



Defend pickets, bans, closed shops —

No "right" to scab!

From the massive open-cut mines of the Pilbara to the wharves of Queensland, the recent outbreak of class battles has manifested the bourgeoisie's determination to cripple the trade-union movement. The Tory governments of Charles Court in West Australia and Joh Bjelke-Petersen in Queensland have spearheaded a deliberate campaign of open provocation and repressive legislation designed to strip organised labour of its only effective weapon against the bosses: the ability to organise and effect a shutdown of production. The closed shop and the right to picket have been threatened by legislative attacks and a barrage of propaganda in the bosses' press aimed at mobilising an anti-union hysteria and glorifying common scabs as heroic "rebels" and "victims" of the "powerful", "militant" unions.

The bourgeoisie's attempt to trample over fundamental union rights to organise, place bans and picket has figured prominently in the recent disputes: In Queensland, Edward Zaphir, a state official of the Storemen and Packers Union (SPU) faces a fine of \$400 or one year's imprisonment or both for banning a Too-woomba fuel depot owner last year to enforce payment of union dues. Again in Queensland, the Seamen's Union (SUA) is threatened with potentially destructive financial penalties in a civil-court writ filed by the giant Utah Development Corporation in response to a ban on Utah ships. In

Victoria, the Liberal government of Rupert Hamer is threatening to inflict fines of \$50,000 on each of eight unions should they im-

plement a ban on the Newport power-station project. In West Australia, 21 picketers -- most subsequently let off -- were arrested on 14 June during a dispute between the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and the Fremantle oil terminals. The picket line was also the central focus of a clash at the Mt Newman mining company in Port Hedland in the Pilbara.

The labour movement must present a solid united front in the face of this union-bashing offensive. The SPU backed down on initial threats of a national strike of fuel depots should Zaphir be convicted. A strike must be called of the entire SPU, backed up by the full industrial might of the union movement! Similarly any penalties or fines brought against the SUA or the Victorian unions would necessitate the widest mobilisation of the trade unions, up to and including the call for a general strike. Drop the charges against Zaphir! Hands off the SUA!

But in the context of defending the SUA unconditionally from the bosses' attacks, class-conscious workers must explicitly repudiate the dangerous anti-working-class demands raised by the SUA bureaucracy, led by supporters of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia. In its "fight for the right of Australian seafarers to man vessels carrying Australia's coal overseas" (*Seamen's Journal*, June 1977) the SUA is in effect demanding that Utah sack the present predominantly Spanish crews. The US-owned Utah used part of the \$137 million in profits it cleared last year to buy a half-page advertisement in the *Australian* (25 June) to plead that Australian crews would be too costly! But the class-struggle response to the use of low-paid foreign labour is not to launch a divisive, chauvinist competition for jobs. SUA members must call for a campaign for international union organisation and a powerful strike for increased crew sizes (a demand presently

raised by the SUA) working shorter hours at no loss in pay plus full parity at the highest international level.

The legislative attacks on union rights have been accompanied by an increasingly shrill propaganda campaign to whip up popular anti-union sentiment. During the Mt Newman strike in West Australia, Court sent letters to every householder in the Pilbara encouraging their involvement in "restoring industrial peace" -- at a government expense of over \$800! Following mass union mobilisations in defence of the arrested Fremantle picketers, over 2000 avowedly middle-class marchers, organised by a Liberal Party member, demonstrated against "irresponsible unionism" in Perth. And during the Fremantle conflict, a little-known Women's Anti-Strike Party (WASP) sprang up which denounced the strikers for "making family life hell" (*West Australian*, 22 June). While WASP itself is insignificant, such strikebreaking mobilisations of politically backward women pose a potential danger to future workers' struggles. In vivid contrast to academic "Marxist"-feminists, who express more concern for the interests of their scabbing "sisters" than the struggling workers, most of the strikers' wives fully and publicly backed the strike.

Court and Bjelke-Petersen are notoriously anti-

communist reactionaries. (Court periodically rants that industrial unrest in the Pilbara is the result of a Moscow-orchestrated conspiracy to dis-

Fight Chrysler sackings!

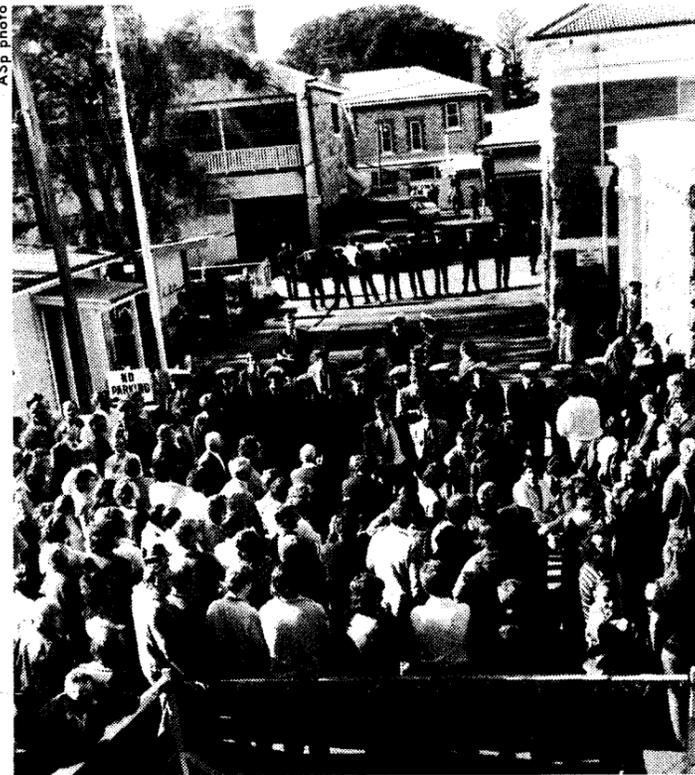
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rupt the lucrative mineral-based export trade in his state!). But they are merely the front-runners in the current anti-union offensive, which was prepared and encouraged by the ACTU bureaucracy's treacherous compliance in the smooth passage last May of Fraser's Industrial Relations Bureau (IRB) legislation and, six months earlier, by the enactment of the Vital States Projects Act in Victoria and equally draconian laws banning the closed shop in WA and stripping unions of immunity from civil-court suits in Queensland. *These very laws are now being used against the unions only because the reformist misleaders refused to mobilise the ranks to defeat them last November!*

The massive and immediate response of WA unionists to the arrest of the Fremantle picketers -- among whom were the state Labor MP for Fremantle, Dr John Troy, the TWU state secretary, Rob Cowles, and its state president, Jack Higham -- dramatically reaffirmed the possibility of mobilising the ranks against the bosses' provocations. While the dispute originated with a TWU demand to place "limitations" on the use of private fuel agents rather than TWU tanker drivers to deliver petrol supplies, the arrests transformed it into a struggle over the right to picket. As a leaflet distributed by the WA Trades and Labor Council correctly recognised, "The current challenge to the right to picket is part of a challenge to the traditional and legitimate activities of the trade union movement".

The day after the arrests, workers in key industrial zones throughout the state stopped work. In Fremantle seamen, wharfies, dockers and tally clerks walked off the job to march on the court, "1000-strong through the city, grim-faced and determined, sweeping away a brief police attempt to block their progress" (*Wheel* [TWU journal], June-July 1977). When the magistrate indefi-

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WA unionists respond to Court's arrest of 21 Fremantle picketers with 14 July mass march on courthouse (top); face attack by bosses' paid strikebreakers (above). Below: Court (left) and Bjelke-Petersen spearhead current anti-union offensive.



Queen's Jubilee — a carnival of reaction

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Unions . . .

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nately adjourned the "obstruction of traffic" charges which had been brought against the twenty-one, the Court government took the unusual step of bringing them forward again, additionally charging five leaders of the 15 June demonstration with "unlawful assembly". Workers took to the streets again and the bourgeoisie, convinced for the moment that organised labour was not without muscle, let off all but five of the arrested pickets, fining the rest token sums of five dollars, which were paid anonymously.

In an editorial on Fremantle, Fairfax's *Sydney Morning Herald* (13 July) asked, "But is picketing a basic right?" "Certainly not if it is accompanied by violence or physical intimidation or verbal abuse", came the predictable reply from this authoritative bourgeois mouthpiece, which last year called out an army of violent, abusive cops and scabs to break a long, bitter strike by its own workers.

However the bourgeoisie self-servingly defines "rights" for those it exploits, the picket line is a central weapon in the workers' struggle to defend and improve their conditions under capi-

talism. It is a battle line in the class war, whose inviolability must be defended by every unionist. It represents the only real power the workers have under capitalism -- the power to shut down production and stanch the bosses' flow of profits. A picket line must mean one and only one thing to every worker at a struck site: Do not cross! One out, *all* out!

But it is the reformist bureaucracy itself, resting on the historically evolved craft structure of the Australian union movement, which most undermines the power of the picket line and the power of the union movement. The entrenched craft divisions make effective pickets all the more urgent, yet militate against their effectiveness. At Mt Newman, mass pickets of over 600 workers successfully confronted the scabs who decided to return to work at the risk of losing their union cards. But throughout the strike over 120 track maintenance workers stayed on the job *with the striking unions' approval!* The self-defeating character of such union-sanctioned cross-craft scabbing was illustrated in the Queensland SUA ban, where Utah ships have been loaded despite the ban on tugboat service.

Furthermore, in its refusal to challenge the "legitimacy" of the ruling class, the bureaucracy misleads the workers not only into passively

acquiescing to repressive anti-union legislation but into accepting the paid enemies of the workers movement -- the cops -- into its ranks. The president of the WA police "union" complained that his members had been unfairly depicted as strikebreakers when they had *only* been used to uphold the law, and had been thanked for the way they acted by a TWU official (*WA Daily News*, 23 June)! But what law were these "unionists" upholding? The bosses' strikebreaking law; in this case a particularly noxious law passed in late 1976 prohibiting assembly of three or more people without permit -- a transparent attack on the right to picket and demonstrate.

Not for nought did Trotsky consider strike pickets "the basic nuclei of the proletarian army". The bourgeois state and its armed thugs serve only one master -- the employers. A class-struggle leadership committed to this understanding would -- without engaging in adventurist confrontations -- prepare the workers to defend their strikes and their picket lines without any illusions in the "neutrality" of the police. Defence of the workers organisations against the bosses and their state, as part of the struggle to do away with the bosses entirely, demands the construction of such a leadership in the workers movement. ■

VBU tops finger militants

Fight Chrysler sackings!

On 12 July the federal government reimposed strict protectionist quotas on foreign-assembled cars. Senator Cotton, the minister for industry and commerce, justified this profit-boosting plum for the Big Three -- Chrysler, Ford and General Motors-Holden -- as "necessary to prevent severe disruption to employment in the local industry" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 July). In the short term the quotas will result in yet another increase in the already skyrocketing domestic car prices. As for saving jobs, a true measure of the effectiveness of such chauvinist solutions was indicated three days later when 700 workers at Chrysler's Tonsley Park factory near Adelaide found retrenchment notices inside their pay packets at shift's end on the Friday.

As enraged workers stormed out of the plant, they reportedly overturned a car, spilled tools over the floor, punched hammers through car panels and smashed up an administration office. The Chrysler brass, who had good reason to fear an outburst in response to the mass sackings, not only had the police standing by but had their own security force mobilised around the factory, complete with walkie-talkies, to keep close watch on the workers. To minimise the possibility of a sit-in strike on the Monday, special "letters of identification" needed to get back in were distributed to all but the sacked workers.

The entrenched right-wing bureaucracy of the Vehicle Builders' Union (VBU) pinned the blame for the sackings, incredibly enough, *on the workers*, scapegoating in particular supporters of the Maoist-influenced Worker Student Alliance (WSA). DJ Foreman, VBU state secretary, denounced the WSA for having done "Chrysler's work for them" (*Australian*, 13 July). But it was Foreman, not the WSA, who only days earlier had pleaded that, "We have no alternative ... than to

put a four-day week to our members" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July) -- an "alternative" which would still have left 300 workers retrenched! Despite occasional bluster about "plant sit-ins" the VBU bureaucracy has concentrated on protectionist gimmicks to avoid any mobilisation of the union ranks.



Scuffle following mass meeting of Tonsley Park workers.

Foreman's "alternative" had been correctly rejected by a mass meeting of 3000 angry Tonsley Park workers the same day the quotas were announced. Apparently led by WSA supporters, they instead voted overwhelmingly to reject any sackings and to place bans on production of Chrysler's new-model Galant and the handling of a stockpile of 6000 unsold cars -- a particularly ineffectual gesture given Chrysler's inability to sell the cars. When the bureaucrats moved in to close the meeting prematurely a brawl broke out in which several of them got jostled and man-handled. The VBU bureaucrats, joined by the bourgeois press, immediately pounced on the incident in an attempt to discredit the outcome of the meeting and launch an anti-communist purge against the Maoists. Don Dunstan, whose Labor government responded to the over 1000 layoffs (350 workers were sacked the same day at the South Australian Meat Corporation) by setting up an emergency relief work program for 130 workers, chimed in with a denunciation of the WSA and "distress" that the car workers had rejected the sellout.

The VBU bureaucrats have since called in the bosses' courts on their own members -- WSA supporters who they alleged were involved in the fight. Furthermore, many, if not all, of the WSA militants -- some with up to seven years time at Chrysler -- were singled out for the sack, which otherwise affected only workers with up to one year's seniority. Whatever the extent of open collusion between the bureaucracy and the company, the victimisations were ominously foreshadowed by one VBU organiser:

"... we know every one of them... Just like any communist or Maoist they are out to destroy the system... And now we will have to consider if we will allow a minority of 20 rats to destroy the jobs of the membership at Chrysler." (*Australian*, 13 July)

VBU members must repudiate this open purge! All legal charges must be dropped immediately! Every

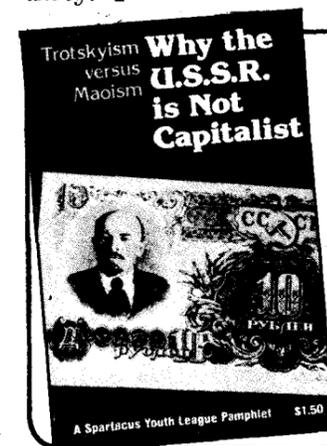
militant sacked out of line with seniority must be reinstated immediately with full back pay! The bureaucrats who would turn their own members over to the bosses' repressive apparatus must be driven out of the union!

In an attempt to appease the anti-communist furore a WSA spokesman appeared on Adelaide television after the mass meeting to deny that WSA supporters had given any specific instructions on industrial acts to the Chrysler workers. Whether this shameful admission is true or not, they clearly failed to provide the leadership necessary to channel the workers' outrage into a successful struggle against the layoffs. Immediately following the vote to repudiate the bureaucrats' sellout an occupation of the factory should have been organised and a call issued to all car industry unions -- including the militant-talking Amalgamated Metal Workers -- to launch an immediate industry-wide strike -- including occupations of other factories threatening sackings, short workweeks or forced leaves -- in solidarity with the occupation and for a thirty-hour week at no loss in pay. Instead the company was allowed to set up the sackings in such a way as to ensure that those workers most likely to galvanise any militant action were safely out of the factory before anything could be done.

But the Maoists, with their single-minded fervour for "Australian independence", are incapable of leading car workers toward the international unity which is a necessary aspect of a class-struggle strategy. Their clamour against the "multi-nationals" and for "Australian-made" cars is no less a reactionary diversion from a united struggle against the international car manufacturers than the VBU bureaucracy's own reliance on nationalist protectionism. Their anti-Soviet tirades feed into the anti-communist barrage which is now being directed against them. And, as they demonstrated by taking the union before the Arbitration Commission over irregularities in a recent union election, they are no more willing to recognise the class line between the bosses' state and the labour movement than are the bureaucrats who took them to court.

A leadership capable of advancing the interests of car workers can only be built on the basis of firm opposition to the bosses, their state agencies and their nationalist schemes; committed to international working-class unity and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie -- "patriotic" as well as "multi-national" -- under a workers government.

*Defend the victimised militants!
For factory occupations backed up by industry-wide strike action to reverse the sackings!
For a thirty-hour week at no loss in pay!
Nationalise the car industry without compensation under workers control!
No to protectionism -- for international workers unity!* ■



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Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

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(02) 660-7647

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Melbourne,
Victoria, 3001.
(03) 62-5135

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Three dollars for the next twelve issues (one year).

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST is registered at the GPO, Sydney for posting as a newspaper -- Category C.

Printed by Maxwell Printing Company Pty Ltd,
862 Elizabeth Street, Waterloo, NSW 2017.

CL surrenders to SWP reformism

Fake Trotskyists announce shotgun "fusion"

At a series of joint public forums in late July, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist League (CL) publicly announced in passing that the two groups were in the process of fusing. Separated when a minority left the SWP (then Socialist Workers League) to form the CL in 1972 -- only eight months after their original "fusion" -- both groups have been "sympathising sections" of the Pabloist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) since early 1974. The split in Australia reflected the tenuous character of USec "unity" internationally, polarised into two parallel public factions. The SWP adhered to the reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF), theoretically guided by US SWP Joseph Hansen, while the CL supported Ernest Mandel's centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT).

The 1972 split was in part a product of the future CLers' disgust with the staid reformism and class collaborationism of the SWL, which faithfully imitated the American SWP's conscious and systematic effort to divert all social struggles (eg, the anti-war movement, the women's movement) into popular-frontist blocs with the liberal bourgeoisie. But the CL shared with the SWP -- and refused to break from -- a common Pabloist methodology: liquidation of the Trotskyist program in pursuit of non-proletarian "vanguards", which for the CL included Stalinist guerrillaists, petty-bourgeois nationalists and the elusive "new mass vanguard", an empirically defined layer of any sort of "militants" momentarily estranged from the mass reformist parties. Mired in centrism, the CL wobbled empirically between revolutionary impulses and reformist appetites.

Eight months ago, a majority of the Political Committee of the CL -- including the group's founding leader, John McCarthy -- simply quit, without a sign of internal political struggle, and with some followers turned up bit by bit in the SWP, which labelled this cynical dredging operation a "fusion". The deserted and indignant CL denounced McCarthy's unprincipled "defection" and attacked the SWP-McCarthy "fusion" as a factional provocation based on an "unprincipled" unity, pointing to the complete absence of any attempt by the "fusion" partners to evaluate past differences. But now, the remaining CL leadership announces its intention of fusing with the SWP on the basis of a "unity", which in ignoring the outstanding questions which have separated the two organisations for five years, is patently as "unprincipled" as the last.

Differences buried in an unmarked grave

The topic chosen for the joint forums -- a critique of the Communist Party-inspired, national-chauvinist, class-collaborationist "People's Economic Program" -- was in itself an indication that the differences remain unresolved, buried quietly in an unmarked grave. Criticism of an open appeal for bolstering the Australian bourgeoisie comes rather cheap, after all. But there are few serious questions confronting the proletariat today on which these prospective "fusion partners" could voice agreement without gagging.

Only two years ago, on two central issues the CL and SWP took positions which if carried out on the spot would have put them on opposite sides of a military conflict. In both cases the SWP took a stand which lined it up with the immediate forces of reaction: professing a treacherous neutrality during the CIA-backed South African invasion of Angola and scandalously apologising for the Portuguese social democrats' CIA-funded red-baiting offensive against the Communist Party. The CL, on the other hand, tailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA in Angola and the Stalinist-supported officers of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement.

While the CL lauded the Vietnamese Stalinists as "centrist revolutionaries" who had created an essentially healthy workers state, the SWP has yet to be convinced that South Vietnam is no longer capitalist. While the SWP insists on its "consistent feminism", the CL as recently as April declared itself to be definitely "non-feminist". And during the most significant recent event in the class struggle in Australia -- the response to the sacking of the Whitlam government in November 1975 -- the CL could not even bring itself to support, however critically, the SWP's minimalist election campaign.

What lies behind the CL's evident surrender is

both the liquidationist logic of the CL's politics and the rotten character of the USec. At the 22 July Sydney joint forum, CL speaker Dick Nichols justified the projected "fusion" by stating that, with "the class struggle intensifying", "none of the groups that exist at the moment could possibly provide the size of leadership for the working class". A year ago, the CL pointed to the "intensifying class struggle" to justify a diametrically opposed perspective: building a fake mass-agitational independent organisation -- complete with a "mass", never-quite "weekly" paper. Having failed to recruit the masses -- in all of twelve months! -- the CL abandons the perspective of building an independent organisation through political liquidation for one of building a larger, more influential one elsewhere through organisational liquidation.

An SWP *Information Bulletin* (April 1977), made available by a recently resigned member, documents the trail of mutual recriminations, lies and manoeuvres, international intrigues and double-dealing -- but virtually no politics -- which led up to the current "fusion". In other words it portrays Pabloism, whose organisational "principles" -- just as, and because, its political programs -- are trimmed to the requirements of petty, short-term expediency.

But that is only half the story. The SWP seized upon the McCarthy "fusion", which was officially lauded by the USec, to bolster its

Pabloist "principles"

Jim Percy ...

"There's a lot of difficulties in a fusion with the comrades from the rump CL, because we can't agree even on what a fusion is, it seems."

"Those people don't want anything to do with us at all. Probably still characterise us as reformist."

"If you're going to tell a lie, make it convincing. Otherwise we tend to get a little cynical."

"... if we decide here at this conference on some political question that relates to some overseas event -- let's say it's China -- and that line is not the same as the majority of the USec or the World Congress and the IEC might decide, then we can't carry that line in our press. We reject that. We reject it totally, fundamentally, wholeheartedly, and we won't change on that. That is non-negotiable...."

"Let's just get together. Just us, not the vanguard. We'll get in touch with them later. Not Ernest Mandel or anyone else. We'll tell him what we did and I'm sure he'll approve."

-- "Report on relations with the Communist League", SWP *Information Bulletin* (April 1977)

... versus Leon Trotsky

"The sections are required to observe the decisions and resolutions of the International Conference, and, in its absence, of the International Executive Committee...."

"Fusion between an organization and a national section may be arranged by the International Secretariat and submitted to the decision of the International Executive Committee."

-- "Statutes of the Fourth International" (1938)

case for the sole USec franchise in Australia. Gloating over McCarthy's defection in a "Report on relations with the Communist League" to the SWP national conference in January, SWP leader Jim Percy says of the remaining CLers: "... they're in the gun. Not from us, we're not putting any pressure...." Who, then, is? Mandel's own IMT, who, Percy goes on, might well present the prodigal CL with an ultimatum: "'fusions or else.' We'll recognise the majority groups [ie the SWP] as sections, the minority can get in and if they don't they're out! Out of the 4th International [USec]!"

Percy welcomes the USec's assistance in destroying the CL. But as Trotsky observed, "opportunists find international control intolerable" ("The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Opposition", 7 September 1929). The SWP's open rejection of international democratic centralism, in principle, in flat contradiction not only to the founding statutes of Trotsky's Fourth International but even to the USec's own statutes, is an undeniable symptom of its reformist outlook. Percy will entertain no thought of USec meddling on his own turf. Shouldn't the USec, their



CL speaker with SWPers (seated) at Sydney joint forum.

common "international", oversee the fusion negotiations? Never, says Percy -- "we don't need it, we won't allow it". When they fused with McCarthy, "we didn't need any big brothers to tell us what to do"! But isn't the USec supposed to be a democratic-centralist international? Not as far as Percy is concerned: if the SWP line differs from the USec international majority -- as it in fact does -- nobody is going to tell the SWP "we can't carry that line in our press. We reject that. We reject it totally, fundamentally, wholeheartedly, and we won't change on that. That is non-negotiable...."

SWP rejects Trotskyist stand on Soviet Union

In its quest for reformist "respectability", the SWP has rejected, increasingly openly, almost every other fundamental principle of Trotskyism -- in particular the central Trotskyist stand for unconditional military defence of the Soviet Union against the imperialist powers. The Russian question is fundamental -- particularly in the US, where no organisation aspiring to be the bourgeoisie's chief lieutenant within the ranks of the working class can succeed without convincing the rulers at the centre of imperialist reaction of its anti-Soviet credentials.

The US SWP's vigorous backing of Carter's "human rights" campaign, its embracing of imperialist Soviet dissidents as "progressive", its earlier refusal to side with Cuba and the USSR against South Africa in Angola, its even-handed opposition (as expressed by US SWP presidential candidate, Peter Camejo) to "totalitarianism ... whether in the USSR or in Spain", have now been explicitly codified. After declaring in a recent article that, "The world Trotskyist movement has never wavered in its defense of the Soviet Union", Hansen then provides the basis, not for mere wavering, but for open repudiation, in theory! The nuclear arms race has made it irrelevant: "'Military defense' has obviously become meaningless in terms of saving a country from the most terrible catastrophe imaginable -- its extinction..." (*Socialist Worker* no 3, August-September 1977). Presumably, then, the Trotskyist slogan has been "meaning-

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**Down with the monarchy
and the Union Jack!**

Queen's Jubilee — a carnival of reaction

It is 25 years since the coronation of Elizabeth II of England, "Queen by the Grace of God and Defender of the Faith". And her Silver Jubilee is celebrated with royal pomp, nauseating sycophancy and national-chauvinist rejoicing over an institution which should have been abolished centuries ago (and once was, with a headsman's axe).

As this impoverished island writhes in the death agony of British imperialism, the Queen's portrait and the Union Jack are everywhere. "Her Majesty" -- drawn on mugs, embossed on ashtrays, etched on glass, sewn on clothes -- gazes "serenely" down upon her humble "subjects"; the Union Jack, once the arrogant symbol of a great colonial power and still the emblem of imperialist patriotism, waves from the windows of houses and in the numerous street festivals in honor of the Queen.

The British are sensitively self-conscious about the anachronism of a monarchy in an advanced industrial nation, a monarchy still maintained in the lavish style to which it became accustomed in ages gone by. The tone for the monarchy's modern apologists was set more than a century ago by historian Walter Bagehot, who provided a rationale for the mission of British imperialism: "Above all things our royalty is revered. Its mystery is its life. We must not let in daylight upon magic". Today, in this corroded ex-empire when the masses of working people find increasing difficulty in putting meagre subsistence on the table, the job of keeping out the "daylight" is more difficult but not less important for the ruling class...

Does the monarchy do any real harm? After all, say its apologists, it has no power. The monarchy no longer represents feudalism as an economic-social order. The tyranny of kings has been replaced by the tyranny of capital. The *Economist* magazine points out that despite her visible crown the Queen would not dare echo Richard Nixon's "If I do it, it's legal".

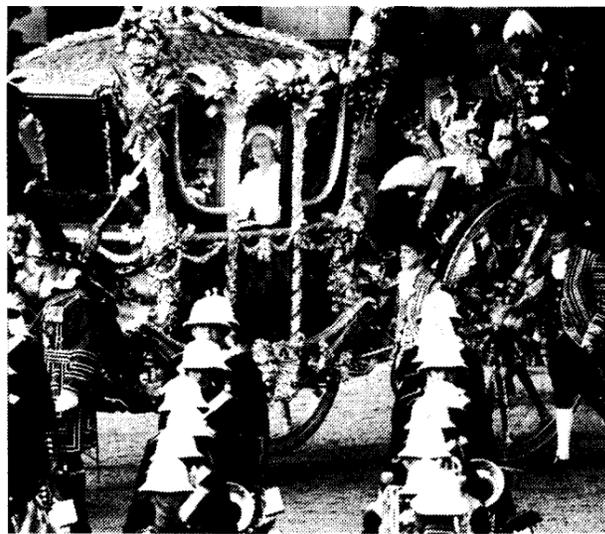
But the monarchy performs important functions for the British ruling class. First of all, it serves an ideological purpose as a popular focus for national chauvinism and reaction. British ideologues argue that the Queen is a symbol of an advanced civilization, of general social achievement and -- especially -- of class harmony. The bourgeois economic order replaced the feudal one, they say, but look how well we retain our continuity with the past! The English social revolution, which came early and was somewhat truncated, makes for a pretty, if inapplicable, myth of class peace: the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie which supplanted it reached accord and became the Establishment, embodied in the monarchy, the House of Lords and the Established Church.

The Queen thus represents the British counterpart to the American myth that US society is classless. In England it is manifestly impossible to deny the existence of class-based inequality. So the ruling class maintains that while there are classes, and there may be shifts in the class structure, *there must be no class struggle*. The monarchy is the living and familiar sign that there is a grossly unequal social place for everyone, and that this is historical

and inevitable. That is why the Queen is treated with such dignity, why this cow is sacred.

There is plenty of talk about the privilege of the monarchy, but it is nearly always cast in the arguments that anti-monarchist liberals have raised since the nineteenth century: it is a waste of money. But it is not the amount of money that makes the monarchy reactionary; the function of the money is to flamboyantly assert social privilege. For the bourgeoisie, it's cheap at the price.

So the Queen, who really believes in the monarchy, maintains a costly, stuffy sense of that privilege. Her "right" to feed her six Corgi dogs out of little silver bowls once derived from "god"; now it derives from capital, but it is all the same to her royal highness. She still has



Queen rides golden coach to and from palace.

her castles (one with 365 rooms), ornate gold carriage, servants, race horses, royal yacht and airplane, Keeper of the Swans -- and of course her personal stock portfolio, tax-free by statute. No one really knows exactly how much the Queen is worth because she is the only person in Britain granted exemption to a recent law requiring financial disclosure. *Newsweek* (13 June) estimates the total wealth of the Queen and her eldest son at about \$140 million, excluding an art collection valued at another \$85 million. It further estimates that the Queen and her kin cost the taxpayers about \$15.4 million a year. But far more costly to the working class is the ideological assertion of privilege and its anti-democratic effects...

It is not just for strictly ideological purposes that the monarchical establishment is maintained by British capitalism. The monarchy has sometimes exercised direct influence. Of course the monarchy isn't about to use its residual governmental powers today. The last time it vetoed a parliamentary act was in 1707 under Queen Anne. And it has been more than a century since a monarch disbanded a government.

But at critical moments the monarchy has gone beyond its role as advisor to and mouthpiece for the ruling party. At the Jubilee ceremony the Queen created a minor shock wave by attacking the Scottish nationalists: "I cannot forget that I was crowned queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain". But this attempt to influence politics is dwarfed by more dangerous attempts by monarchs to exert reactionary influence.

Queen Victoria, who openly detested any form of republicanism, exerted enormous influence, including choosing personnel for the foreign service, vetoing cabinet appointments and urging a free hand for imperialist policy in Ireland, the Sudan and elsewhere. George V considered dismissing the government over the Home Rule question lest Parliament hand Ulster "to the Pope". George VI proclaimed simply that "India must be governed", urging that Gandhi and Nehru be kept in prison.

Recent British monarchs have intervened in domestic politics as well. In 1931, Ramsay MacDonald's "Great Betrayal" -- the National Front coalition government with the Tories and Labour MPs -- was arranged by George V, exercising his "right to be consulted and encouraged". Discussions between the Duke of Windsor and the Nazis in Germany placed the Duke as the rumored likely prospect to head a quisling government in England.

The House of Lords has also raised its be-ugged and powdered head from time to time. Just last year it used its vestigial "right" to approve all legislation by vetoing a Commons-approved bill to nationalize the port of Felixstowe. Then on November 22 a Labour proposal to nationalize the aircraft and shipbuilding industries was blocked by a vote of 197 to 90 in the Lords.

The House of Lords is not elected, the bulk of its lifetime members being drawn from the hereditary "peers" and from bishops and archbishops of the Church of England. Since 1958 the government has held the right to appoint Lords under the "life peerage" system. In addition to the big businessmen, aging Labour Party leaders can expect to become "Labour peers", rewarded for their service to the bourgeoisie by being put out to pasture in this powdered-wig grazing ground.

These vestiges of feudalism do not often attempt to overstep their bounds, nor would their removal in itself alleviate the oppression of the British working masses. But these relics are not merely an affront to the working class. Under particular circumstances they could become a real military danger to the proletariat.

Remember that the British officer corps is drawn from the petty aristocracy and owes its traditional allegiance to the Crown. The Queen is nominal head of all the armed forces. As the *London Times* (11 June) reported: "To mark her Silver Jubilee the Queen has appointed herself and other members of the Royal Family to a total of 18 honorary commands in the army and RAF, and 19 more in the Commonwealth armed forces". While these commands are merely honorary, the very real officer corps is very clear that its loyalty is to Queen, not Parliament. In a future crisis situation it is quite conceivable that a right-wing bonapartist coup attempting to restabilize the bourgeois order would seek out the monarchy as a buttress to reactionary mobilization, and as a sign of "legality" and legitimacy against a weak bourgeois-democratic Parliament.

Though the monarchy is a constant anti-democratic outrage and potential military focus for reaction, the institution goes on unimpeded by the British fake-lefts. The primary responsibility lies with the Labour Party, which has a programmatic election plank to end the monarchy but has supported this reactionary institution as part of its more general commitment to capitalism. As early as 1927 former Labour Prime Minister MacDonald allayed any apprehensions about Labour's "democratic" pretensions when he accepted an invitation to the royal court and donned the traditional blue and gold-braid costume of the peerage...

But it is not just the Labour Party that refuses to challenge the British Establishment. All left-Continued on page seven



Ramsay MacDonald, Labour prime minister, in full royal plumage outside Buckingham Palace (1927).

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST BULLETIN NO. 8 PART 2

THE CRISIS IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT:

Right Women's Oppression
Left Women's Oppression
For a Communist Women's Movement!

Autonomy is not an option

Articles on women's liberation from SPARTACIST (US) and REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST BULLETIN

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Revolutionary Communist Bulletin (no 8, part 2)

price: one dollar

(free on request with 12 issue subscription to *Australasian Spartacist*)

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist League,
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Healyites, messengers of Qaddafi

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Healyite Socialist Labour League expressed scarcely veiled sympathy for Qaddafi's Libya in its recent conflict with the equally reactionary Sadat of Egypt and explicitly praises the Libyan dictator elsewhere in the same paper (see Workers News, 28 July). The following article, reprinted from Workers Vanguard no 158 (20 May 1977), illuminates the Healyites' concern for Qaddafi.

Something stinks in *News Line*, daily garbage organ of the British Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) -- and it's not simply that it continues these political bandits' unsavory record of sectarianism, Stalinist gangsterism and egregious opportunism. Ever since *News Line*'s inception on 1 May 1976, it has been a mouthpiece for the megalomaniacal ravings and "people's democracy" pretensions of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi of Libya. Month after month articles in *News Line* have lauded the dictator in weirdly shameless fashion, hailing his "agricultural revolution", his support to the "Arab Revolution", detailing his every attack on the "high treason" of Egypt's Anwar Sadat, and so forth.

Thus a brief article in the 26 February *News Line* hailed the London publication of the Libyan strongman's Green Book as "an uncompromising rejection of parliamentary democracy in favour of 'the authority of the people'". Two Labour MPs who pushed the book were taken to task for giving it "a patronizing send-off"; their praise of the Green Book as "challenging, stimulating, moral" is evidently insufficiently fulsome for the WRP's taste. Qaddafi's Healyite press agents complain that his "writings and his drive towards people's democracy hardly received the attention they deserve".

The WRP has in the last year been making up for that with a vengeance. Over 20 articles on Libya have appeared in *News Line*, not to mention a considerable increase in "special reports" from Tripoli and attacks on Sadat's Egypt. *News Line*'s castigation of Egypt, described as "near bankruptcy", for its repression of leftists is completely in accord with Qaddafi's feud with Sadat -- and contrasts sharply with the Healyites' silence on repression in Libya.

An article in the 14 October 1976 *News Line*, for instance, discussed a BBC television interview with Qaddafi and dismissed the interviewer's inquiry into political prisoners in Libya as one of the bourgeois media's "stock-in-trade questions". *News Line* smugly added, "Gaddafi was unmoved, saying that they were 'enemies of the revolution'". The Healyites praised the program for having "broken at least part of the Gaddafi enigma and answered some of the US State Department and Zionist lies", but complained that the interview was not shown on prime time:

"Miss Kewley's profile rightly belonged in the BBC's prestige slot, 'Panorama'.

"It is a measure of the censorship on television that it was squeezed into the 'religious programmes' department where it could not do justice to the subject of Islam or its leading advocate."

What is perhaps most curious is that *Workers Press*, the previous Healyite daily -- which folded in February 1976 with the presumption of "lack of funds" -- paid little or no attention to Qaddafi and his so-called "Revolutionland". In the six months prior to its collapse, we could locate only one article in *Workers Press* dealing specifically with Libya, and this was implicitly critical of Qaddafi, reporting a protest by Libyan students in London against the police slaughter of "at least 16 students" at a demonstration at Libya's Benghazi University (*Workers Press*, 14 January 1976).

On 8 September 1976 *News Line* carried a centrefold spread on Tripoli's "anniversary celebration" of Qaddafi's military coup. Boasting huge photos and snide comments about the bourgeois press' lack of coverage of the glorious event, *News Line*'s spread on "Libya's Day" was a sharp departure from the silence of *Workers Press* the year before. Something had changed, and it wasn't the Qaddafi regime.

We are more than happy to give Qaddafi's policies "the attention they deserve". Qaddafi is

fanatical in his devotion to the Koran, which sanctifies the feudal enslavement of women and prescribes legal punishments such as cutting off the tongues of liars and the hands of thieves. At least 700 political prisoners have been reported held in Libyan jails. Regarding one trial of 17 prisoners (acquitted in 1974) against whom Qaddafi personally intervened to impose new sentences of life imprisonment and death, Amnesty International recently noted: "The accused were allegedly Marxists, Trotskyists, and members of the Islamic Liberation Party" (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 April 1977). Qaddafi's 1973 "cultural revolution" laid out his "Five Principles", including:

"We must purge all the sick people who talk of Communism, atheism, who make propaganda for the Western countries and advocate capitalism. We shall put them in prison."

And:

"We live by the Koran, God's book. We will reject any idea that is not based on it. Therefore we enter into a cultural revolution to refute and destroy all misleading books which have made youth sick and insane." (*New York Times*, 22 May 1973)

Qaddafi's idea of "refutation" is simple: he ordered "the burning of books that contain imperialist, capitalist, reactionary, Jewish or Communist thoughts" (*New York Times*, 18 April 1973).

The sordid history of the Healyites is replete with examples of slavering enthusiasm for left-talking "Third World" nationalists and Stalinists. *Workers Press* gratuitously proffered "leftist" cheerleading to assorted petty-bourgeois anti-working-class formations, from the Maoist Red Guards to the Angolan MPLA. But the WRP's pandering to Qaddafi is surely a new low.

Perhaps the most disgusting was a full-page "special *News Line* interview" with Hamied Jallud, general secretary of the "Libyan trade union federation, equivalent of the British TUC" (14 September 1976). To *News Line* questions about collective bargaining and the right to strike, the Qaddafi bureaucrat replied, "The role of the trade unions in socialist countries is completely different from capitalist countries"! After all, "the responsibility of the trade unions is to educate the workers and increase production";

"Parties are treason" -- what about the Workers Revolutionary Party? In this "People's Public" where communists are to be jailed and butchered and their books burned, ostensible leftists would have to do some pretty peculiar things to survive -- and *News Line* has made it clear the WRP would be more than willing to do them. The *London Times* (6 September 1976) reported:



SLL supports petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism.

"The repression ... in Libya has not, of course, weakened the interest of left-wing groups in other countries. Representatives of Miss Vanessa Redgrave's Workers' Revolutionary Party, for instance, have visited Libya three times in the past twelve months. Nor has it diminished the affection of those countries like Malta, which feel, with some reason, that Colonel Qaddafi has proved to be their only friend."

Malta's reasons are obvious. About to be impoverished by the closing of NATO bases, Malta is now dependent on Qaddafi's aid to remain solvent. The mendicant guerrillas who flock to Tripoli seeking Soviet-made arms and Libyan oil money reportedly have included Muslim secessionists from the Philippines and Ethiopia, opponents of anti-Qaddafi Arab regimes (Sudan, Yemen, Syria, Tunisia, Morocco), the Provisional IRA and various Palestinian organizations. Naturally, such groups do not bite the hand that feeds them and have accorded Qaddafi a high place in the pantheon of "anti-imperialist" leaders.

Workers Press, which folded on 14 February 1976, titled itself the "Daily Organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party". Heavy publicity in the preceding months for the paper's "Crisis Fund" and dire warnings that "the future of the paper is in doubt" would lead to the presumption that it closed up shop for lack of funds. Yet the "Final Edition" Editorial Board statement does not explicitly say so; instead, the Healyites tersely announce that their printing firm, Plough Press, will cease operations.

The Healyites, normally so fond of denying inconvenient reports on the grounds of their bourgeois sources, hid behind an abstract and irrelevant set of statistics from one of the great bourgeois interests, the British Printing Industrial Federation, on "rises in general expenses" increasing printing costs. For two and a half months no Healyite newspaper appeared. Then *News Line* sprang to life -- but not as any kind of party organ -- with a format which included paid advertising. At about that same time Healy was replaced by Mike Banda as WRP general secretary.

The WRP ranks have been kept busy with the usual treks across England -- and lately the "Children's Crusade" across Europe ["Euro-March '77"] -- designed in part to keep them too exhausted to notice their corrupt leaders' maneuvering. But even a cursory look at *News Line*'s year-long pandering to the oil-rich Qaddafi forces the observation that there is indeed something very rotten in the state of Denmark. ■



Healyite News Line (8 September 1976) hails "Libya's Day".

Qaddafi's "General People's Congress" will look after the workers' interests. The WRP's shameless presentation of Qaddafi's repression of the Libyan working class leaves no doubt of its utter subjugation before this capitalist dictator.

News Line hailed the "General People's Congress" held in early March in Shebha, a small desert village distinguished by Qaddafi's having gone to school there. Fidel Castro was the guest of honor as the "Congress" renamed Libya the "People's Socialist Libyan Arab Public" (sic) and kicked off Qaddafi's "Third Universal Principle" which he modestly claims solves "the problem of democracy".

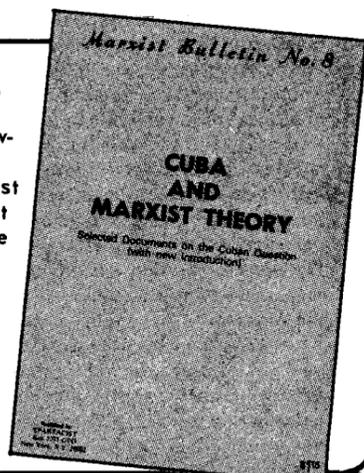
The Healyites have had some "problems" with "democracy" themselves; their solution has generally been to beat up political opponents. Qaddafi, who -- unlike the WRP -- holds state power, has worked out a more elaborate schema. His little Green Book explains that "both administration and supervision become popular" through "committees everywhere" -- while Qaddafi becomes head of the "General People's Congress" which runs everything and is so "popular" that it meets once a year. The sinister meaning of this "solution" comes out in the slogans pasted up around Shebha: "Parliaments are defunct", "representation is a fraud" and "Parties are treason" (*London Guardian*, 3 March 1977).

Marxist Bulletin no 8

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Bolshevism, reformism and police spies

In its 28 July issue, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) paper, *Direct Action*, printed a letter from the Spartacist League (SL) in response to one by SWPer Brett Treney which appeared two issues previously. Treney's letter had accused us of "slandering" Lisa Walter, a "turned" ASIO agent whom the SWP retained as a member, in the course of our exposure of another "turned" agent, Janet Langridge. Our letter pointed out that our concern did not focus on Walter specifically but on the SWP's "social-democratic complacency toward the bourgeois state" which lay behind its "sweetheart attitude toward exposed agents" -- ie, its refusal to expel on the spot either Walter or Ian Gordon, a long-time SWP member who confessed to having been bought off by ASIO in May this year. Judging by the frenzied vituperation of *Direct Action's* reply, which concludes with a public pledge to consign any further letters from the SL "to the rubbish bin", we have struck a sensitive nerve.

Treney's letter implicitly justified the SWP's attitude to Walter by emphasising the naivete of the apolitical Walter, who allegedly didn't realise the meaning of what she was doing until she was politically "converted". *Direct Action's* reply to our letter is more straightforward: it contains an explicit political defence, without qualifications, of the SWP's practice of refusing to expel confessed police spies, and in particular of "demanding Ian Gordon's resignation rather than expelling him". The defence rests on essentially two points: (1) to characterise "turned" police spies, as our letter did, as "inherently untrustworthy and unstable" is "religious metaphysics"; and (2) expulsion is a punitive form of retribution which is entirely superfluous and somehow crazy. The unstated conclusion is that having your comrades turned in to the secret police should not inspire any special indignation.

In New Zealand today many militant unionists who remember the bitter waterside strike of 1951 still refuse to work alongside anyone who "scabbed in '51". Is this attitude a product of "religious metaphysics"? No! It is a hard lesson of the class struggle. Those who have proven themselves capable of gross deception, sabotage and informing can never be fully trusted. Ingrained distrust of those who have spied or scabbed for the class enemy is one of the most important means of reinforcing the solidarity and integrity -- and trust among comrades -- of the labour movement. How much more crucial for the revolutionary party -- which can expect to be subject to the most extreme pressure, material and moral, the bourgeoisie can bring to bear in future crises and periods of reaction -- to be suspicious and vigilant toward those who have already proven weak or duplicitous. Only a party saturated with the spirit of social-democratic complacency about the future and trust in the permanency of bourgeois democracy, or one which is completely un-serious, can ignore such dangers.

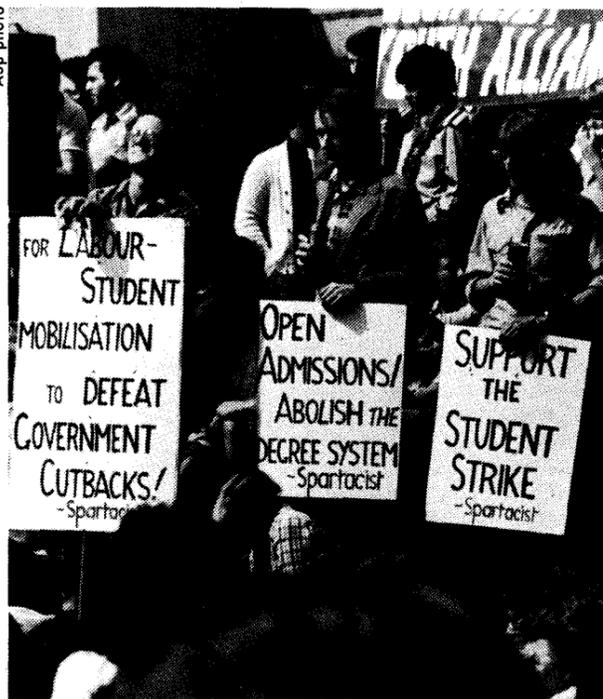
As for the second point, the SWP announces that its "primary concern" in the Gordon case "was to sever Gordon's connection with the party as quickly as possible"; for the SL, "it is to 'punish' the spy with expulsion". We did not, of course, use the word "punish" in our letter, which stated that failure to expel Walter and Gordon "was an attack on the vigilance necessary to defend the labour movement". But in any case, since when is "demanding a resignation" more expeditious than expulsion? "Demanding resignation" is what bourgeois government leaders do to ministers implicated in an indiscretion. The SWP's preference for, and later insistence on, this diplomatic evasion is certainly significant.

Even the rotten, right-wing reformists of the ALP expelled Sir Jack Egerton, at least from his party positions, and that was only for accepting a knighthood. In 1974 the US Socialist Workers Party (co-thinkers of the SWP) expelled en masse over 100 members who belonged to the Internationalist Tendency (politically supporting Ernest Mandel). Evidently the SWP is not averse to "punishing" by expulsion internal opposition and alleged indiscipline. Isn't taking money from ASIO to spy on your comrades enough to warrant expulsion from the SWP?

Historically, the Bolsheviks' attitude to police infiltrators stands in contrast -- with all proportions guarded -- both to the criminal complacency of the SWP and to the promiscuous finger-pointing of the Healyites. In her *Memories of Lenin* Krupskaya describes the case of Malinovsky, an Okhrana (Czarist secret police) agent who had infiltrated the Bolshevik Central Committee and led its Duma (parliamentary) fraction. When, in 1914, Malinovsky suddenly and mysteriously resigned from the party and the Duma, a special control commission was convened to investigate long-existent rumours spread by the Mensheviks that Malinovsky was an agent provocateur. Unable to find any firm evidence, Lenin dismissed the rumours as Menshevik slanders. When the Okhrana files were opened following the revolution and Malinovsky was exposed, he voluntarily surrendered to the Bolshevik government, "repudiated" his past -- and was immediately shot. "Religious retribution"? No -- class war.

Trotskyists campaign in student elections

Campus Spartacist clubs at LaTrobe and Sydney Universities stood candidates in SRC and AUS elections last month as a proletarian-communist alternative to the usual stock of right wingers, student-power radicals and "patriotic", anti-Soviet Maoists. Reprinted below are excerpts from a *Campus Spartacist* (21 July) distributed at Sydney University and an SRC election statement by one of the three Spartacist League (SL) candidates at LaTrobe, Andrew Georgiou, first printed in the LaTrobe student paper, *Rabelais* (vol 11, no 7).



Spartacists in 30 October TEAS boycott, Sydney.

The LaTrobe candidates polled 76, 84 and 92 votes each (the highest vote cast was under 300). At Sydney University, SLer Peter Musicka polled 37 votes for the SRC presidency, reflecting the modest but visible impact of the five-month-old Spartacist Club. The presidential election was narrowly won by the "united left" candidate, Barbara Ramjan. But the strong vote for the reactionary, Tony Abbott, indicated the right wing's growing influence. With its *meritocratic* support to the "united left", the fake Trotskyist Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA) was left with no reason to run ... and did not. Instead it attacked the Spartacist Club's Trotskyist campaign with outright lies and slanders that the SL "abstained from the anti-education cutbacks campaign because they opposed its demands, they abstained on defense of AUS, in fact they have even supported the right wing's call for the sacking of AUS's militant leadership" (*S.U. Socialist Youth Alliance Club Newsletter*, 25 July).

The SYA is as honest as it is socialist. The SL voted for the AUS demands, and participated actively -- far more so than the SYA Club at Sydney -- in the TEAS campaign. But the SYA voted *against* an SL motion to extend those minimal demands! The SL has defended AUS against right-wing attacks such as the red-baiting hysteria against "Maoist violence", which the SYA and its fellow "militant leadership" types *enthusiastically* echoed. We urged students to abstain both on the motion to sack Maoist Jefferson Lee and on the UNSW Spill motion since neither had clear provision for new elections. The SYA demands that Lee be sacked but uncritically backs the equally bureaucratic "democratic left" clique currently running AUS, going so far as to accuse any who criticise this clique of "objectively" blocking with the right (*Direct Action*, 7 July). While the SL has called for an immediate national council, prepared through full delegate elections, in order to elect a new leadership and resolve the clique war presently enervating AUS, the SYA has opposed our motion for this simple democratic procedure. In the recent Social Work Department struggle it was the SL that called for a full university-wide strike to shut down the campus. Unlike the SYA our comrades are not interested in winning or preserving bureaucratic sinecures in student "unions" but in winning radical students to the cause of workers revolution.

Sydney: Vote Trotskyist! Vote Spartacist!

Every year Sydney University students are called to vote in the elections for the Student Representative Council (SRC), for the faculty representatives, the president and the *Honi Soit* editors. This year the Spartacist Club is running candidates in the SRC elections. Our aim:

to win students to the worldview of revolutionary Trotskyism, to the program of international working-class revolution to smash capitalism!

The two main contenders for SRC posts are the "united left ticket" made up of Labor Club and Communist Group supporters and "independent lefts", and the Liberal/Democratic Club candidates headed by Joe Bullock and Tony Abbott. Posing as "moderates", the Liberal/Democratic Club candidates are simply the campus agents of a general capitalist drive for social austerity and wage-cutting to prop up the bosses' profits. They have opposed any increase in TEAS allowances and defend the Fraser government's economic and education policies. While peddling the most nauseating anti-homosexual, male-chauvinist and anti-communist filth and opposing any student support to anti-racist, national liberation or left-wing causes, these scum promise more "social functions" (read: beer for the boys)!

The "alternative" to these reactionary near-derthals provided by the "united left ticket" is united mainly by a common desire to "defeat the right" and keep control of the SRC. This year the Australian Union of Students (AUS) has been wracked by petty intrigues and bureaucratic manoeuvres between a Maoist wing (including *National U* editor Jefferson Lee) and a rival alliance of Communist Party and Socialist Youth Alliance supporters and "independents", of whom the "united left ticket" is but the local Sydney University version, that is "left"-talking, social-democratic student bureaucrats. In opposition to the supporters of the "united left ticket" who fully backed the move to sack Jefferson Lee, the Spartacist Club pointed out that in the absence of an indicated democratic method of selecting his replacement, to vote for the motion to sack Lee would only be to endorse politically his qualitatively similar opponents, and called for new elections for a delegated August National Council to elect a new national leadership....

We fight for staff/student/campus worker control of the universities to wrest control from the hands of the administration, the ruling class's direct agents on campus. While supporting all legitimate struggles against the autocratic administration, we oppose any illusions that the so-called "progressive" departments like Political Economy and General Philosophy with their "relevant, critical and democratic" courses can be anything more than playpens for academic pseudo-Marxists. We support the current struggle of staff and students against the administration in the Social Work Department, for example, although the demands are clearly within the framework of the capitalist education system. The Social Work students and staff call on the Board of Studies (a higher body of the administration than department head Professor Brennan) to take more responsibility for courses, and want staff/student consultative committees to have the right of appeal to the Board. More seriously, they, together with the Communist Group demanded that the administration discipline the lecturer, Dr Ralph Locke, who struck a student. Perhaps now that Locke is openly scabbing on the staff strike, the Communist Group will request that the administration discipline him for that too, instead of relying on mobilisations of students and staff to drive this strikebreaker out through protest and exposure. Though it is for ever prattling about "student/staff control" the Communist Group makes no pretence of challenging the administration's basic role. We demand: *Abolish the degree system! No dismissals for class failures! Open admissions! Staff/student/campus worker control of the universities! ...*

Revolutionary-minded students cannot effectively participate in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism through "student unionism" or limited intra-departmental struggles, but only as part of a communist vanguard organisation. We stand under the banner of international communist revolution, for a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class, for the dictatorship of the proletariat!

VOTE TROTSKYIST! VOTE SPARTACIST!

LaTrobe: Spartacist election statement

In three years at LaTrobe the Spartacist Club's (SC) principled intervention into campus life has left a record that demonstrates our commitment to winning students to a revolutionary class perspective. In this year's TEAS mobilisation the SC initiated the strike committee and alone fought for a strike at the general meeting against the Independent Left/Libertarian Socialist/SAI [Students for Australian Independence] do-nothing sabotage. In the 1975 LaTrobe campus

workers strike only the SC consistently manned the picket lines and campaigned for the widest student-staff support, firm opposition to any scabbing and a solidarity university-wide strike. The looming employer-state attacks on the Newport union ban, the inevitable confrontations with Fraser's IRB and rightwing attacks against AUS will again present the urgent need for determined united defence and a class-struggle program against the capitulations and empty rhetoric of the AUS and trade-union bureaucracies.

As internationalists the SC has always seen as one of its particular responsibilities defence of the victims of the murderous Chilean junta. In 1976 we helped build the international labour-centred defence campaign that successfully freed Chilean miners' leader Mario Munoz from the Argentine junta. In June we helped initiate and build a militant demonstration to highlight and oppose the Government's continuing threats to deport over 100 "illegal" Chilean migrants. Throughout this work we raised the lessons of the Allende popular front that led to the Chilean workers' defeat in the 1973 military coup. Popular frontism (now looming large throughout Western Europe), by tying the workers parties into a treacherous coalition with a wing of the bourgeoisie, can only lead to further bloody defeats.

Unlike the liberals, reformists and Maoists our recent exposure of further ASIO infiltration in the labour movement (the Langridge case) and our determined opposition to the murderous covert operations of the CIA/ASIO will not be used to cover for the betrayals of Whitlam/Hawke/Halfpenny and company. Our alternative is not liberal outrage but building a revolutionary leadership in the labour movement that in overthrowing capitalist rule and establishing workers state power will hand out to all the bosses' thugs and spies the fate they deserve.

Vote for the communists -- Vote Spartacist!
Vote Florrimell, McEwan, Georgiou for SRC!
Vote Florrimell for AUS! ■

Jubilee . . .

Continued from page four

ist and radical strata maintain a formal opposition to the monarchy but, despite self-congratulatory mock-rejection of the Crown, the populist appetite to associate with the spirit of Jubilee "good cheer" is evident.

The most bizarre and profitable form of mock-rejection of the Jubilee is the punk-rock version of "God Save the Queen" recorded by Johnny Rotten and the Sex Pistols. This number, which attempts to be deliberately arresting and pornographic, has become a raging controversy and despite (or because of) a government ban is the number-one hit song in Britain. The Sex Pistols sing that they live under a "fascist regime" which has turned them into "morons" (the latter seems undeniable on the face of it), but they finally explain that they like the Queen after all.

It is not just the Sex Pistols, with safety pins on their noses, who feel ambivalent about the Silver Jubilee. The Communist Party, for instance, is holding "People's Jubilees". But the real Sex Pistols of the left are the state-capitalist Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists). These workerists are running a big campaign under the slogan "Stuff the Jubilee -- Roll on the Red Republic". Their newspaper, *Socialist Worker*, is filled with radical-chic playful rejection of the event and calls for organizing "red" Jubilee celebrations.

Of course they explain how many hospitals could be constructed with the money wasted on the Crown jewels, but the real message is: join the Jubilee. If the workers are being encouraged to have fun to celebrate the reign of the Queen, then these "socialists" will show the workers how they may have even more such "fun":

"There's lots of things that socialists can do about the Jubilee. But the key is: Don't be a killjoy. Add to the fun.

"We're for street parties, but we're also for pointing out that we must live in a strange sort of society if we only get to have them every 25 years.

"And do we really need a bunch of royal scroungers if we're to enjoy ourselves? If we were without them and all the other would-be captains and kings in society we could take over our streets and cities and towns and enjoy ourselves all the time...." (*Socialist Worker*, 4 June)

Amidst the carnival of reactionary sycophancy, we must recall with fondness the beheading of Charles I in 1649. Oliver Cromwell, at the head of the bourgeois revolutionary army, not only got rid of an intractable monarch, but for a time also abolished the House of Lords and more than a few bishops. By 1660, however, the son, Charles II, was returned to the throne along with the lords and bishops. Cromwell's corpse was dug up from his grave and hanged at Tyburn. And the British have had a monarch ever since. The arch-conservative Edmund Burke favorably compared the Glorious Revolution of 1688 with the "dangerously democratic" French Revolution of 1789, which occurred when the social forces were more fully matured and which swept out the monarchy so resoundingly that bonapartism and restorationism could never really refurbish it.

It is to the reactionary spirit of Burke that the Silver Jubilee is really dedicated. For Marxists, jubilation awaits the day when the proletariat, led by its vanguard party, uproots the bourgeoisie and its entire rotten retinue of feudal remnants. The instruments and symbols of repressive imperialist power have no place outside the museums. In one of the world's first modern capitalist societies, even minimal demands of the bourgeois revolution await the revolutionary proletarian victory: Down with the Monarchy! Down with the House of Lords! Down with the Established Church! ■

(excerpted from *Workers Vanguard* no 164, 1 July 1977)

CL, SWP . . .

Continued from page three

less" since the start of the cold war! *Rejection of Soviet-defencism is the classical seal of American social democracy*, whether or not it is hidden behind ersatz "ban the bomb" pacifism.

What sort of international party is the USec, which seeks to incorporate reformist national groupings that flatly refuse to recognise its international authority and flout basic Trotskyist principles; which forces unprincipled mergers upon its sections? In reality, no sort. Rather the USec is an umbrella structure held together through rotten blocs and unprincipled compromises in order to create the appearance of a single world Trotskyist organisation. No one even pretends that it is a democratic-centralist world party, and to call it federalist is to abuse the concept of federalism. The organisational principle governing the USec is a kind of hypocritical pluralism: any group is allowed to do anything, if only it recognises the USec's claim to be the Fourth International.

USec and the London Bureau

The USec in no way represents the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. But it does resemble the centrist "London Bureau", which Trotsky struggled against during the 1930s in the course of working toward the foundation of the Fourth International:

"[Its] international conferences ... represent half diplomatic, half parliamentary institutions and assemblages, after the image of the Second International but on a much smaller scale, which serve no other purpose than to furnish right-centrist organizations with a decorative international cover, behind which they may pursue their national opportunist politics." ("The London Bureau and the Fourth International", *Documents of the Fourth International*, p 95)

The IMT-dictated "fusion" here reflects an international right turn, resulting in an attempt to mend relations with the reformist minority. In Canada, for example, the rapidly rightward-moving Mandelites have been involved in a "fusion process" with the Hansenites since the beginning of the year. Elsewhere as well, appetites to graduate to the big time have led to widespread unity manoeuvres, justified through a conscious, explicit revision of the Bolshevik-Leninist conception of the party.

In Britain the pro-IMT International Marxist Group (IMG) has launched a new "non-sectarian" weekly aimed at drawing the "far left" groups, but especially the larger, third-camp Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists), into a menshevik-swamp regroupment. Long articles have appeared in the IMG press attempting to prove that Lenin was really a Menshevik after all by distorting the history of the Bolshevik faction -- which led an essentially independent existence -- in the Russian Social Democracy and deliberately suppressing Lenin's evolution from a revolutionary Social Democrat to the founder of the Communist International (see "IMG turns Lenin into a Menshevik", *Workers Vanguard* no 164, 1 July 1977). Why not have the equivalent of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks -- and worse -- in the same party? In rejecting out of hand any discussion of the "basis of present unity of the Fourth International" -- a reasonable if rather naive proposal of CL leader Ron Poulsen -- Percy exclaimed in his report, "*The basis for unity is that we're Trotskyists. Isn't that right?*" Programmatic differences are irrelevant if you can agree on a label! (It is highly doubtful Percy will be proposing "fusion" to the Stalinists but Pat Clancy will tell you any day that he's a "Leninist".)

For Marxist unity -- Reforge the Fourth International!

"Unity is a great thing and a great slogan", said Lenin. "But what the workers' cause needs is *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism" ("Unity", April 1914). The international Spartacist tendency has been built largely through fusions, many of them with left oppositional currents in the USec who have found their way to Trotskyist politics. But such fusions were based not on a pre-arranged agreement to cover up programmatic differences, but on genuine principled agreement on the undiluted revolutionary program, agreement achieved and tested through political struggle. Neither the CL nor the SWP is Marxist. But in junking its deformed and partial opposition to reformism in order to serve the dictates of Pabloist "unity", the CL will only be assisting the creation of a larger more effective *obstacle* to the revolutionary proletarian cause.

The CL can expect precious little reward in return for committing organisational suicide. Until now CL members have sidestepped the more egregious betrayals of Hansenism by pointing out that the SWP's positions did not represent the line of the USec. But Percy's insistence on international "freedom of criticism" does not penetrate the confines of Australia. The US SWP had no compunction in summarily expelling the Mandeliste Internationalist Tendency in 1974 and then using the expulsion as evidence of its non-violent respectability before the bourgeoisie (see *Workers Vanguard* no 59, 3 January 1975). Percy has the right to put the international minority line publicly; the CL's membership will have no right to put the international majority line, if that is what they anticipate.

As though in anticipation of an infusion of potentially troublesome Mandelites, the new "Organisational Principles of the SWP" emphasise that, "*Loyalty to the SWP is the primary condition for membership*.... There is no such thing as a right to belong to the party for people who are disloyal to the SWP or whose first loyalty is to some other [!] political tendency" (*Socialist Worker* no 3, August-September 1977). As members of the SWP, the Mandelites will have to defend the whole body of Hansenite betrayals.

We noted at the time of McCarthy's defection that the CL had little future: short of a *political* break with the Pabloist USec toward the authentic Trotskyism of the Spartacist League they would rapidly find themselves emulating their fallen leader's crawl into the reformist SWP. Eight months after the "fusion" which Percy reported to the SWP conference had "so obviously worked", the leaders of the McCarthy clique are unseen and unheard. The politics of opportunism has its own logic. To the USec, embodying those politics of surrender, the international Spartacist tendency offers the only revolutionary alternative: the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International on the genuine program and uncompromising principles of Trotskyism. ■

correction

The article, "Protests defend Chilean migrants", in *ASP* no 44 (July 1977) incorrectly listed the Australian Clerical Officers Association Reform Group as one of the endorsing organisations of a united-front demonstration to defend Chilean migrants facing threat of deportation, held in Melbourne on 24 June. In fact the Reform Group did not endorse this crucial action of class solidarity and the member of the Reform Group present at the demonstration spoke in a personal capacity. ■

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Anita Bryant pushes reactionary hysteria in US — **Stop anti-homosexual crusade**

The following article on the recent anti-homosexual hysteria in the US is adapted from Workers Vanguard no 164 (1 July 1977).

Tens of thousands of demonstrators, angry over the anti-homosexual, right-wing crusade of Bible-spouting bigot Anita Bryant, took to the streets the weekend of 25-26 June in record numbers in cities across the US. New York City saw its largest homosexual-rights demonstration ever, estimated at 40,000 participants.

Huge demonstrations commemorated the "Stonewall riot" of 1969 -- a symbol of homosexual resistance to police harassment -- which was touched off when cops raided a New York Greenwich Village gay bar and were met for the first time with sharp resistance. Marches also took place in San Francisco, Miami, Los Angeles, Chicago, Atlanta, Kansas City, Seattle and Providence. In San Francisco, where 100,000 people demonstrated, Mayor George Moscone ordered flags to be flown at half mast in memory of Robert Hillsborough, stabbed to death last week by four men who allegedly yelled "faggot" as they murdered him and beat his companion.

All of the demonstrations were sparked by the recent victory of Anita Bryant's right-wing "Save Our Children Campaign" in Dade County, Florida, which was successful in repealing a law prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals. Bryant has vowed that she will take her crusade wherever "God sends me", and that seems to be wherever reactionary forces can be organised for god, country and the family.

Homosexuality is a touchstone of social attitude in the US. Bryant's crusade depends on a number of primitive fundamentalist lies about homosexuals and consequent fears among more socially backward Americans. The idea that homosexuals are child molesters is a lie more powerful than all of Anita Bryant's sermonising.

This vicious slander hits particularly hard at teachers. The effect, therefore, of Bryant's campaign is to set up an employment test for teachers on the basis of the most backward notions of "social deviance" and to open up homosexual teachers to blackmail, because they could lose their jobs if "discovered". The Spartacist League demands that teachers' unions defend the democratic rights of their entire membership *whether or not* ordinances protecting these rights are retained by the bourgeois state.

Homosexuals have become the open target of a general assault on democratic rights. The reactionaries hope that the widespread prejudices against these "deviants" will prevent the defenders of democratic rights from rallying to their defence. But democratic rights are not divisible; the reactionary mobilisation has blacks, women, "reds" and all varieties of "deviants" lined up in its sights. The most recent such assault has been a Supreme Court de-

cision permitting states to withhold public-assistance funding for abortions.

Anti-ERA (a constitutional amendment to grant women "equal rights"), anti-busing and anti-abortion forces have all found the Carter anti-Soviet "human rights" moralism a fertile culture medium in which to grow their rightist mobilisations against homosexuals, minorities, women and eventually the working class itself. But the "gay rights" demonstrations -- locked into sub-reformist "life-style" politics -- have posed no strategy to overcome the oppression they protest.

Like feminism and black nationalism, the ideology of "gay liberation" is rooted in the New Left polyvanguardist notion that each stratum of the oppressed must "unite" in an "autonomous movement" to fight their special oppression. The commonality of "sexual orientation" is presumed to transcend class differences as workers and their bosses, tenants and their landlords, supposedly discover "unity" around their "common interests".

What "common interests"? The working class and its allies have no stake in the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation and oppression. The bourgeoisie and its professional servants in the Democratic and Republican Parties have a real material interest in the maintenance of the capitalist system of war, racism and oppression, including its ideological and institutional props.

Homosexuality is seen as a threat to bourgeois morality and the institution of the family. Whether homosexuals are marginally and grudgingly tolerated or are persecuted, reviled and ultimately perhaps even slaughtered depends far less on the size of "gay rights" demonstrations than on the immediacy of capitalism's need to frontally assault the working class. In periods of crisis, when fascist irrationality is revealed as capitalism's last resort, leftists, unionists, minorities and social "deviants" will discover just how much "common interest" they have with the "democratic" bourgeoisie! The fundamental tenet of "democracy" under capitalism is the bourgeoisie's "right" to exploit the working class; the rest is ultimately dispensable. Unlike women's oppression and black oppression, homosexual oppression is not a *strategic* consideration for the socialist revolution. But only those who take the liberation of the working masses as their cause can effectively defend the rights of homosexuals.

Life-style radicalism was abundant at all the demonstrations. But there was very little sense of what the recent attack at Dade County would mean for homosexuals or how to fight it. In fact, many groups made it clear that they thought it was a good thing that homosexuals were under attack because it made them angry, brought them out into the streets and helped "build the gay movement". Homosexuals, who often live compacted



Top: SL/US (left) counterposes class struggle to gay lifestyle. Above: Bryant family -- God and bigotry.

into "communities" within the large urban centres, can develop an exaggerated sense of their social weight in US society. That they are being scapegoated by the right wing is hardly anything to be happy about.

At the Los Angeles demonstration homosexual "solidarity" above politics took on a "free speech for fascists" tinge when a civil libertarian took the speakers platform to protest against the exclusion of a group of homosexual Nazis. He was shouted down and forced to leave the platform.

An exception to the anti-working-class tenor of the Los Angeles demonstration -- whose organisers requested that the demonstrators thank the police for their tolerance -- was the militant joint contingent of the Spartacist League/US (SL/US) and the Bolshevik Tendency of the Red Flag Union (RFU-BT -- formerly the Lavender and Red Union). The two groups carried slogans which stressed the need to fight for democratic rights for homosexuals and chanted "Workers unite to smash the right!"

The Red Flag Union (BT), which represents the most advanced section to emerge from the "gay rights movement", is presently engaged in fusion discussions with the SL/US. In breaking toward Trotskyism from its original Maoist leanings, the RFU(BT) was temporarily attracted to, but rejected, the pseudo-Trotskyist, polyvanguardist politics of the Mandelbrite wing of the United Secretariat. The SL/US and RFU(BT) seek to pose a class axis in the fight against all special oppression. Their insistence that sexuality is a private and not a political matter may sometimes shock "gay activists" accustomed to opportunist patronising, but their revolutionary program will attract the most serious elements from the "gay liberation" milieu.

A speaker from the RFU(BT), which has for years struggled within the homosexual milieu, took the microphone to pose the need for a Bolshevik party embodying the Marxist program, the only program capable of overcoming all forms of special oppression through victorious socialist revolution. To the amorphous and ineffective "gay liberation movement" the RFU(BT) spokesman counterposed the need to build the Trotskyist vanguard. The political development of the RFU was a challenge to the demonstrators to look to the SL and take their places not as "gay rights" activists but as proletarian cadres in the front lines of the class struggle. ■



40,000 march in New York, 26 June, to protest against Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual crusade.