of Economics, University of NSW)  
 Michael Hourihan (Secretary/Editor, NSW Teachers Federation)  
 Ted Innes (MHR)  
 Dr M Jackson (University Lecturer)  
 Dr Evan Jones (Lecturer, Economics Department, University of Sydney)  
 Senator Jim Keefe (Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Senate)  
 Claire Kelly (VSTA member)  
 Richard Kennedy (Lecturer in Australian Social History, University of NSW)  
 D Kirsner (Lecturer, Philosophy Department, Melbourne University)  
 K L Krishna (Senior Lecturer in Econometrics, Monash University)  
 LaTrobe Clubbe Communiste  
 LaTrobe University SRC  
 David A Lawton (Lecturer, Department of English, University of Sydney)  
 Macquarie University Students' Council  
 Patrick Maloney  
 Alan Marshall (author)  
 Michael Matteson  
 Monash Association of Students  
 Municipal Employees Union (Federated Municipal and Shire Council Employees' of Australia)  
 Barbara Murphy (Senior Vice President, NSW Teachers' Federation)  
 Bill Murray (Lecturer, History Department, LaTrobe University)  
 Kenneth C Ophel (Secretary, Victorian Branch, Australian Theatrical and Amusement Employees' Association)  
 C Pateman (Lecturer, University of Sydney)  
 John F Pelly (Secretary, Ascot Vale ALP Branch)  
 George Peterson (MLA, NSW)  
 Plumbers and Gasfitters Employees' Union of Australia, (Melbourne Branch)  
 Ross Poole (Lecturer, School of History, Philosophy, Politics, Macquarie University)  
 Printing and Kindred Industries Union (Victorian Branch)  
 Caroline Ralston (University Lecturer)  
 Malcolm Rimmer (Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Sydney)  
 Dr Michael Roth (Visiting Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, University of Sydney)  
 Jim Roulston (Senior Vice-President of the ALP; Vice President of the ACTU; Victorian President of the AMWU)  
 George Rude (Professor of History, Concordia University, Canada; Visiting Lecturer, LaTrobe University)  
 Edna Ryan  
 Malcolm Salmon  
 Heinz Schutte (Senior Lecturer in Sociology, LaTrobe University)  
 MF Schutte (Lecturer, Department of French, LaTrobe University)  
 David Scott  
 Seamen's Union of Australia  
 Ship Painters and Dockers Union (NSW and Victorian Branches)  
 Ron Skeggs (Secretary, Edithvale/Aspendale ALP Branches)  
 Slaters, Tilers and Roofing Industry Union of Victoria  
 Socialist Workers Party  
 Dr Charles Sowerwine (Lecturer, History Department, Melbourne University)  
 Spartacist League

Staff and Students of the Department of General Philosophy (University of Sydney)  
 John Steinke (President of the Cunningham Federal Electoral Council of the ALP)  
 Anne Summers  
 W Sutcliffe (Senior Lecturer, Department of General Philosophy, University of Sydney)  
 Sydney University Communist Group  
 Sydney University SRC  
 Max Taylor (General Secretary of the NSW Teachers' Federation)  
 M M Thompson  
 Transport Workers Union of Australia (NSW Branch)  
 David Tucker (Lecturer, Department of Politics, Melbourne University)  
 Victorian Labor College  
 Victorian Trades Hall Council, Executive Committee  
 Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists  
 University of NSW ALP Club  
 University of NSW Students' Union  
 Tom Uren (Deputy Leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party)  
 J L Vaux (Lecturer, Department of General Philosophy, University of Sydney)  
 Water and Sewerage Employees' Union  
 Waterside Workers Federation of Australia  
 Mick Young (MHR)\*

### CANADA

David Archer (President, Ontario Federation of Labour)  
 Andrew Brewin (Member of Parliament, New Democratic Party (NDP))  
 Ed Broadbent (MP, Leader, NDP)  
 Canadian Labour Congress  
 Oduardo Di Santo (Member of Provincial Parliament, Ontario NDP)  
 Rosie Douglas  
 Jan Dukszta (MP, Ontario NDP)  
 Stu Leggett (MP, NDP)  
 Revolutionary Marxist Group  
 John Rodriguez (MP, NDP)  
 Sudbury and District Labour Council  
 Vancouver Area Council of the NDP  
 Vancouver District Labour Council

### EUROPE

Louis Althusser, Paris  
 Argentine Support Movement, London  
 Ernst Bloch, philosopher  
 British Labour Party Members of Parliament Frank Allaun, Martin Flannery, Tom Litterick, Stan Newens and George Rodgers  
 Dr Peter Brandt, Berlin  
 Pierre Broue (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste), Grenoble  
 Carmen Castillo (Chilean MIR)  
 Mario Felmer (Chilean Young Socialists), London  
 Daniel Guerin, Paris  
 Irish Republican Socialist Party, London  
 Alain Krivine (Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR)), France  
 Miners International Federation  
 Jiri Pelikan (editor, *Listy*)  
 Friedrich Precht (chairman, Railroad Union), Austria  
 Ernie Roberts (assistant general secretary, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers), London  
 Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London  
 Jean Paul Sartre, Paris  
 Luis Vitale  
 Richard and Cristina Whitecross, London

### ISRAEL

Israel Shahak (Israel League for Human and Civil Rights)  
 Committee of Arab Students (Jerusalem University)

### UNITED STATES

Eqbal Ahmad  
 Daniel Berrigan  
 J Quinn Brisben (VP candidate, SPUSA)  
 Noam Chomsky  
 Angela Davis (co-chairperson, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression)  
 Dave Dellinger  
 Frank Donner (General Counsel United Electrical Workers (UE), member ACLU)  
 Alexander Erlich (Professor, Russian Institute, Columbia University)  
 Thomas I Emerson (Professor of Law, Yale University)  
 Lawrence Ferlinghetti (City Lights Books, SF)  
 Eugene Genovese (Professor of History, Rochester University)  
 Dick Gregory  
 Tom Hayden  
 International Socialists (Chicago local)  
 Florynce Kennedy (Attorney)  
 Labor Struggle Caucus, Local 6, United Automobile Workers (UAW)  
 Lavender and Red Union, LA  
 Amy Lee (Director American Indian Rights Association, Kent State University)  
 Sidney Lens (author)  
 Longshore Militant, SF  
 Salvador Luria (Nobel Laureate)  
 Staughton Lynd (author)  
 Michael Meeropol  
 Robert Meeropol  
 Militant Action Caucus, Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410  
 Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union  
 Militant-Solidarity Caucus, Local 906, UAW  
 Kate Millett (author)  
 John Mitchell (International Rep, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkers)  
 National Lawyers Guild, Chicago and Massachusetts chapters  
 New American Movement (national office)  
 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, District Council 8  
 Dr Philip Oke (UN rep, Christian Peace Conference)  
 Revolutionary Marxist Organising Committee  
 Revolutionary Socialist League  
 Dennis Serrette (Pres, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists)  
 John Sharpe (Secretary, international Spartacist tendency)  
 Carl Shier (International Representative, UAW)  
 Martin Sastre  
 Spark  
 IF Stone  
 Willie Tate (defendant, San Quentin Six)  
 Studs Terkel (author)  
 Estaban E Torres (assistant director, international affairs department, United Auto Workers)  
 Warehouse Militant, SF  
 Women's Coffee House Collectors, Ltd  
 Howard Zinn  
 Edisson JM Zvobgo (ZANU)

Positions and organisations of individual endorsers are given for purposes of identification only.

\* verbal endorsement only

- I endorse\*
- My organisation endorses\*

the international defence campaign to save Mario Munoz, organised around the demands:

**Mario Munoz must not die!**  
**Stop the political repression in Argentina and Chile!**

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Organisation \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Signed \_\_\_\_\_

- I am willing to work with the Committee to save Mario Munoz.
- I donate \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help save Mario Munoz. (Make payable to the Mario Munoz Defence Committee, GPO Box 3473, Sydney, NSW 2001.)

\* Endorsement indicates willingness to permit your name or your organisation's name to be used to internationally publicise the campaign of the Mario Munoz Defence Committee.

# Break with Peronism, Stalinism, guerrillaism

— For a Trotskyist party!

# The end of Peronist rule in Argentina

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile

The coup d'etat in Argentina, carried out by a junta composed of the three branches of the armed forces, marked the tragic and logical unfolding of a bourgeois crisis which had grown increasingly acute with the Peronist government's total incapacity to resolve it. It is important to note that the takeover had already begun Tuesday the 23rd [of March] and not Wednesday the 24th as was officially reported.

President Isabel Peron had attempted to ignore social tensions caused by the economic disaster, instead abusing the demagogic prestige that *justicialismo* had won through its *lider maximo*, General Juan Peron. Furthermore, the control over the working class which Peronism had exercised through a veritable bureaucratic mafia in the main Argentine trade-union federation, the CGT [General Confederation of Labor], was no longer viable. The Argentine proletariat was trying to break its dependence on these pimping misleaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie. The most obvious proof of this was the recent general strike just before the coup.

Since the bourgeoisie found its efforts at economic and social planning stymied, it withdrew all support from the government of Peron's widow. The working class will certainly not be duped by bourgeois moral arguments concerning the squandering of public funds by the president and her friend, Lopez Rega. The real reasons for the bourgeoisie's withdrawal of support from the government are of a political order, ie, the raging economic crisis and the rise of working-class struggle.

When the bourgeoisie can no longer depend upon the services of the government, it falls back upon the state apparatus, and of course upon the armed forces as its enforcers. From its point of view, the moment chosen to shatter the democratic institutions was dramatically correct, since there was no forceful opposition. The Argentine working class has no mass parties capable of putting up any substantial class resistance (thus the counterrevolutionary class-collaborationist policies of the Communist Party, for example, have led it to sell out to Peronism). In Chile an important part of the proletariat was organized in the two mass workers' parties, the Socialist Party (SP) and the Communist Party (CP), which in spite of their reformist strategies were nearly destroyed by Pinochet (above all the SP). The guerrillas of the Argentine PRT/ERP (Revolutionary Workers Party/Revolutionary People's Army) and Montoneros had neither the physical nor political capacity necessary [to resist the



Helicopter carries Isabel Peron away from Presidential palace in abortive escape bid.

coup]: their war with the bourgeois army was irreversibly lost from the beginning, no matter how heroic individual militants may have been.

The Argentine armed forces, who have a great deal of experience in carrying out coups, wanted to avoid the unfavorable international image which its neighbor, Chile, has received. Important economic interests involving large foreign investments are at stake, and could not simply be thrown overboard. There are even very good economic relations with the USSR. For these reasons the dominant sectors of the Argentine armed forces were opposed to the Air Force-led coup attempt [last December].

In this fashion the military takeover in Argentina appeared to the world as almost "peaceful" and without bloodshed. The only purpose of the CGT's call for a general strike was in order to be able to bargain over the positions which the bureaucracy had earlier obtained. But these are only the appearances, behind which is hidden a silent repression no less bloody than that of similar coups on the continent, most obviously Chile. This repression vents its fury primarily against the Argentine working class and likewise against its class brothers from other parts of Latin America who have been forced to emigrate to Argentina, whether for political or economic reasons (assuming that one could speak of pure politics or economics). In particular, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have crossed the Andean *cordillera* from Chile; the brutal repression against them has already begun. By common agreement, the representatives of capital open their borders in order to communicate in the language of death and destruction of the proletariat. Before March Peron had already handed over hundreds of Chileans to the Chilean bourgeoisie; now this deadly traffic in human beings is increasing.

The demagogic populism of Peronism has been exposed. The illusions which it fostered among the Argentine working masses may well have received a death blow. Despite the brief duration of the Peronist government, this period was sufficient to demonstrate that the bourgeoisie (even those of its parties which have working-class support) necessarily bases its system on the exploitation of the proletariat and of the lowest social strata, that there is no such thing as a progressive "anti-imperialist" national bourgeoisie. Capitalism is an international system of domination based on the exploitation of man by man. Anti-imperialism, progress and the liberation of humanity can only be brought about through the violent destruction of the capitalist system of private property and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class, thus laying the bases of the future socialist society.

The Argentine Frente Justicialista [Frejuli, the official Peronist party] is a bourgeois populist party, created by the bourgeoisie itself in order to dominate the rising workers movement in the 1940s. This is how the present CGT arose as a trade-union organization built and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to destroy proletarian militancy. When General Peron proved incapable of fulfilling his class function, he was violently removed and obliged to take an extended vacation in Spain. However, the military governments which followed Peron's fall were also unable to attain social peace. Thus the bourgeoisie was forced to recall the exile from Iberia and once more offer him governmental control.

The illusions in Peronism which had been preserved within the working class gave the general an overwhelming electoral triumph. The "critical" support by so-called "Marxists", such as the PST (Socialist Workers Party), to the Peronist government of Hector Campora objectively contributed to the working-class defeat which resulted from the military coup.

It is interesting to observe the positions of the different left organizations on the question of Peronist populism. On the one hand the petty-bourgeois guerrillaist groups -- the Montoneros and the PRT/ERP -- both put forward the same strategy of "national liberation", thus playing



Isabel Peron

General Videla

the role of left face of Stalinism, under the leadership of Fidel Castro. For them the principal contradiction is between the imperialists and the nation, not between bourgeoisie and proletariat. Therefore, the revolution is to occur in two stages: the first is bourgeois-democratic, naturally in alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, and the second will never be realized. Even in the best case, this strategy leads only to the constitution of bureaucratic anti-working-class regimes, such as the Cuban deformed workers state.

Thousands of valiant young militants have been led to their death by their belief in the Castroite/Mandelite strategy of betrayal. The other groups which have joined with the ERP in the Revolutionary Coordinating Council -- the Bolivian ELN (National Liberation Army), the Uruguayan MLN (Tupamaros) and the Chilean MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) -- have all been virtually destroyed in their respective countries of origin. The Montoneros handed over their arms when Peron took office, only to have to pick them up again later against the repression unleashed by their own patrons. For its part, the PRT/ERP has nothing in common with genuine Trotskyism. It carries out its own war with the bourgeois army behind the back of the working class, which usually suffers the repercussions of the desperate operations of these latter-day "Robin Hoods".

Also present are the representatives of the United Secretariat (USec) of the self-proclaimed Fourth International -- an unprincipled federation of the *focoist* [Guevarist] majority, which had built the Castroite PRT/ERP, and the reformist minority of Moreno Coral's PST. Consistent with its class-collaborationist politics -- the same as those displayed by its American older brother, the Socialist Workers Party (eg, in the movement against the war in Vietnam) -- the PST gave support to the bourgeois Peronist government, claiming that "the Peronist party ... since 1946 has been the organization and the ideology of the working class" (*Revista de America*, March 1976).

Furthermore, *Politica Obrera* -- affiliated to the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, led by the French OCI -- has abandoned the basic principles of the Transitional Program by calling for a Latin American anti-imperialist united front to force the bourgeoisie to fulfill the program of national liberation; that is, the creation of a Latin American Kuomintang.

Thus the advent of a bourgeois bonapartist military junta in Argentina is the result of the crisis of the bourgeoisie which, unable to halt the workers' advances and to reduce social and economic tensions through traditional democratic methods, falls back upon its instrument of class exploitation and oppression: the state. The armed forces therefore take on their true role as guardian of capitalist interests, not that of "defense of the fatherland", temporarily raising themselves above the social classes.

Another chapter in the history of betrayal, reformist illusions and class collaboration in Latin America has been brought to a close. This

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# Mario Muñoz: miner, working-class leader, hunted refugee

by the Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile

Mario Muñoz Salas was born 8 June 1939. He began working in the mines at the age of 14. At that time the "pirquineros" (contract miners) were being exploited by Chile's mining barons with the complicity of judges, lawyers, politicians and presidents of the republic. Yankee imperialism intervened directly in the mineral-buying agencies to deprive the miners of the fruits of their years of labor.

Mario Muñoz was among the first to rebel, pushing forward the organization and consolidation of unions to defend the workers' rights. This was no easy task, for 90 percent of the miners were illiterate, many afflicted with silicosis and dying by the thousands in the most abject poverty.

In 1968 the Interprovincial Union of Contract Miners of the provinces of Valparaíso, Aconcagua and Santiago was established. Its founder and leader was Mario Muñoz. The union sought to qualitatively change the traditional struggles over basically economist demands in order to give them a political thrust. Its program envisioned a thorough reform of the Mining Codes to end private ownership of the mines and make them exclusively state property.

For many years Mario Muñoz belonged to the Chilean Communist Party (CP) of which he became a regional leader. Despite his party's opposition he led mine seizures, beginning with those not being worked by their owners. The first mine in the hands of the workers was the "Los Maquis de Pedernales", which they then renamed "La Rebelión". This was followed by many others.

The government attempted to repress the first seizure of a foreign-owned mine, but the troops were forced to retreat in the face of the resoluteness of the miners and consistent support from the peasants. Under the leadership of Muñoz, an authentic worker-peasant alliance was created in these provinces, as the miners also supported the seizures of "fundos" (large estates) carried out by local peasants.

As a result of the widely publicized union mobilizations Muñoz participated in a Channel 4 television interview. In an effort to intimidate Muñoz, the angered Minister of Mines threatened to use police force if such activities continued. Muñoz answered that if the minister were to carry

out his threat it would result in the first massacre of "pacos" (cops) in Chile.

After the CP's refusal to support his trade-union policies. Muñoz quit the party and tore up his membership card in front of a mass meeting of miners, at which all present followed his example.

The September 1970 electoral victory of Allende's Popular Unity (UP) coalition did not halt the revolutionary activities of the miners. From public platforms Muñoz forced the leaders of the popular front to not oppose the mine seizures.

In 1971 Muñoz entered the Chilean Socialist Party (SP). He was immediately impelled to lead a left opposition in the party against Allende and his cohorts in high posts.

A march of miners from Cabildo to Valparaíso took place in March of the same year. The CP, which opposed the march, closed the union hall of the Melon cement workers in the town of Calera where the marchers were supposed to eat and rest. The slogans of the march, led by Muñoz, were expropriation without compensation of the mineral deposits and armed defense of the government against possible imperialist attack. The workers' demonstration ended with a rally at the office of the Valparaíso provincial governor, where Muñoz denounced class conciliation, calling the provincial governor at his side (a member of the Radical Party) a representative of the bourgeoisie.

Subsequently the UP came out against the mine seizures. The first important confrontation took place with the miners' occupation of the Bella Vista plant, whose owners were in the Radical Party. Mr Cantuarias, a Radical and the minister of mines, tried to speak to the miners, but Muñoz took the floor to denounce the government deals, calling Cantuarias a thief in the service of the bosses. As could be expected, this meeting ended in disorder.

In the face of firm and resolute opposition from the miners and their leader, the parties of the UP sponsored a conference of miners at the University of Federico Santa María in Valparaíso. Through a campaign of slander they tried to undermine Muñoz' rising influence in the Chilean proletariat. Of 152 delegates who attended the conference, 25 were from the contract

miners' union. Also invited were the principal leaders of the Central Unico de Trabajadores (CUT) [the Chilean labor federation, dissolved by Pinochet in September 1973], the CP and the SP. However, neither these nor even the presence of Allende himself could silence the voice of Mario Muñoz. The resolutions passed at this conference, which remained in the hands of the UP leaders, were never published.

In this tense climate the Allende government attempted toward the end of 1972 to create the Regional Miners Councils as an organization for bureaucratically asphyxiating the working class. The first congress took place in Copiapo, a province of Atacama. Four days before the opening the miners, with Muñoz at their head, inaugurated the congress by occupying a mine in Salado. The mine was owned by the vice-president of the state National Mining Enterprise (ENAMI), Eduardo Matta. Again Muñoz' speech hailing the mine occupation received an ovation by the workers and in a unanimous vote they elected him president of the Regional Miners Councils.

With this new victory of the mining proletariat, another campaign of calumny was unleashed against Muñoz, accusing him of misappropriating funds, union property, etc. Economic measures were taken to undermine the support of different sectors of miners. The workers did not wait long to react. At the Bronca de Petorca cooperative, the workers decided to detain the head of the Department of Mines in the Pedro de Valdivia mine and put him to work pushing the ore carts. Faced with the government's refusal to grant [the workers] deeds to the mine, Muñoz marched at the head of the miners to Santiago where they seized the central building of ENAMI and the Ministry of Mines. What had not been gained in nine months was now obtained in less than an hour.

Shortly before the coup a mass meeting of miners took place in the building of the UNCTAD workers in downtown Santiago, where Muñoz met with Allende. In addition to assuring him of the unconditional support of the miners to defend the government against the impending reactionary coup, Muñoz asked how long he (Allende) would continue betraying the workers' interests in open conciliation with the bourgeoisie. Some parties of the UP, principally the CP, tried to prevent

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## MIR leader extradited to Chile Free Edgardo Enriquez!

Edgardo Enriquez has been delivered into the blood-stained hands of the Chilean secret political police by the Argentine military junta. Enriquez, a leader of the far-left Chilean Movimiento Izquierdista Revolucionario (MIR -- Revolutionary Left Movement), was working clandestinely in Argentina when he was arrested April 10. On April 27 he was handed over to the Chilean authorities for extradition. Now being held at Monte-Maravilla in Chile, he is probably undergoing savage torture and faces execution. The only force which will free him is a massive campaign of international protest. Edgardo Enriquez must not die!

Edgardo Enriquez Espinoza, 34 years old, was working in Argentina with the Junta of Revolutionary Coordination (which includes the MIR, the Argentine ERP, the Uruguayan Tupamaros and the Bolivian ELN), according to a 22 April communique of the MIR's Exterior Committee in Costa Rica. Seized along with him was Regina Marcondes, a Brazilian national. A member of the MIR since 1965 and of its leadership, Edgardo Enriquez is the brother of former MIR secretary-general Miguel Enriquez, who was killed by the Chilean military in 1974.

The ferocity of the repression in Pinochet's Chile has embarrassed the international bourgeoisie, which prefers greater discretion on the part of imperialism's lackeys. General Videla's Argentine junta hopes to avoid following Pinochet into public-opinion quarantine, and is seeking to hide its brutalities behind a mask of "moder-



Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez.

ation". This smokescreen must be exposed. Videla's henchmen have handed Enriquez over to the bloodthirsty butchers who stridently proclaim their war to the death against guerrillas and left-wing and labor militants.

Behind the Videla regime's lies and censorship, a reign of savage terror has been unleashed against Argentine radicals and unionists and against the thousands of political refugees who fled to Argentina to escape Pinochet's butchers and their counterparts in Brazil, Uruguay and elsewhere. Two days after the March 24 coup, the Argentine junta decreed its intention to expel foreigners who "abused ... traditional Argentine generosity" or were involved in activities which "affect social peace, national secur-

ity or public order" (*Argentina Information*, April 1976).

In the name of preserving this "public order" of official police-state terror and rampaging extra-legal, ultra-rightist assassination squads, UN refugee camps are raided and refugees turned over to the merciless grip of the police of their respective countries, who are given free use of Argentine police stations to carry out their "interrogations". This is the reality behind Videla's cynical "respectability" ploy.

Our sharp disagreements with the MIR's futile guerrillaism and class-collaborationist orientation of seeking a common program with bourgeois opponents of Pinochet's dictatorship will not impede our anti-sectarian solidarity with Edgardo Enriquez and all the victims of rightist terror.

The reactionary military dictatorships have joined forces to track down and murder the exiled leaders of the Latin American working masses. Videla's henchmen have delivered Enriquez into the hands of his torturers; his life hangs in the balance. All labor militants and socialists, all those concerned with justice, must raise their voices now in united and forceful protest against this atrocity. Freedom for Edgardo Enriquez! Freedom for all class-war prisoners!

Messages of solidarity and support may be sent to: Office for Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Chile, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, USA. ■

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In his annual report, released in late December, the head of Yugoslavia's police reported the arrests of some 200 opponents of the government. This is reportedly the greatest number in any year since the mid-1960s and indicates increasing political problems for the regime of Josip Broz Tito. In the fall, Tito had issued a stern warning, "I will not shrink from anything to neutralize the opposition, composed of a handful of Cominformists, liberals and nationalists" (*Le Monde*, 1 November).

Government statements have focused especially on the arrests of so-called "Cominformists" (an allusion to those Yugoslavs who sided with Stalin in the late 1940s Moscow/Belgrade split), but the large majority of the prisoners were, in fact, accused of being linked to "reactionary rightist and neo-fascist organizations". Among the 13 different categories of political detainees listed in the police minister's report were the Ustashi, a right-wing secessionist Croatian organization; the Chetniks, Serbian monarchists; "technocrats", incipiently pro-capitalist elements involved in the management of industry; and other anti-Communist or nationalist tendencies.

Although Tito's break with the Kremlin following the creation of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) in 1948 was protested by several high-ranking political and military leaders, including the armed forces chief of staff, this opposition was quickly suppressed. The Yugoslav regime prides itself on upholding the equality of its component nationalities in contrast to the bloody history of antagonisms among the south Slavic peoples in the inter-war period. Nevertheless, after more than a quarter century of Titoist rule, pro-Moscow tendencies in the bureaucracy continue to surface while right-wing nationalist groups still pose a threat of capitalist restoration in Yugoslavia. Why?

#### Tito cracks down

The government of Yugoslavia, which has long considered itself to be the most liberal and humane of the "Communist" regimes, has these past several years launched a campaign of repression in order to reassert the supremacy of the party in nearly every sphere of Yugoslav life, regimenting dissident intellectuals, nationalists and sections of the party leadership.

Symptomatic of the crackdown was the move in May 1974 to keep Tito president of the federal republic and commander-in-chief of the armed forces for an unlimited time. Tito had been set to retire in 1976 (at the age of 84) and relinquish power to a collective presidency. Instead, Tito will continue to preside over this collegial body in his capacity as president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). At present the "collective presidency" is a nine-man body made up of Tito and the presidents of Yugoslavia's six republics and two autonomous provinces.

In addition to making Tito president for life, a curb has been placed on the previous extreme federalism of the collective executive, whereby each federal president was permitted to veto any proposal considered to be harmful to his republic's vital interests. Now a two-thirds majority can pass a proposal.

At the Tenth Congress of the LCY held in May 1974 the Central Committee (CC) was restructured, with the army being elevated to the status of a seventh republic; that is, it was given 20 seats on the CC, the same as each of the six republics. And nearly a year later another step was taken -- to establish a "federal council for defence of the constitutional order". Chaired by the veteran Titoist Vladimir Bakaric the council includes the party secretary, Stane Dolanc; the prime minister, Dzemal Bijedic; and the federal ministers of defence, foreign affairs and the interior.

These moves toward a tightening of party control have been accompanied by a wave of repression aimed at the various political forces seen to threaten the Tito bureaucracy's rule.

Repression and purges are, to be sure, nothing new in Yugoslavia. Dissidents such as Mihajlo Mihajlov and Milovan Djilas have been jailed by the Tito regime not only for their criticisms of Yugoslav society, but even for their anti-Soviet writings. Thus Djilas in 1962 was sentenced to over eight years in prison for charges stemming from the publication of *Conversations With Stalin*. Mihajlov was imprisoned last year (following his third trial since 1966) on a charge of spreading "hostile propaganda" against the government. (The *New York Times* of 22 December reports that he is currently on a hunger strike to win release from solitary confinement and for other improved conditions.)

Between 1960 and 1970 alone over 500,000 persons were dropped from the LCY. (During the same period some 557,000 new members were taken into the party.) Most significant of the purges of

this period was that of Aleksandar Rankovic and his followers in the latter half of 1966. Rankovic, in his capacity as head of the secret police and secretary of the LCY, was accused of organizing a secret faction to "re-Stalinize" Yugoslavia and to oppose Tito's policies of political and economic decentralization.

Yet compared to the USSR or the other deformed workers states, the Tito bureaucracy has for the last 10 years allowed an extraordinary amount of freedom to its citizens. Now a halt is being called. People who were previously allowed to write on subjects forbidden in any other deformed workers state or to organize cultural societies or groups independent of the party and the state are now being arrested in droves and charged with counterrevolution.

#### Tito the Hydra Slayer

The origins of the present swing on the part of the Tito government can be traced back to as early as 1968, when left-wing student demonstrators urged the regime to take a firmer stand against capitalist restorationist tendencies.

Subsequent repressions did not prevent a dissident intellectual movement from growing. There were jailings of student leaders from Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana who tried to organize a student association of the three universities. In May of 1971 left-wing Slovenian students were arrested demonstrating against French premier

into two classes and create a social explosion bigger than the national antagonisms. Serbian party leaders Marko Nikezic and Latinka Perovic, both strong advocates of economic liberalism, "resigned". Also getting the ax were Macedonian party secretary Slavko Miloslavlevski and Slovenia's prime minister, Stane Kavcic, the latter apparently for advocating too much "free trade" with the West.

While cracking down on rightists and revisionists Tito also discovered a plot to "reconstruct the Fourth International" in Yugoslavia. Several alleged culprits were soon arrested, among them Danilo Udonic, for "activities hostile to Yugoslavia" -- ie, for contacts he made in Belgrade in 1971 and 1972 with alleged representatives of the "Fourth International". Nonetheless, Tito has allowed Ernest Mandel, leader of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), to speak to Yugoslav students.

An absurd facet of Tito's many-sided repressions was his demagogic attack on "Communist millionaires" (entrepreneurs and kulaks, not privileged bureaucrats) whom his policies built up in the first place.

Thus casting himself in the role of hydra slayer, Tito has made haste to wipe out all the various deviations from Titoism. Between 1972 and May 1974 he had managed to purge the party of over 10 percent of its membership, of which 51,000 were expelled for nationalism/liberalism.



Tito's portrait hangs on Belgrade building in 1948.

Pompidou. Journals such as *Praxis*, *Student* and *Kultura* subjected to sharp criticism some of the most cherished myths of the Tito regime.

The repression, however, did not take a sharp upturn until late 1971 when Tito was confronted with a more immediate threat, this time from the right. In December leaders of the Croatian Student Union -- a collection of Croatian nationalists, cultural nationalists, bureaucratic reformers, liberals and a few genuine leftists -- organized a student strike at Zagreb university to back the demands of leading Croatian party members that the republic retain a larger share of its industrial surplus and foreign exchange earnings from tourism and remittances of Yugoslav workers employed abroad.

Tito's reaction was swift and angry. The leaders of the demonstration were arrested. Croatian party leaders Tripalo, Dabcevic-Kucar, Pirkic and Bijelic "stepped down". Tito began to stomp the country making angry speeches denouncing "rotten liberalism" and warning that he would use any means necessary to "defend socialism" against "counterrevolutionaries and class enemies".

Continuing in the same vein Tito began to "self-criticize" and saw the roots of the trouble in the Sixth Party Congress. It was at that congress that the Yugoslav Communist Party (YCP) transformed itself into the LCY. The League was a renunciation of the party's previous attempt to control all aspects of the country's life. Unlike the YCP the LCY was to simply be "the vanguard" and lead by "setting an example".

By the fall of 1972 Tito had enlarged his criticisms and was raging that "*laissez-faire* economics" was threatening to divide Yugoslavia

**Bureaucratic  
rule  
spawns  
bourgeois  
nationalism**

**Titoism  
in  
trouble**

And this figure does not even encompass the masses of former members who simply drifted away -- approximately one million between 1968 and 1975 (between the Ninth and Tenth Party Congresses).

#### The succession crisis

The problems the Tito government faces are the logical outcome of the policies it has pursued from the time it was forced to make a break with Stalin in 1948. The intellectual ferment, the worker discontent, the 20 percent annual inflation, the unemployment, the worsening trade balance, the flaring up of old national antagonisms and the growth of capitalist restorationist tendencies are real enough.

What gives the current crisis an exceptionally sharp political character is that it comes at a time when Tito, who has stood at the head of Yugoslavia from the time of the victory of the partisan armies in 1944-45, must step down from office because of his age. Tito is unique in the ruling bureaucracy in his prestige and popularity, both within the party and among the working masses. Since his break with Stalin he has maneuvered with amazing skill between the Scylla of Russian domination and the Charybdis of intra-Yugoslav regional/national antagonism. The resulting historical compromise -- the "Yugoslav road to socialism" -- has now been seriously undermined. The question now posed not only to the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, but to the international workers movement, is what turn the Yugoslav road will take after Tito's departure from the scene. Yugoslavia is a small country, but a fundamental shift in its political allegiances could have enormous implications.

Especially aware of this are the Russian Stalinists who have never quite managed to reconcile themselves with Tito's successful resist-

ance to Stalin in 1948. Recently, the government announced the arrest of Vladimir Dapcevic, former army colonel and brother of the vice president of the federal parliament, who in 1948 disagreed with Tito's break with Moscow and later fled the country. His name was linked with 32 long-standing party members jailed for conspiring to form a new pro-Soviet "Yugoslav Communist Workers and Peasants Party" (a so-called "Marxist wing" of the LCY). This orthodox Stalinist group, probably backed by USSR and Czech intelligence and composed mainly of former army officers and secret police agents, most likely intended to place its members in high positions following Tito's death. The arrest of the so-called "Cominformists" demonstrates (despite *Pravda's* 27 November disavowal of "sectarian plotters" and "renegades" allegedly trying to poison "Soviet-Yugoslav friendship") the continued attraction of Kremlin-style Stalinism on sections of the Yugoslav bureaucracy.

More than sour grapes over 1948, however, lies at the bottom of Moscow's pressures and intrigues. A Yugoslavia friendly to the Soviet Union could not only quickly bring about a change in the pro-Maoist Hoxha regime in Albania, but would also provide the Russians with deep water naval bases in the Mediterranean, something the USSR has lacked since 1972 when the Egyptians expelled the Soviet navy from Alexandria. The spectre of this and of the presence of Soviet bloc troops on the Greek and Italian borders, especially in the context of the current enmity of Greece and Turkey, must put a chill in Henry Kissinger's vodka martini. It would, quite simply, fundamentally alter the military balance of power in the Mediterranean theater.

No one is more keenly aware of these facts of life than Tito and the imperialist NATO powers -- and so Tito has been able to hold up the spectre of a pro-Soviet Yugoslavia to successfully extract foreign aid and diplomatic concessions from the capitalist West.

### Titoism

Indeed it is the international position occupied by Yugoslavia that has in large part determined the specific features of Titoism.

The break in 1948 with Stalin was forced upon the Yugoslavs. Unique in Eastern Europe, the YCP was not installed in power by Moscow, but won its victory through a long, bitter guerrilla war against Axis occupiers, native fascists and royalist bands. The Yugoslav Stalinists had their own deformed workers state, their own army and police, and were not dependent on Stalin for their power. When Stalin began treating his Yugoslav followers like something less than the sixteenth republic of the USSR, the Tito bureaucracy, with its aim of building "socialism" in Yugoslavia first, balked.

What sealed the split was the trade embargo and cancellation of credits by the Soviet bloc countries. Yugoslavia had obtained more than 55 percent of its imports and all of its credits from these countries. The embargo utterly disrupted the five-year plan and eventually forced the Yugoslavs to abandon detailed production planning. Thus Yugoslavia was given its first impetus on its ultimately disastrous road of economic decentralization by none other than Joseph Stalin.

In the battle against Soviet Stalinism Tito appealed to the masses in the name of anti-bureaucratism which he linked to political and economic decentralization. As he excommunicated Tito, Stalin reportedly said, "I will shake my little finger and there will be no more Tito. He will fall" (Khrushchev's "secret speech", 1956). Stalin seriously underestimated the strength of Tito's domestic support. Neverthe-



less, in order to retain power Tito had to purge his party of the most pro-Stalin elements, who also were the foremost supporters of centralized planning and collectivized agriculture.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume Titoism emerged a fully developed tendency with the 1948 split. The excommunicated Yugoslav Stalinists' immediate aim was to survive. The economic and political policies and the ideological distinctions came later, in an ad hoc fashion.

In fact, at the time of and immediately after the forced break with Stalin, the Yugoslav party aped Stalin's methods and policies. An attempt to forcibly collectivize Yugoslav agriculture was made and mass labor mobilizations were instituted. Referring to the economic chaos and bureaucratic abuses of the 1949 period, a close Tito associate of the time, Vladimir Dedijer, writes:

"From that economic necessity, from that misfortune came the beginning of Yugoslavia's system of self-management. It developed as we gained in knowledge of the Soviet social system; criticizing the latter, we worked constructively criticizing our own existing system. Norms and credit planning of the market had to be revised." (Vladimir Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*)

Dedijer also confirms that the institution of workers councils in 1950 (as well as the abandonment of attempts to collectivize agriculture in mid-1951) were originally measures of expediency to win the support of the masses in the anti-Cominform campaign. A close associate of Boris Kidric, one of the architects of "workers self-management", is quoted as saying:



Workers council meets in Yugoslav factory.

"One night Boris said we could keep the proletarians on our side only if we expanded their rights: factories to the workers and the land to the peasants." (Dedijer, *The Battle Stalin Lost*)

Workers self-management began as an experiment. It did not get off the ground until the late 1950s, and it has always been narrowly limited to the sphere of technical and trade-union problems. Any attempt to organize a political tendency independent of the LCY on the basis of these councils would be quickly smashed by Tito's bureaucracy, which has always jealously guarded its total monopoly of the political life of the country.

### Stalinism

In the last analysis, Titoism is merely a national variant of Stalinism. Like its Russian counterpart, Yugoslav Stalinism dedicates itself to "socialism in one country" -- the preservation of the bureaucratic ruling elite whose survival rests ultimately on two pillars: the nationalized property forms and at the same time the failure of revolutionary proletarian movements abroad, whose successful taking of power would threaten the Titoists' political expropriation of the Yugoslav workers. Like all versions of Stalinism, Titoism is characterized by its nationalism, which places the diplomatic maneuvers of the Yugoslav state above solidarity with the other deformed workers states and above the needs of the international working class.

Because it rests upon a social base of collectivized property, the Yugoslav state -- like the other deformed workers states -- must be defended against imperialist attack or domestic counterrevolution. But the gains of the Yugoslav revolution are placed in constant jeopardy by the Stalinist ruling clique, which demoralizes the proletariat, disorgan-

izes the economy and pursues the suicidal policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. This parasitic bureaucracy must be ousted by a political revolution organized and led by a Trotskyist working-class party.

The Titoists came to power on the basis of a guerrilla struggle which swept out the fascist occupiers and, along with them, the social basis upon which capitalism rested. This struggle



Tito greets Winston Churchill in 1944.

mobilized the peasant masses of the various nationalities which constitute the present Yugoslav state. The nearly thirty years which have passed have not erased from the memory of the working people of Yugoslavia these tremendous gains, especially the defusing -- through the collective endeavor of driving out the fascists and reconstructing Yugoslav society along a new social axis -- of a bitter heritage of murderous national hatred. The basis for the relative independence of the Yugoslav Communist apparatus from the Russian state power is the more or less direct result of the Titoists' independent rise to power with overwhelming popular support among the working masses.

Yet Yugoslavia embodies a profound contradiction between the gains of the revolution and the narrow confines of bureaucratic rule. The monopoly of political power by a nationalist ruling clique and the continued pressure of imperialism and the capitalist world market upon the Yugoslav deformed workers state must ceaselessly regenerate social backwardness and dangerous national antagonisms, which threaten to burst forth when the bonapartist bureaucracy loses its dominant figure. These tendencies are, in turn, greatly strengthened by the tremendous centrifugal forces generated by the particular economic structure developed by the Yugoslav Stalinists since 1950.

### Yugoslav economy

While the Tito government abandoned attempts at detailed production planning and the collectivization of agriculture, throughout the 1950s and up to 1965 it held a potent lever for directing the trajectory of the economy, the so-called Social Investment Fund -- the largest source of investment in the economy.

But by 1965 the Yugoslav economy was in serious trouble, plagued by low labor productivity, currency inflation and a spiralling trade deficit. To rectify these problems a series of "economic reforms" was introduced surpassing in decentralization anything Yevsei Liberman proposed for the Soviet economy.

Autonomously, the Yugoslav enterprise could now buy and sell, set its own output and wage norms and even trade directly with foreign firms. The Yugoslav currency, the dinar, was sharply devalued and price controls were to be abandoned. Most importantly, control over capital investment was decentralized by abolishing the social investment funds and turning them over to the banks -- nominally managed by assemblies of delegates from enterprises which are founders or large depositors. The government still retains control, albeit far less direct, through members of the LCY who hold policy-making positions in the banks. But the state's former role in investments has been restricted to operating from much smaller funds for development of the underdeveloped regions.

Commenting on the reforms the *London Times* (27 July 1965) noted:

"Resistance and opposition to reforms is considerable. It comes from government circles in the less developed republics, which are bound to feel the unpleasant consequences more than the better developed regions which have been pressing for reforms. It comes also from the trade unions, as unemployment, already high, is expected to increase with factories, now left to themselves, having to operate in independent economic units like any capitalist enterprise."

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Marshal Josip Broz Tito.

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## Titoism in trouble . . .

The consequences of the reforms were quick in coming. There was a severe reduction in investment in backward regions of Serbia, in Montenegro, Macedonia and the autonomous province of Kosovo-Metohija. Unemployment rose rapidly. By 1967 fully one eighth of the labor force couldn't find work, and many became foreign workers in the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe. Inflation galloped, and the living standards of the masses dropped.

Above all, the reforms were designed to make Yugoslavia more competitive on the international capitalist market. They did this, but at the price of making Yugoslavia much more susceptible to the economic crises of capitalism. Indeed, the current capitalist depression has profoundly affected the Yugoslav economy -- not only through a drop in trade with the EEC countries, but also through the return of vast numbers of emigrant workers whose remittances were a major source of foreign exchange for the regime.

Yugoslavia today reproduces some of the worst aspects of the NEP (New Economic Policy) in Russia during the early and mid-1920s. State ownership of the means of production is seriously undermined by means of production transferred into the hands of collectives which compete with other collectives for materials and markets. Under these conditions investment is channelled into sectors and techniques of greatest profitability rather than of greater social use. Such circumstances have provided excellent opportunities for petty-bourgeois entrepreneurs to amass small fortunes, generating

pressures on sections of the bureaucracy to seek to undermine economic planning and begin to dream of acquiring individual ownership of the means of production now collectively held.

In short, Tito's "Yugoslav road" has led not to socialism but to inequality among nations and regions, inequality among workers, rapid growth of the private sector, unemployment, labor emigration and the increased threat of penetration by foreign capital. Continuation along this road raises a very real threat of bourgeois restoration through a bloody civil war which quite possibly might provoke Soviet and American intervention and trigger World War III.

Tito's current campaign is a bureaucratic crackdown on the fruits of Titoism. It demonstrates the folly of renouncing an active international revolutionary struggle against capitalism in favor of utopian attempts to build "socialism" in one country -- a very tiny one at that, and one that would not last a week save for the existence of the USSR. Caught in a bureaucratic straightjacket, all Tito can do is tack and veer, now closer to the Soviets, now further away.

Only by the construction in Yugoslavia and in the other deformed workers states of Trotskyist parties committed to a political revolution to oust the bankrupt bureaucrats can the gains of the Yugoslav revolution be protected and bloody bourgeois counterrevolution averted. Forward to the Yugoslav Trotskyist party, for the rebirth of the Fourth International! Oust Tito through political revolution! For a Balkan Socialist Federation! For international communist unity against imperialism, from Havana to Belgrade, Moscow and Peking! ■

(reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 91, 9 January 1976)

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## . . . Muñoz campaign

Already there have been reports of as many as 1300 Chilean refugees being taken back by bus to face Pinochet's torture chambers. Unless the international working class publicises their plight they face annihilation at the hands of the gorillas.

Mario Muñoz, a founder and leader of a major Chilean mining union with an exemplary record as a proletarian militant, crossed the Andes into Argentina with thousands of other Chilean workers following Pinochet's coup. There he continued to organise among the refugees. The fact that he was marked for extermination almost immediately the Argentine generals came to power demonstrates that he had become a symbol of resistance to the barbaric rule of the generals not only in the eyes of the oppressed but in the eyes of their oppressors as well. Saving Muñoz' life will be a defeat for the generals and will give hope to those straining under their jackboots.

In Australia the Mario Muñoz Defence Committee has gained considerable support. A substantial number of trade unions have endorsed the campaign and many have made financial contributions. ALP leaders who have endorsed the campaign include Bob Hawke, David Combe, Jim Cairns, Moss Cass, Senators Gietzelt, Georges and Keeffe, and Bill Hartley. Student councils from Sydney, New South Wales and LaTrobe universities have given their support as have a number of professors.

Many of the endorsers have sent telegrams of protest to either the Argentine government or the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The Waterside Workers' Federation has informed the Argentine authorities that "unless [the] rights of Muñoz and other working class representatives [are] respected Maritime Unionists will organise appropriate protest action". The Miscellaneous Workers' Union has pledged itself to "support democratic trade union action against this execution". The Australian Miners' Federation requested the ACTU Executive to take whatever action is possible to save Muñoz' life.

Jim Keeffe, Deputy Leader of the Labor Opposition in the Senate, wrote to the defence com-

mittee that after discussing the matter with Gough Whitlam, he brought it to the attention of Mr Andrew Peacock, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. As a result the Australian diplomatic representatives in Argentina have been instructed to make inquiries regarding Muñoz with the Argentine government. And the UNHCR centre at Geneva has replied to a telegram from Dr Moss Cass assuring him that the High Commissioner is "following [the] matter closely together with his regional representative [in] Buenos Aires who himself [is] in contact with [the] Argentine authorities [at the] highest level".

Two demonstrations have been held so far -- one in Sydney on 5 May outside the office of the UNHCR, the other in Melbourne on 11 May in City Square. The Sydney demonstration was attended by about 40 people including individual members of the Communist Party of Australia, the International Socialists (IS) and a contingent from the Spartacist League (SL). Other left-wing groups, despite having been informed of the demonstration, were conspicuous by their absence. A representative of the Mario Muñoz Defence Committee outlined the background of the case, reported on the progress of the campaign and made an appeal for solidarity. He was followed by a speaker from the SL who solidarised with the defence of Muñoz and went on to explain that in capitulating to Peronism, ostensible revolutionaries in Argentina had politically disarmed the working class and left them defenceless in the face of the coup.

The Melbourne demonstration was attended by about 25 people -- individual anarchists and members of the IS, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Miscellaneous Workers Union, and a contingent from the SL. The rally was addressed by George Crawford (Secretary of the Plumbers' Union), a speaker from the defence committee and a speaker from the Spartacist League. Despite their small size these demonstrations have been an important element in the defence and have aided in furthering publicity and gaining support.

The protests and pressure being exerted to date show that the campaign has had a real effect. But as long as Mario Muñoz remains in Argentina, his life hangs by a thread. Unlike the prominent intellectuals and former government ministers who became targets of right-wing repression after the fall of Allende in Chile, Muñoz, although widely respected by his class brothers, is not well known outside of Chile. Thus an energetic campaign of publicity is necessary to galvanise support in his defence.

The broad response gained by the Muñoz campaign is a rebuke to those left groups in Australia who through criminal sectarianism have abstained from this campaign of elementary class solidarity. Until recently the only left organisation to endorse the campaign besides the Spartacist League was the Socialist Workers Party, though their endorsement proved to be purely formal -- they did not think it important enough to either mobilise for or participate in the two demonstrations. When IS leader Tom O'Lincoln was asked in early May if his organisation would endorse the campaign he replied that the IS "being a democratic-centralist organis-

ation", its National Committee would have to decide. As yet no reply has been received. The prize for hypocrisy however, must go to the Communist League who loudly proclaim the importance of defending Latin American political prisoners in the pages of *Militant*. While giving a token endorsement (after a month!) the CL refuses to take part in the campaign because, according to them, the Spartacist League is sectarian!! (see p 2)

The success of the Muñoz campaign will make it harder for the junta's subterranean torturers and killers to carry out their filthy and sordid work and will contribute to saving other victims of the repression as more cases come to light. However, unlike the juntas and their CIA backers, the partisans of little-known refugees do not have unlimited budgets. Internationally, thousands of dollars have been spent on telephone calls, telegrams, individual visits and letters and tens of thousands of leaflets to publicise the case. And much more will be required for continued publicity and to actually get Muñoz and his family out of the country. Despite encouraging success in fund raising, there is a long way to go. Muñoz' life is at stake and money is needed *extremely urgently*. Only a powerful outcry of international protest can save him from Pinochet's and Videla's butchers.

\* (organisation for identification purposes only)

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## Mario Muñoz . . .

Munoz' speech with goons in the service of their treacherous politics. The miners forcefully defended workers' democracy and their leader, and marched afterward to the center of Santiago shouting "Break with the Bourgeoisie!" and "Stop the Fascist Coup!" As a result Muñoz broke with the social-patriotism of the SP, demanding freedom for workers and peasants (of Pungal, etc) imprisoned by the UP government.

Because of the violent persecution against him -- he was ordered shot on sight -- at the time of Pinochet's coup d'etat, Muñoz was forced to cross the Andean *cordillera* to seek refuge in Argentina. One of his brothers was murdered, beaten to death by the forces of reaction.

In Argentina he dedicated himself to defending the thousands of Chilean workers and peasants who were also forced to leave the country. The Peronist government issued a decree for his expulsion from Argentina. As a result he had to remain underground until the birth of a new son, which opened the possibility of meeting the conditions for legal immigration. This was bureaucratically postponed until the coup. Within a few hours of assuming power, the Argentine military began to search high and low for Mario Muñoz in order to shoot him. They stopped at nothing, pursuing his entire family and venting their fury on his *companera* and their children. The UN has taken no responsibility for his life, which hangs by a thread. Only international working-class solidarity can save him! ■

(reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 107, 30 April 1976)

### AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS EXECUTIVE RESOLUTION

The following resolution of the Australian Council of Trade Unions Executive in respect to treatment of trade-union leaders in Argentina was passed on 20 May 1976:

The ACTU expresses the strongest condemnation of the attack on the Trade Union Movement and Working-Class Leaders by the Argentina Military Junta, as reported to us by the International Metal Workers' Federation. We demand an immediate restoration of trade union basic rights and freedom.

In particular, we call for an end to the harassment of Mario Muñoz Salas and his family, and a guarantee of protection of their lives.

The ACTU decides to protest to the Argentina Ambassador. We ask the President to raise these matters at the ILO [International Labour Organisation] whilst he is in Geneva, with a view to the ILO taking action in Argentina.

Further, the ICFTU [International Confederation of Free Trade Unions] be requested to take all possible appropriate action.

# Painters and dockers at Garden Island

# Govt moves to smash union

Sharp attacks from the employers are threatening the very existence of the militant Ship Painters and Dockers' Union (SPDU). To date painters and dockers at the Garden Island Naval Dockyards in Sydney have faced the brunt of the attack, a series of blatant provocations from the Navy. On 6 May, less than a week after Garden Island painters and dockers returned to work from a 10-week strike against the Navy's attempt to deny the normal practice of automatic flow-ons from the federal award, painters and dockers working in the boiler shop were ordered to work on the dock. This broke a decades-long practice of hiring new labour from the union roster rather than transferring workers between classifications. When the men refused and were stood down, all workers walked off the job and the painters and dockers began their second strike this year.

The Navy has made its intentions clear from the outset. As the 10-week strike ended, the Navy immediately announced that it would no longer abide by the roster system and that workers sent from the union roster to fill jobs would now be screened by the Navy to determine their "acceptability" before being hired. At a meeting of the Joint Industry Commission (Garden Island unions and management) on May 5, the Navy arrogantly refused even to discuss their decrees.

The roster system is the Navy's real target. Union control of hiring, which the union won in 1946, is critically important to the union because of the casual nature of much of the work, especially in private industry. Previously painters and dockers had to make the rounds of the shipyards virtually begging for daily employment while the employers were free to weed out the militants. If the Navy wins its demands, private employers will undoubtedly follow suit and the roster would become a mere employment referral service, scarcely better than the pre-1946 system.

## "Red-baiting" covers for union bashing.

In addition the right-wing Fairfax press has been fueling the dispute on the propaganda front, claiming that the Navy's actions stemmed from "a deep concern ... that the Communist Party of Australia is trying to build a strong union power base through the Painters and Dockers' Union" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May) -- an assertion based on the fact a number of ex-BLFers, expelled from the BLF last year by Gallagher, are working as painters and dockers. Shortly afterwards the *Sydney Morning Herald* printed a letter to the editor (15 May) from a woman "disturbed" that "our defences" were "being held to ransom by industrial blackmail" and by "a left-wing union into the bargain". Next the secretary of the Government's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee suggested to the House of Representatives that naval ship repair establishments be staffed with military personnel or people subject to military law. The chauvinism and red-baiting are an attempt to isolate the militant painters and dockers from other workers; behind it lies Fairfax's and the Navy's desire to repeat the union-bashing job done on the NSW BLF.

It is by now obvious that it is part of the Navy's strategy to weaken the union by provoking continual isolated strikes. Yet the leadership of the SPDU has consistently refused to spread the strikes to painters and dockers beyond Garden Island, completely vitiating their call in the second strike for sympathy action by wharfies and seamen. Despite the fact that the union leadership recognised the Navy's moves as an attempt to smash the union, their motion at the 11 May stop-work meeting of all Sydney SPDU members called for all painters and dockers, *except those at Garden Island*, to return to work! When the Navy moves again what is needed to *begin with* is nation-wide strike action by painters and dockers, for only if the SPDU mobilises all its own forces can it expect to get the support they absolutely need -- the shutting down of the whole waterfront nationally, to hit at the more vulnerable commercial shipping interests and to drive the employers' attacks decisively backward.

Instead of making the political preparations for solidarity action against the Navy's campaign, the union leadership has resorted to manufacturing a facade of optimism, hailing setbacks or stalemates as victories. At the settlement of the first strike SPDU NSW President John Rainford claimed that the Arbitration Commission's decision "vindicated" the workers' case in the dispute over flow-ons (*Tribune*, 5 May), when in fact

the court rejected the SPDU's central position that flow-ons be *automatic* as in the past, and declared that they will be decided on a case-by-case basis instead. When after the second strike the Navy finally consented to *discuss* the questions of the roster and transfers, State Secretary Ibbie Wyner was "very pleased with the result" because the "essential" demand, "that the decisions should not have been made by management without consultation with us" had been won (*Tribune*, 26 May)! Echoing the union leadership, the CPA's *Tribune* heralds the return to the status quo (which is only a temporary delay, pending negotiations with the Joint Industry Commission) as "Island workers win round two."

## Preparations for "round three"

But the Navy has made only a temporary tactical retreat. The essential question is the union roster, and that must be *non-negotiable* -- if it is undermined, with or without "consultation", it will be a grave defeat for the union! In the meantime the Navy is scheduling overtime to clear up overdue work in preparation for "round three". The false complacency of the SPDU leaders is only a feeble attempt to cover up their utter failure to politically prepare the groundwork, in the ranks of their own union and amongst all maritime workers, for the battles ahead.

Nor can the reformist CPA, itself represented in the SPDU bureaucracy, put forward any strategy to fight the Navy's attack. The bulletin of the CPA's shipbuilding branch, *The Shipbuilder* (May 1976), describes the current struggle as "the thin edge of the wedge in [a] massive move by Fraser and his big boss mates to bust not only the waterfront and the dockyards, but the whole Australian working class ...". But outside of platitudes about the need to strengthen and coordinate rank-and-file organisation, all they offer is a vague call to "find our positive demands".

With the desperate situation at Garden Island, unity among *all* shipyard workers is an urgent necessity. The workforce, however, is divided among a number of unions which has led to the painters and dockers, a small union, consistently going it alone. Amalgamations moving towards industrial unionism are at present blocked by craft prejudices and bureaucratic self-interest. The unity needed now can nevertheless be achieved to a limited extent through the existing combined shop committee -- but only if it acts on behalf of and in the interest of all Garden Island workers and not just as a device for the reconciliation of sectional union interests. Thus the shop committee should treat the Navy's cam-

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## ... Argentina

must be added to the lessons of the Chilean popular front, where the bourgeois solution to the crisis, Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, failed completely during Frei's Christian Democratic government. Counterrevolutionary Stalinism built the Popular Unity with the bourgeoisie -- the Radical Party, the Social-Democratic Party, API and the mass workers parties (SP and CP), the MIR acting as their left appendage, and then led the proletariat to bloody defeat and destruction of its class organizations.

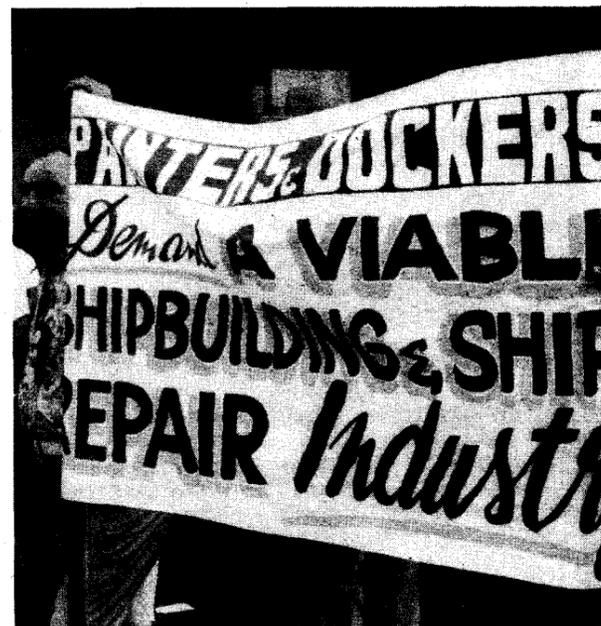
We are experiencing the crisis of capitalism, its death agony. Only the proletariat led by an authentic Trotskyist party armed with the revolutionary program can deliver the final blow. This must be a party of irreconcilable opposition to the bourgeoisie and its popular-frontist representatives. The principal obstacles to the construction of a revolutionary workers' leadership in Argentina today are those deserters from the camp of Trotskyism who will try to raise anew the putrified corpse of Peronism. These are the centrist and reformist renegades from the Transitional Program, the destroyers of the Fourth International: the USec Pabloism and the Organizing Committee of the OCI. The bourgeoisie and its system of oppression will not be defeated by anti-imperialist or anti-fascist fronts, or any other bombastic name which the betrayers may use to cover up their capitulation to the bourgeois program.

The crisis of humanity is the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the working class, and this will only be overcome by the rebirth of the

paign as an attack on all Garden Island workers, and show the Navy that they won't succeed in picking off one section of workers at a time. A Garden Island-wide strike run by the shop committee in response to the next Navy provocation could be key in bringing about a nationwide solidarity stoppage by other unions.

## For a revolutionary program for maritime workers.

But to attack the general problems of shipbuilding workers there must be a fight for a program in the ranks of all the maritime unions that can link the fight at Garden Island, the closure of private dockyards such as Brisbane's Evans-Deakin and the 600 threatened lay-offs at the Newcastle shipyards. Instead of reformist calls for protection of Australian shipbuilders against foreign competition, the threat of closure in the private shipyards must be answered by occupations and the demand for their nationalisation without



ASp photo

SPDU banner at May Day.

compensation. Available work must be shared amongst all workers through a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay.

The struggle against Fraser is the struggle against capitalism; there is no viable solution unless and until the whole system along with its parasitic ruling class is overthrown. Only with a leadership committed to a revolutionary program that has as its central aim a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class as a whole can the success of the struggle be guaranteed. ■

Fourth International. Exploitation recognizes no national borders -- only under a revolutionary leadership centralized on a world wide scale will socialism replace capitalist barbarism.

Organizacion Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) of Chile  
15 April 1976

(reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* no 107, 30 April 1976)

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## ... raids

are needed that the CL has been grossly victimised by cop harassment and is under threat of more. By itself the call for a trade-union inquiry is essentially passive and amounts to relying on the reformist trade-union bureaucracy to defend democratic rights, the futility of which was graphically illustrated by the exclusive focus on a similar call for a union inquiry in the Barratt/O'Loughlin case (see "Reject Ducker-Police Assn whitewash!", *ASp* no 29). In that case the defence committee eventually dissolved, still waiting to "hear from Ducker".

The damage done by the CL's opportunism in this case can be seen in Melbourne, where the CL initially voted in the defence committee for an SL proposal for a picket outside Prahran Court for Armstrong's scheduled June 1 trial, only later to beg off. For all its rhetoric about "militancy" and "struggle" the CL's politics are in reality quite tame. Blinded by opportunism, the CL leadership is reneging on the defence of its own raided members, only helping to insure that the cops can continue to operate with impunity. ■

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## CL plays games . . .

paign, but instead, to preserve your "revolutionary" purity, you broke away and directed your venom at all of those who were trying in any way to do something to stop the repression in Chile. This tactic of carrying on with long-winded debates in committees only to break away to preserve purity has become a hallmark of the Spartacist League. If you have found in the past that the Communist League has been more readily available to listen to your schemes for sectarian activity, that has been because we were more tolerant of the [sic] ridicule and abuse which your activities bring upon yourselves. But we have learned through our experiences generally and more specifically with you, to better conserve our forces and time from useless and even harmful initiatives on your part.

Until such time as you are able to make a critical and public assessment of your devisive [sic] role in the "defence" and "solidarity" movement you should not expect the Communist League to view your suggestions and initiatives except with suspicion.

If in most recent times the Communist League has not taken initiatives to gain the sort of united campaign outlined in *Militant*, that is a problem of our ability for the moment. That is not a problem of our perspectives which we publish for all to see. If the perspectives are correct, if they truly assess the immediate needs of the working class and outline an organisational means of achieving those needs, then it is for the whole of the left or any group to take them up and begin this work. We do not claim our perspectives as guarded property, exclusive to us only.

David Fagan  
for the Communist League  
Sydney Branch  
28 May 1976

### Spartacist League replies:

Your reply to our proposal damns you. For despite your self-righteous attempts to cover it under evasions and outright dishonesty, one thing is perfectly clear: you have refused to join in activity that could help save Munoz and Enriquez. Their lives, and thousands of others that they symbolise, hang in the balance. Enriquez is already in the hands of Pinochet's murderous Chilean torturers. But what is this to you? It

is not because of political or tactical differences with the proposed demonstration or because you have some alternative plan of action that you have refused to give them concrete aid *because you don't like the Spartacist League!* Such petty sectarianism with regard to basic class obligations is beneath contempt. And to wait a month to endorse the Munoz campaign "as a matter of principle" (while refusing to aid the campaign in any way or mention it in your press) is almost sick in its cynical dishonesty.

For the sake of political hygiene, your reply also demands some clarifications. We do not need to make a "critical and public assessment" of our role in defence and solidarity work. Our record is clear -- for example in defence of individuals such as Denis Walker or the Brisbane 3, in strike support work such as around the LaTrobe campus workers strike or the Melbourne printing strike last year and our defence of arrested pickets in the latter, the campaign we initiated to free Chilean MIR leaders Romero and Van Schowen in early 1974 and our participation in the demonstrations around Chile and Timor. Much of it has been reported, along with your own record (which bears far less scrutiny), in detail in past issues of *Australasian Spartacist*. Throughout all this work our approach has been rigorously consistent.

Defence work, by its very nature, demands an approach that can, within the framework of principle, mobilise groupings and individuals across a range of often sharply differing political outlooks. It demands the widest possible united action and, as a necessary complement, political autonomy for the participants -- the ability to raise their own program and to criticise others. Our approach is nothing new; it is based on the principles of the united front -- "unity in action, freedom of criticism" -- in the tradition of the early Comintern and the Trotskyist movement. Of course opportunists will try to sabotage such a principled approach either by imposing on the united front a social program rather than limited, clearly defined objectives, or by suppressing workers' democracy to avoid embarrassing criticism, or both -- that is what one expects. We do not apologise for fighting hard in such committees against this sort of opportunism, nor for splitting if a principled basis cannot be established. What centrists such as yourselves cannot tolerate is our refusal to subordinate our political independence -- what you refer to as our revolutionary purity -- to the exigencies of a rotten bloc of fake "unity", nor our insistence on our right to put forward revolutionary criticism in the context of solidarity in action.

What did happen at the Chile demonstrations in 1974 -- the only concrete instance you give? The SPA, passively supported by the CPA, imposed a closed platform at the main rally to exclude any speakers critical of the Allende regime. The Spartacist League split from the Chile Action Committee (CAC) ("the far-left organising committee") only when you, along with the SWL, capitulated to the Stalinists' blatant attack on workers' democracy, and refused to fight it by agitating for an alternative *open* platform (see *ASp* no 13). (While the SL fought for this, we never unilaterally "attempted to set up" any platform as you lyingly claim.) All you succeeded in *doing* with your self-proclaimed "concessions to the Stalinists' committees" was to legitimise their closed platform of reformist treachery then in order to get a hearing for your own speakers *you* split the demonstration to set up *your own* closed platform! The CAC, supposedly the greatest achievement in the CL's search for "unity" (of yourselves, the SWL and Antorcha), fell apart a few months later, after putting out some bulletins, showing some films, and attending one demonstration, *initiated by the SL* and held in Sydney on 28 November 1974.

The 28 November demonstration completely refutes your claim that our supposed "lack of activity" after the September 11 1974 demonstration prevented you from building unity in action. On the contrary: a demonstration held in Melbourne on 22 November 1974 in defence of Chilean political prisoners was severely damaged by the Communist League's unexplained failure to carry out the tasks it had accepted at planning meetings and by its unprincipled boycott of the demonstration (see *ASp* no 15).

Happily our perspectives are quite different from yours. You are eager to liquidate your organisation and your program, your "deeper political perspective", into propaganda blocs and non-aggression pacts in the hope of a short-cut to "influence". We are not. But what should be pointed out to your supporters and to class-conscious militants is that while today you can only play stupid sectarian games with the lives of desperately endangered comrades overseas tomorrow the vacillating, cowardly politics of which you are a part have the possibility at some point of tying the working class to the reformist traitors in a life and death situation. That is the very nature of centrism and the gulf between us.

Your endorsement of the Mario Munoz defence campaign is to be welcomed, precisely because it stands in complete contradiction to the rest of your letter. ■

Continued from page one

## Wages, Medibank . . .

indexation increase was not granted issued early in May by Stalinist BWIU leader Pat Clancy. But now, following the Lynch budget, Victorian unions have called a four-hour stoppage on June 16 over Medibank, and the left union bureaucrats are agitating for a national four-hour strike of protest against the cutbacks -- sometime in June or July. A *serious* fight requires more than these token stoppages designed to act as a safety valve for rank-and-file anger. Medibank cutbacks and the indexation fraud could be defeated by strong, swift action, but never through foot-dragging, weak-kneed gestures!

### AMWU leaders share bosses' fears

The powerful Amalgamated Metal Workers Union (AMWU) is adding to the 1976 log of claims the demand that the metal industry employers recompense workers for the Medibank levy via the metal trades award. Not only is this an entirely inadequate substitute for a real fight to defeat the levy outright; the official leadership of the AMWU has no intention of conducting *any* serious struggle in the already overdue 1976 award campaign. Instead, the metal union tops have already made an agreement with the employers for a *joint* campaign to demand greater tariff protection for the bosses. AMWU Commonwealth Organiser Jim Baird, a member of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), joined the protectionist chorus: "After hearing the employers we find they share our worst fears that manufacturing industry is doomed unless the Government changes its policies" (quoted in *The Australian*, 22 April)!

Protectionism not only results in the export of unemployment to workers in other countries; its nationalist class collaboration helps rival national capitalist classes to use the proletariat as cannon-fodder in inter-imperialist wars, and ultimately its chauvinist logic will rebound against migrant workers. Such is the logic of reformism -- pitting one section of workers against another in a fight over a shrinking supply of crumbs from the bosses.

Class-conscious workers disgusted with the betrayals of Hawke and Whitlam may nevertheless be

taken in by the idea that unity against the bosses' offensive requires a closing of labour's ranks behind the official leadership against the common enemy. They are being encouraged to do so by the likes of the new ALP deputy leader, Tom Uren, whose rhetoric about "mass action" outside parliament (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 April) is intended to make workers forget the anti-working-class policies which he was responsible for pursuing as a minister in the capitalist government. But the fight against Fraser *must become* a struggle against the whole capitalist system; and that requires a struggle to oust the reformist misleaders of all hues who remain wedded to that system.

The largest organisations to the left of the ALP claiming to represent some sort of alternative, the "independent" CPA and the Moscow-loyal Socialist Party of Australia, are both reformist to the core: as the behaviour of the CPA's Baird and the SPA's Clancy demonstrate, they are themselves tied to the reformist bureaucracy. While the SPA talks about a popular-frontist union of all "progressives" in an "anti-Fraser coalition", *Tribune*, which echoes both the SPA and Tom Uren, tenders economic advice to the liberal bourgeoisie, opining in a 12 May editorial that the Lynch package "makes no sense economically"!

### Centrists' rhetoric tails reformists

Looking for a shortcut to revolution, the much smaller centrists of the Socialist Labour League (SLL) and the Communist League (CL) try to cash in on mass resentment of Fraser with their identical fake-agitational campaigns to "force the Liberals to resign" or "bring down the Fraser government". At present such demands have no real content -- except that of accommodating to the mistaken belief of the masses that Whitlam's ALP is qualitatively better than Fraser. It leads to no practical conclusion for action, because it is not really a call to action but either a political program of *limiting* the class struggle to the struggle against *one specific* capitalist government, or an economist tailing of existing struggles disguised with a "political" label.

The SLL's Nick Beams really gave the game away in *Workers News* (6 May): "all trade-union

struggles today are political struggles, in which in the fight against the government the working class, whether it is conscious of it or not [!] is actually entering the struggle for power"! So what the Healyites really mean by the struggle for power is -- trade-union struggles! Aside from its absurdity, this equation of reform struggle with revolution is wholesale Pabloism: if the working class can fight for power *unconsciously*, the role of the vanguard party is reduced to tailing the existing level of struggle, that is, the reformist misleadership in practice.

*Precisely because wage struggles or struggles against Fraser can at best achieve a temporary victory which can only up the stakes of the class struggle, it is necessary to have a program which links the felt needs of the workers at present levels of consciousness and struggle to the need for a workers government, precisely what the bureaucrats' "unity against Fraser", is designed to obscure. It is characteristic of these centrists masquerading as Trotskyists that they drop this demand in their truncated versions of the transitional program. Their opportunism makes the CL and SLL incapable of anything but following the reformists into betrayal.*

*For national strikes against the Medibank cutbacks! Extend Medibank -- free quality medical care for all including free abortion and contraception on demand!*

*Smash the indexation "guidelines" wage freeze -- for a full automatic cost-of-living adjustment based on the highest wage in the industry!*

*No more sackings -- for an immediate 35-hour week with no loss in pay for all workers! For a sliding scale of hours: Shorten the workweek to provide jobs for all with no pay loss! Reject protectionism! Expropriate the metal industry!*

*Government hands off the unions! For the complete independence of the labour movement from the bourgeois state! Abolish all anti-union laws!*

*Oust Whitlam/Uren/Hawke/Halfpenny! For a leadership of the working class pledged to expropriate the capitalist class!*

*Down with the Fraser Government! For a workers government based on workers' organisations! ■*

## Old wares . . .

party to their position by arguing politics, not by organising a faction and recruiting for it."

It has not always been so clear. In April 1975 the "comrades associated with the left" expelled Steve Haran (then a member of the CPA) from membership in the LT because they didn't like his political views. But this is not merely an adoption of a form of words by which to comply with the requirements of staying in the CPA. Rather it is a capitulation in principle to the CPA leadership. It is now, in the view of these people, "mistaken about left politics" to believe that the struggle for a political program in the CPA must be through organised recruitment to a program. They either believe that the revolutionary program can be embodied not only in a collective but equally in a scattering of individuals or alternatively that the Aarons leadership adequately embodies a revolutionary program, with only such few and slight flaws as are perfectly capable of correction without organised opposition. For a revolutionary organisation the right of faction, to be able to politically organise internally against the party leadership within the context of rigorous external discipline, is not just a question of abstract democracy but a necessity for principled political struggle when fundamental differences inevitably arise under the impact of the class struggle.

The CPA leadership's determination to stamp out any element of disciplined political struggle not associated with any power base is clearly expressed in an amendment to the draft constitution by "L Aarons (Sydney)". Aarons' amendment proposes that, except with the permission of the party leadership and in bi-annual four-month pre-congress discussions, there can be no meetings of oppositionists. Even when meetings of oppositionists are allowed any interested party member must be supplied with any documents to be discussed and be allowed to participate in the meeting.

Aarons' amendment legalises the subjection of any oppositional grouping to the intervention of the leadership's agents even while it is in the process of working out its programmatic positions and fighting out subordinate differences. This will make it extremely difficult for any real left opposition to build a tendency in the CPA on the basis of recruitment to clearly worked-out and openly stated political positions. But it makes it quite inevitable that there will be continual conscious underground cliquism as the only available method of opposition.

### "Analysis" without consequences

The existence of the LT has been a continuing sore spot with the Aarons leadership because, however incompletely, unseriously and timidly, it still questioned basic reformist assumptions and balked at the worst betrayals of the class by the party trade-union bureaucrats. But the LT was rendered impotent by crippling political flaws; it was capable only of irritating the party leadership but not of fighting it.

Initially emerging out of a layer of academics around the journal *Intervention* who joined the CPA in 1972-73, the LT's influence has since remained mostly confined to a closed petty-bourgeois milieu in and around the CPA. Badly compromised when in July of last year they voted, along with the Aaronsites, for the expulsion of Bolshevik Tendency member Steve Haran for his "disloyal" views and having denounced factionalism as an original sin, they can present nothing, outside of the desire to remain a permanent organised clique, to justify their existence.

After almost three years, the LT is now barely a shell. Its South Australian group around SA State Secretary Rob Durbridge, formerly its main strength, is now firmly a part of the CPA bureaucracy. In Melbourne almost the entire LT grouping followed the logic of their syndicalist, liquidationist politics and limped quietly out of the party to drop out or regroup around the openly syndicalist publication *Link*. In Sydney the LT has partially decomposed into two loose groups along the lines of different social cliques. One group has tended to submerge itself in *Link*-type syndicalism, while the other, concentrated in the CPA's tertiary education branch and centring around the Sydney University Communist Group, has partially distanced itself from the most extreme expressions of LT syndicalism and workerist class guilt and is characterised by a somewhat adventurist student-centred, petty-bourgeois activism and a taste for abstract academic Marxism.

The LT's pre-Congress documents are characterised by abstract generalities that never pro-

duce concrete attacks on the actual policies of the leadership, completely divorcing theory and practice. The "alternative program" they have put forward, "A revolutionary strategy", is a misnomer. It is neither very programmatic nor an alternative, but an eclectic and inconsistent patchwork with a potted history of world and Australian capitalism, a number of quite incredible stupidities (such as comparing the defeat of the proletariat in Germany in the 1930s with the effects of the Cold War in Australia and drawing an analogy between trade unions and rape crisis centres), one of the idealist "models" of socialism of which the CPA is so fond, and a general Australian parochialism, defining the CPA's aims purely in terms of the Australian revolution, and totally failing to address any of the burning issues facing the proletariat outside of Australia.

Nevertheless the LT document focuses on several positions which are clearly decisive for



Sydney University Communist Group at May Day.

its supporters; what they think distinguishes them from the Aarons "centre" and the Taft "right". The most important of these is the syndicalist fetishisation of job-level organisation outside of and parallel to the unions. According to the LT's "alternative program",

"communists work to assist, as a major priority, organisation in the working class on and between jobs, industries and areas, and to extend and link these organisations... Trade unions and other workers' organisations thrown up in the economic class struggle, such as shop committees, are essentially defensive in character. These latter organisations, however, based on the workplace are the embryo of the future offensive organisations of the class." (*Praxis*, May 1976)

There is no place left for "defensive" unions -- there are no long-term reforms to be had. The trade unions can either grow increasingly together with the state power, serving as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing revolution, or, on the contrary, they can become instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

To define trade unions as inherently "defensive" is reformist in essence, erecting a barrier between reforms and revolution. When the rank-and-file are won to a revolutionary program by an organised grouping fighting politically against the incumbent reformist leadership, trade unions can be transformed into a revolutionary instrument, or, depending on the actual course of events, the fight can give rise to other organisational forms infused with the consciousness of revolutionary struggle. The LT's belief that the trade unions are inevitably defensive, economist, reformist, becomes just an apology for CPA union bureaucrats.

There is nothing inherently revolutionary about "on the job" organisation. What is decisive, in either shop committees or trade unions, is not the form but the content -- political program and leadership. But here, where it counts, the LT has no alternative to Aarons -- its program is almost exactly the same. Under the heading "Fight for socialist change" they list only three points: the same Kautskyite conception as Aarons of "expanded democracy and control over society itself", nationalisation of the monopolies (quite consciously omitting a call for no compensation, making it indistinguishable from reformism) and "support and fight for the demands of the social movements".

Revolution is postulated as a linear progression from today's (reformist) shop committees to soviet power; the insurrection and smashing of the state power become essentially a mopping-up operation to rid an obstacle to the further spread of soviets. But what if the possibility of insurrection arises before soviets are formed? What if, as in 1917 Russia or 1918 Germany, the soviets are controlled by Menshevik reformists? What the LT omit from their mechanical scenarios is precisely the factor that can alone guarantee success in a revolutionary crisis, whether the best organisational forms already exist or not -- the *revolutionary party* able to win mass support, the fundamental prerequisite for the seizure of power.

### LT gets a practical lesson in syndicalism

Not even on the question of the state can the LT pin down the CPA. Their introduction notes that the (majority) draft outline "inadequately" characterises the capitalist state" but exactly how we never get to find out; there is nothing of its treacherous "inadequacy", practically exposed in last November's political crisis. Their "analysis" of the degeneration of the Russian revolution and the lack of workers' democracy in China, Cuba and Indochina is entirely objectivist -- a crude pseudo-materialism apologising for the betrayals of Stalinism by declaring in effect that Stalinism was/is inevitable. And there is no mention of the way forward for the workers in these countries. Reform? Political revolution? The LT isn't saying; but it wants to maintain relations with all (unspecified) "revolutionary" groupings *along with* the political representatives of what it defines as the "ruling bureaucracies" of the deformed workers states!

Just as it turned its back on organising to struggle politically for its own program in the CPA, the LT has turned its back on the central task in the working class: the necessity for revolutionaries to organise to struggle politically for the revolutionary program. Thus it is rather fitting, and a damning practical refutation of the LT's idealisation of rank-and-file divorced from political program, for it to be long-time CPA militant and one of the key leaders of the NSW power workers' rank-and-file organisation ECCUDO, Jock Syme, who, in a sharp polemical rebuke in the same issue of *Praxis*, gave his personal backing to the ban on organised tendencies and the end of the LT. ■

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## CPA 25th Congress to adopt new program

# Old wares in new packages

For some years now, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) has been engaged in a continuing attempt to establish a niche and a base in the Australian labour movement for an alternative reformist party to the ALP. Two years ago the party's 24th Congress -- the second after the split of the hard Moscow-liners who went on to form the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) -- strongly endorsed CPA National Secretary Laurie Aarons' call for "bolder independence" from Moscow and a more critical stance towards the ALP against attempts led by Victorian CPA leader Bernie Taft to develop a more conciliatory attitude towards both the Stalinists and the ALP. Preparations for the 25th Congress, to take place in mid-June, reveal only a continuation of the CPA's basic reformist course despite some changes in orientation.

At the time of the last congress we pointed out that the differences between Taft and Aarons were merely tactical (see *ASp* no 9, June 1974 and *ASp* no 11, August 1974). The shift in the CPA leadership's orientation in response to the events of the intervening years has now proven this. The demise of the NSW BLF led by conservative Jack Munday, the reaction of the CPA's trade-union bureaucrats to the impact of the recession, the October-November political crisis and the fall of the Labor Government have resulted in a pulling together of all wings of the party leadership, particularly Aarons and Taft, by suppressing the main active sources of conflict.

### The end of the "Prague Spring"

The end of the Munday era of CPA union bureaucrats meant the sealing off of what had been a potential avenue to enlarging its toehold in the labour bureaucracy through a militant reformism typified by "workers' control" tactics and "green bans", as well as the partial destruction of the Munday-BLF milieu. What remains of the CPA's trade-union base is represented by the more responsible reformist, if occasionally militant-talking, bureaucrats typified by John Halfpenny and Laurie Carmichael in the AMWU, South Coast Labor Council head Merv Nixon and Queensland BWIU leader Hughie Hamilton, all of whom are, unlike the former BLF leadership, firmly tied in to the rest of the union bureaucracy.

The political crisis and the fall of the Labor Government eliminates a major bone of contention within the CPA hierarchy, allowing it to move back into the shadow of "unity against Fraser" where the conflict between the need to tail the ALP and the need to set itself off from the increasingly exposed treachery of the Whitlam government becomes moot. Yet although fake, Aarons' "anti-reformist" rhetoric previously directed against Taft is not accidental and does reflect an appetite to compete with the ALP for influence over the masses, for expanding its base in the labour bureaucracy. This does not at all entail any fight against reformism or even basic ALP class-collaborationist policies, but rather criticising the ALP variety of reformism.

In the crucible of sharpened class struggle during last year's political crisis the CPA emerged as the loyal left appendage of Labor reformism. Its goal became, in *Tribune's* words, to "put the Labor government back and force it to adopt policies which express the people's demands". It called for a class-collaborationist bloc of "all democrats" against Fraser, diverted agitation for a general strike into protest stoppages, and transformed *Tribune* into a daily uncritical propaganda organ for the Uren stripe of "left" Laborism.

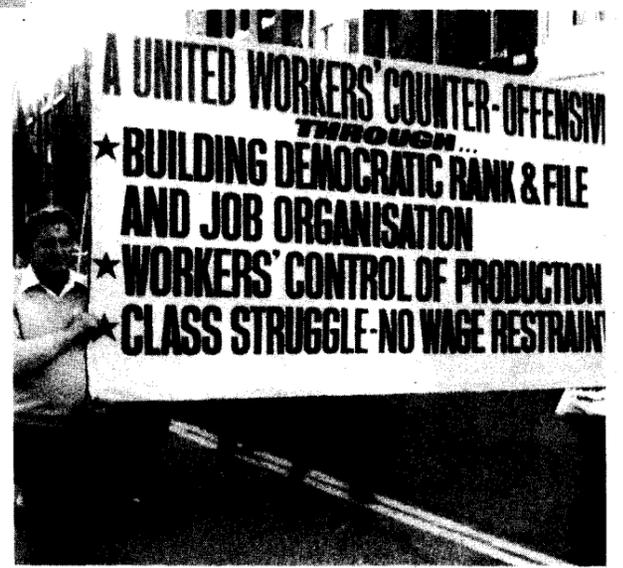
The National Committee draft political resolution for the Congress explicitly defines the CPA's projected "anti-Fraser coalition" as a pressure group on and base for the ALP reformists:

"The parliamentary opposition will be ineffective unless there is mass action outside parliament.... If the Labor parliamentary opposition really wants to fight Fraser, it will have to base itself upon the mass movement outside parliament in a completely new way." (*Tribune*, 7 April 1976)

This is hardly "new" -- it is the same impotent strategy of attempting to push the Labor leaders gradually over into socialism through "mass pressure" that the CPA has followed for decades.

Following the split with the Moscow-liners the CPA had to establish its anti-Stalinist "democratic" credentials, a process which had its beginnings in an identification with the Czechoslovakian "Prague Spring" of 1968. The resulting organisational and political liberalisation produced an inevitable pressure towards dissolution and extreme political heterogeneity which was potentially dangerous in allowing the possibility of the development of tendencies hostile to reformism.

The new constitution that the Congress will be approving along with a rehashed "new" program is specifically designed to counter the widespread anarchistic, new-leftist organisational habits that have become a barrier to efficient reformist functioning. It also codifies on an organisational level the break from Stalinist reformism to social democracy by explicitly adopting the menshevik principle of "freedom of criticism, unity in action". The draft constitution clearly assumes what is now standard practice in the CPA,



May Day CPA banner.

ASp photo

the right to public criticism of the party -- as long as it is maintained "as a matter of personal opinion".

This hostility to Leninism is in order for the CPA. Reformism needs external freedom of criticism and organisational looseness both to allow its trade-union bureaucrats to do as they please and to provide a safety valve for dissidents. In practice "freedom of criticism, unity in action" always means unity behind the bureaucrats and the apparatus and, within limits, freedom of criticism to cater to the differing bureaucratic appetites and antagonisms within the party.

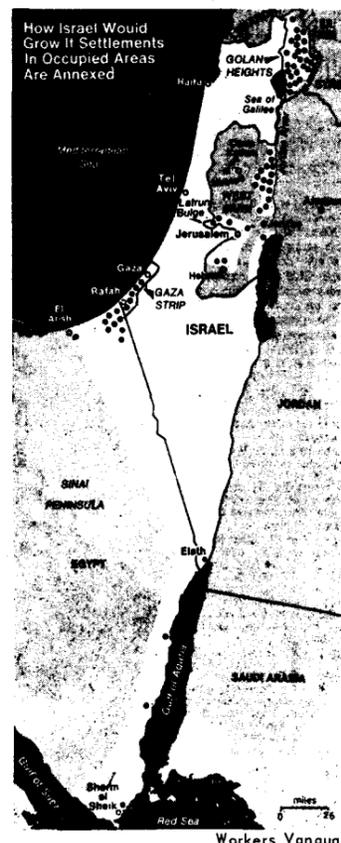
The newly reasserted *limits* of democracy are clarified in the material on the right to organised oppositional tendencies. In a note "On tendencies" by three Sydney spokesmen of the CPA's Left Tendency (LT), Peter Murphy, Craig Johnston and Gary Nichols (*Praxis*, May 1976), they say:

"First of all, comrades associated with the Left do not form an organisation, a faction, and any individuals referring to themselves as 'members' of the Left tendency are mistaken about left politics. Comrades associated with the left want to win over the majority of the

Continued on page eleven

# Israel out of the occupied territories!

The recent waves of militant protests, strikes and demonstrations in the towns and villages of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and their vicious repression by the Israeli military starkly reemphasise the continuing assault on the national rights of the Palestinian people. The outpouring of anti-Zionist outrage, fueled by a brutal and humiliating foreign armed occupation, was triggered by the provocative sprouting of "illegal" Israeli squatter settlements in Samaria, the northern section of the West Bank. The Samaria settlements, established on the initiative of the Gush Emunim (Band of the Faithful), a Jewish clerical-fascist movement that mobilises under the banner of "the inalienable right of every Jew to every part of Israel", have been implicitly endorsed by the Israeli Government. Like the "official" settlement plans on the Golan Heights, along the Jordan valley, in Judea, Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba, they will constitute a front-line border guard in Israel's conflict with neighbouring Arab states and, for the Zionist right wing,



thwart the possibility of Israel's relinquishing any part of the West Bank.

Israel must immediately and unconditionally get out of the occupied territories. Yet, as Palestinian nationalists will quickly point out, the pre-1967 borders of the state of Israel are also, as in the clear case of Galilee, "occupied territories". The Hebrew nation was forged out of the forcible dispersal and destruction of the Palestinian nation. But a truly democratic resolution of the just national claims of the Palestinian people will never be achieved by some West Bank mini-state or through the denial of the Hebrew people's right of self-determination. The so-called "democratic secular Palestine" of the PLO which projects the peaceful cohabitation of Hebrews and Arabs without the prerequisite of a socialist transformation would lead merely to another Lebanon. Only within the context of a socialist federation of the Near East can the just national claims of the Palestinians be equitably resolved.